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THE ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS, AND LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1776.

LONDON:

Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1777.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

PREFACE.

IT would be a bad return to the continued favours we experience from the Public, if our zeal and induſtry was not proportioned to the importance of the ſubjects on which we treated, and to their intereſt in them. The tranſactions of foreign nations, however general or extenſive their conſequences, however connected by intereſt or alliance we might be in them, or however brilliant the matter which they afforded for hiſtory, are not only of a ſecondary but very remote conſideration, when placed in any degree of compariſon with the ſubjects of which we now treat. Our public affairs are unfortunately at preſent the hiſtory of all that part of the world which affords materials for any. Britains, however deeply, are not alone intereſted in the conſequences. They may extend, not only to the refined,

but

but widely into the more uncultivated parts of the Globe. It therefore behoved us, not to paſs through negligence, omit through hurry, or render obſcure by an ill-timed brevity, any matter which tended to the elucidation of a ſubject, in which our Readers are ſo immediately and deeply concerned. The time of publication was with us, and we will believe with them, by no means the principal object of attention. We might have ſaved much labour and time by publiſhing early, and, of courſe, more imperfectly.

Our Publiſher has liberally ſeconded our views in affording the expence conſequent of ſo great an extenſion of the Hiſtorical Article. He thinks he cannot do too much to teſtify his gratitude to the Public, and deſires we would obſerve, that from the abundance of matter which is now neceſſarily diſcuſſed, it trebles in extent the amount of the Hiſtory in any year of the late war. For ourſelves, if we have the happineſs to experience a continuance of that approbation with which we have been ſo long honoured by the Public, it will be an additional ſpur to our future induſtry.

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1776.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of American affairs in the year 1775. Motives which led to the invasion of Canada. Forts of Chamble and St. John taken. Montreal taken. General Carleton retires to Quebec. Armed vessels surrender. Arnold appears before Quebec. Is joined by General Montgomery. The city summoned. Siege. Attempt to take Quebec by escalade. Montgomery killed. Arnold wounded. Rebels retire from before the walls.

AS the hopes of a reconciliation with the mother country, upon the conditions claimed by the Americans, became more faint, so they grew more daring in their designs, and extended their views to the remote consequences, as well as to the immediate conduct of a war. The apparent tendency, and avowed design of the Quebec act, had early drawn their attention and awakened their apprehensions, in relation to the dangers with which they were threatened from that quarter. These apprehensions produced the address to the French inhabitants of Canada, of which we have formerly taken notice.

The success which attended the

expedition to the Lakes, with the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, in the beginning of the ſummer 1775, by which, it might be ſaid, that the gates of Canada were thrown open, rendered the affairs of that country more immediately intereſting, and encouraged the Congreſs to a bold meaſure, which they would not otherwiſe perhaps have ventured upon. This was no leſs than the ſending of a force for the invaſion and reduction of that country.

A meaſure of ſo extraordinary a nature required the moſt ſerious conſideration. The commencing of an offenſive war with the ſovereign, was a new and perilous undertaking. It ſeemed totally to change the nature of the ground on which they ſtood in the preſent diſpute. Oppoſition to government had hitherto been conducted on the apparent deſign and avowed principle only, of ſupporting and defending certain rights and immunities of the people, which were ſuppoſed, or pretended, to be unjuſtly invaded. Oppoſition, or even reſiſtance, in ſuch a caſe, ſuppoſing the premiſes to be fairly ſtated, is thought by many to be entirely conſiſtent with the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution; and this opinion is ſaid to have received the ſanction of precedents of the firſt authority. At any rate, the queſtions in diſpute were of ſuch a nature, that mankind might for ever be divided in opinion, as to the matter of right or wrong, juſtice or injuſtice, oppreſſion or good government. But to render themſelves at once the aggreſſors, and not content with vindicating their own real or pretended rights, to fly wantonly in the face of the ſovereign, carry war into his dominions, and invade a province to which they could lay no claim, nor pretend no right, ſeemed ſuch an outrage, as not only overthrew every plea of juſtifiable reſiſtance, but would militate with the eſtabliſhed opinions, principles, and feelings of mankind in general.

On the other hand, the danger was preſſing and great. The extraordinary powers placed in the hands of General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, by a late commiſſion, were new, alarming, and evidently pointed out the purpoſes for which they were granted. By theſe he was authorized to embody and arm the Canadians, to march them out of the country for the ſubjugation of the other colonies, and to proceed even to capital puniſhments, againſt all thoſe, and in all places, whom he ſhould deem rebels and oppoſers of the laws. The ſtrong powers of government which he alſo poſſeſſed within his province, were equal to thoſe of the moſt arbitrary European monarchs, and had been already felt both by the Engliſh and French ſubjects. Thus, though the Canadians had hitherto refuſed to be embodied, or to march upon any terms out of the province, it was eaſily ſeen, that as ſoon as the Governor's authority was ſupported by the arrival of a body of Engliſh forces, they would be obliged implicitly to obey him, as well in that, as all other matters. He had beſides, already engaged a conſiderable number of the Canada, and other Indians in his ſervice, and if his arms once became predominant, the deſire of ſpoil and blood would bring them in crowds from the remoteſt deſarts to his

aſſiſtance,

assistance. Besides, they were perfectly acquainted with, and therefore had every thing to dread, from the zeal, the spirit of enterprize, and the military talents, of that able and resolute officer.

In these circumstances, considering a war not only as inevitable, but as already begun, they deemed it inconsistent with reason and policy, to wait to be attacked by a formidable force at their backs, in the very instant that their utmost exertions would be requisite, and probably insufficient, for the protection of their capital cities and coasts, against the resentment of the mighty power whom they had so grievously offended, and with whom they were entering into so untried and arduous a contest. They argued, that preventing the known hostile intentions of an enemy, by forestalling his designs ere they could be carried into execution, was as much a matter of self-defence, and less cruel, than waiting to be attacked by him under every disadvantage, and when he had arrived at his utmost force. There was no natural law, nor convention among mankind, by which a person was bound to be a simple and inactive looker-on, while his enemy was loading a gun for his destruction; was he to wait till the execution took place, for fear he should be deemed an aggressor? Questions in casuistry, however edifying upon other occasions, have nothing to do in circumstances upon which the fate of nations depend. Were they only to seek a remedy, when the savages had penetrated into their country, and the fury of the flames which consumed their settlements, were only retarded by the blood of their women and infants?

The Congress were also sensible, that they had already gone such lengths as could only be justified by arms. The sword was already drawn, and the appeal made. It was too late now to look back, and to waver would be certain destruction. If a certain degree of success did not afford a sanction to their resistance, and dispose the court of Great-Britain to an accommodation upon lenient terms, they would not only lose those immunities for which they at present contended, but all others would lie at the mercy of a jealous and irritated government. In such a state, their moderation in the single instance of Canada, they thought, would be a poor plea for compassion or indulgence.

The knowledge they had of the present state of affairs, and the temper of the people in Canada, also contributed much to encourage them in this enterprize. They knew that the French inhabitants, excepting the nobless and clergy, were in general as much discontented at the overthrow of the English laws, and the introduction of the present system of government, as even the British settlers. It seemed therefore probable, that this discontent, operating with the rooted aversion which they bore to their ancient proud and oppressive tyrants, the nobless, or lords of the manors, and the mortal dread which they entertained of being again reduced to their former state of feudal and military vassalage, would induce them to consider the Provincials rather as friends than invaders, and to embrace so favourable

an opportunity of obtaining a ſhare in that freedom for which they were contending. Though they were perfectly unacquainted with the nature of the particular controverſy, and little intereſted in it, it ſeemed to be for freedom, and American freedom, and the name was pleaſing. It was in favour of colonies; and Canada was a colony.

The Congreſs accordingly determined not to loſe the preſent favourable opportunity, while the Britiſh arms were weak and cooped up in Boſton, for attempting the reduction of that province. The Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New-York militia, a body of New-England men, and ſome others, amounting in the whole to near 3000 men, were appointed to this ſervice. A number of bateaux, or flat boats, were built at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, to convey the forces along Lake Champlain to the river Sorel, which forms the entrance into Canada, and is compoſed of the ſurplus waters of the lakes, which it diſcharges into the river St. Lawrence, and would afford a happy communication between both, were it not for ſome rapids that obſtruct the navigation.

Not above half the forces were yet arrived, when Montgomery, who was at Crown-Point, received ſome intelligence which rendered him apprehenſive that a ſchooner of conſiderable force, with ſome other armed veſſels, which lay at the fort of St. John's, on the river Sorel, were preparing to enter the lake, and thereby effectually obſtruct their paſſage. He thereupon, in the latter end of Auguſt, proceeded with ſuch force as he had to the iſle Aux Noix, which lies in the entrance of the river, and took neceſſary meaſures to guard againſt the paſſage of thoſe veſſels into the lake. Schuyler, who at that time commanded in chief, having alſo arrived from Albany, they publiſhed a declaration to encourage the Canadians to join them, and with the ſame hope or deſign, puſhed on to the fort of St. John, which lies only about a dozen miles from the iſland. The fire from the fort, as well as the ſtrong appear- Sept. 6th. ances of force and reſiſtance which they obſerved, occaſioned their landing at a conſiderable diſtance, in a country compoſed of thick woods, deep ſwamps, and interſected with creeks and waters. In this ſituation they were vigorouſly attacked by a conſiderable body of Indians, who did not neglect the advantages which they derived from it; along with which, finding that the fort was well garriſoned and provided, they found it neceſſary the next day to return to their former ſtation on the iſland, and to defer their operations until the arrival of the artillery and reinforcements which were expected.

Schuyler upon this retreat returned to Albany, to conclude a treaty which he had for ſome time been negotiating with the Indians in that quarter, and found himſelf afterwards ſo occupied by buſineſs, or broken in upon by illneſs, that the whole weight and danger of the Canada war fell upon Montgomery, a man moſt eminently qualified for any military ſervice. His firſt meaſure was to detach thoſe Indians who had joined General Carleton from his ſervice, and being ſtrengthened by the

the arrival of his reinforcements and artillery, he prepared to lay ſiege to the fort of St. John. This fort was garriſoned by the greater part of the 7th and 26th regiments, being nearly all the regular troops then in Canada; and was well provided with ſtores, ammunition, and artillery.

The provincial parties were ſpread over the adjacent country, and were every where received with open arms by the Canadians, who beſides joining them in conſiderable numbers, gave them every poſſible aſſiſtance, whether in carrying on the ſiege, removing their artillery, or ſupplying them with proviſions and neceſſaries. In this ſtate of things, the adventurer Ethan Allen, who without any commiſſion from the Congreſs, had a principal ſhare in the original expedition to the lakes, and the capture of the forts, and who ſince, under the title of colonel, ſeems rather to have acted as a partizan, than as obedient to any regular command, thought to ſignalize, and raiſe himſelf into importance, by ſurprizing the town of Montreal. This raſh enterprize he undertook at the head of a ſmall party of Engliſh Provincials and Canadians, without the knowledge of the commander in chief, or the aſſiſtance, which he might have procured, from ſome of the other detached parties. The event was ſuitable to the temerity of the undertaking. Being met at ſome diſtance from the town, by the militia, under the command of Engliſh officers, and ſupported by the few regulars who were in the place, he was defeated and taken priſoner, with near forty of his party, the reſt who ſurvived eſcaping in the woods. Allen, with his fellow-priſoners, were by General Carleton's orders loaded with irons, and ſent in that condition on board a man of war to England, from whence, however, they were in ſome time remanded back to America.

Sept. 25th.

The progreſs of Montgomery was for ſome time retarded by a want of ammunition ſufficient for carrying on a ſiege; which of all operations demands the greateſt ſupply of powder and ball. The fort of St. John's, which commands the entrance into Canada, could not be reduced without a tolerable proviſion of that kind. A fortunate event diſengaged him from this difficulty. A little fort called *Chamble* lay deeper in the country, and ſeemed covered by St. John's. It was garriſoned by a ſmall detachment of the 7th regiment, and was in no very defenſible condition. To this he turned his firſt thoughts, and by puſhing forward a party joined by ſome Canadians, he eaſily made himſelf maſter of that fort. Here he found conſiderable ſtores; but the article of greateſt conſequence to him was the gunpowder, which they were much diſtreſſed for, and of which they took above 120 barrels. This acquiſition facilitated the ſiege of St. John's, which had languiſhed for want of ammunition.

The garriſon of St. John's, under the command of Major Preſton, amounted to between 6 and 700 men, of which about 500 were regulars, and the reſt Canadian volunteers. They endured the difficulties and hardſhips of a very long ſiege, augmented by a ſcarcity of proviſions, with unabating conſtancy

and resolution. In the mean time, General Carleton was indefatigable in his endeavours to raise a force sufficient for its relief. Attempts had been for some time made by Colonel M'Lean, for raising a Scotch regiment, under the title of Royal Highland Emigrants, to be composed of natives of that country who had lately arrived in America, and who in consequence of the troubles had not obtained settlements. With these and some Canadians, to the amount of a few hundred men, the Colonel was posted near the junction of the Sorel with the river St. Lawrence. The General was at Montreal, where, with the greatest difficulty, and by every possible means, he had got together near a thousand men, composed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars, and some English officers and volunteers. With these he intended a junction with M'Lean, and then to have marched directly to the relief of St. John's. But upon his attempting to pass over from the island of Montreal, he was encountered at Longueil by a party of the Provincials, who easily repulsed the Canadians, and put a stop to the whole design. Another party had pushed M'Lean towards the mouth of the Sorel, where the Canadians having received advice of the Governor's defeat, immediately abandoned him to a man, and he was obliged to make the best of his way to Quebec with the emigrants.

In the mean time, Montgomery pushed on the siege of St. John's with great vigour, had advanced his works very near the body of the fort, and was making preparations for a general assault. Nor was there less alacrity shewn in the defence, the spirit as well as the fire of the garrison being equally supported to the last. In this state of things, an account of the success at Longueil, accompanied by the prisoners who were taken, arrived at the camp, upon which Montgomery sent a flag and a letter by one of them to Major Preston, hoping, that as all means of relief were now cut off by the Governor's defeat, he would, by a timely surrender of the fort, prevent that farther effusion of blood, which a fruitless and obstinate defence must necessarily occasion.

The Major endeavoured to obtain a few days time in hopes of being relieved; but this was refused, on account of the lateness and severity of the season; he also endeavoured, in settling the terms of capitulation, to obtain liberty for the garrison to depart for Great Britain, which proved equally fruitless, and they were obliged, after being allowed the honours of war on account of their brave defence, to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners. They were Nov. 3d. allowed their baggage and effects, the officers to wear their swords, and their other arms to be preserved for them till the troubles were at an end. In all transactions with our forces, Montgomery writ, spoke, and behaved with that attention, regard, and politeness, to both private men and officers, which might be expected from a man of worth and honour, who found himself involved in an unhappy quarrel with his friends and countrymen. All the prisoners were sent up the Lakes by the way

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of Ticonderago, to thoſe interior parts of the colonies which were beſt adapted to provide for their reception and ſecurity. The Provincials found a conſiderable quantity of artillery and uſeful ſtores in the place.

Upon M'Lean's retreat to Quebec, the party who had reduced him to that neceſſity, immediately erected batteries on a point of land at the junction of the Sorel with the river St. Lawrence, in order to prevent the eſcape down the latter of a number of armed veſſels, which General Carleton had at Montreal; they alſo conſtructed armed rafts and floating batteries for the ſame purpoſe. Theſe meaſures effectually prevented the paſſage of General Carleton's armament to Quebec, which were not only foiled in ſeveral attempts, but purſued, attacked, and driven from their anchors up the river by the Provincials; ſo that as General Montgomery approached Montreal immediately after the ſurrender of St. John's, the Governor's ſituation, whether in the town or aboard the veſſels, became equally critical.

This danger was ſoon increaſed by the arrival of General Montgomery at Montreal, where a capitulation was propoſed by the principal French and Engliſh inhabitants, including a kind of general treaty, which Montgomery refuſed, as they were in no ſtate of defence to entitle them to a capitulation, and were unable to fulfil the conditions on their part. He, however, gave them a written anſwer, in which he declared, That the continental army having a generous diſdain of every act of oppreſſion and violence, and having come for the expreſs purpoſe of giving liberty and ſecurity, he, therefore, engaged his honour to maintain, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their property of every kind, the individuals and religious communities of the city of Montreal. He engaged for the maintenance of all the inhabitants in the free exerciſe of their religion; hoped that the civil and religious rights of all the Canadians would be eſtabliſhed upon the moſt permanent footing by a provincial congreſs; promiſed that courts of juſtice ſhould be ſpeedily eſtabliſhed upon the moſt liberal plan, conformable to the Britiſh Conſtitution; and, in general, complied with other articles, ſo far as they were conſiſtent, and in his power. This ſecurity being given to the people, Nov. 13th. his troops took poſſeſſion of the town.

Nothing could now afford the ſlighteſt hope of the preſervation of any part of Canada but the lateneſs of the ſeaſon. Whether through inability for ſo great an enterprize, or from difference of opinion, the invaſion of that province was not undertaken until the ſeaſon for military operations was nearly paſſed. To balance this, there remained but an handful of regular troops in Canada, and the taking of General Carleton, which ſeemed nearly certain, would have rendered its fate inevitable. Fortune, however, determined otherwiſe, and at the time that all hopes of the armed veſſels being able to get down the river were given up, and that Montgomery was preparing bateaux with light artillery at Montreal to attack them on that ſide, and force them

them down upon the batteries, means were ſucceſsfully taken for conveying the Governor in a dark night, in a boat with muffled paddles, paſt the enemies guards and batteries, and he arrived ſafely at Quebec, which he found environed with danger from an unexpected quarter. As it was impracticable to ſave the ſhips, General Preſcot was obliged to enter into a capitulation with the Provincials, by which the whole of the river naval force, conſiſting of eleven armed veſſels, was ſurrendered into their hands, the General himſelf, with ſeveral other officers, ſome gentlemen in the civil department, Canadian volunteers, and near 120 Engliſh ſoldiers, all of whom had taken refuge on board upon the approach of General Montgomery to Montreal, becoming priſoners of war.

Whilſt the Provincials were thus carrying on the war in Upper Canada from the New-York ſide, and by the old beaten courſe of the Lakes, an expedition, conſiderably diſtinguiſhed by its novelty, ſpirit, enterprize, by the difficulties that oppoſed, and the conſtancy that ſucceeded in its execution, was undertaken directly againſt the lower part of the province and the city of Quebec, from the New-England ſide, by a route which had hitherto been untried, and conſidered as impracticable. This expedition was undertaken by Colonel Arnold, who about the middle of September, at the head of two regiments, conſiſting of about 1100 men, marched from the camp near Boſton, to Newbury Port, at the mouth of the river Merrimack, where veſſels were in readineſs to convey them by ſea to the mouth of the river Kennebec, in New Hampſhire; a voyage of about forty leagues.

On the 22d of the ſame month they embarked their ſtores and troops in 200 batteaux, at Gardiner's Town, on the Kennebec, and proceeded with great difficulty up that river, having a rapid ſtream, with a rocky bottom and ſhores, continually interrupted by falls and carrying places, with numberleſs other impediments to encounter. In this paſſage the batteaux were frequently filled with water, or overſet; in conſequence of which a part of their arms, ammunition, and proviſions were ſometimes loſt. At the numerous carrying places, beſides the labour of loading and reloading, they were obliged to convey the boats on their ſhoulders. The great carrying place was above twelve miles acroſs. That part of the detachment which was not employed in the batteaux, marched along the banks of the river, and the boats and men being diſpoſed in three diviſions, each diviſion encamped together every night. Nor was the march by land more eligible than the paſſage by water. They had thick woods, deep ſwamps, difficult mountains, and precipices, alternately to encounter, and were at times obliged to cut their way for miles together through the thickets. At the carrying places they were obliged to traverſe the ſame ground ſeveral times heavy loaded. From all theſe impediments their progreſs was of courſe very ſlow, being in general only from four or five to nine or ten miles a day. The conſtant fatigue and labour cauſed many to fall ſick, which added to

their difficulties, and provisions grew at length so scarce, that some of the men eat their dogs, and whatever else of any kind that could be converted to food.

When they arrived at the head of the Kennebec, they sent back their sick, and one of the Colonels took that opportunity of returning with his division, under pretence of the scarcity of provisions, without the consent or knowledge of the Commander in Chief, who had marched forwards. By this desertion, and the sick that were returned, Arnold's detachment was reduced about one third from its original number. They, however, proceeded with their usual constancy; and having crossed the heights of land, as a ridge that extends quite through that continent is called, and from whence the waters on either side, take courses directly contrary to those on the other, they at length arrived at the head of the river Chandiere, which running through Canada, falls into the river St. Lawrence, near Quebec. Their difficulties now were growing to an end, and they soon approached the inhabited parts of Canada; on the 3d of November, a party which they had pushed forward returned with provisions, and they soon after came to a house, being the first they had beheld for thirty-one days, having spent that whole time in traversing an hideous wilderness, without ever meeting any thing human.

The Canadians received them here with the same good-will that Montgomery's corps had experienced in the neighbourhood of Montreal; they supplied them liberally with provisions and necessaries, and rendered them every other assistance in their power. Arnold immediately published an address to the people signed by General Washington, of the same nature with that which had been before issued by Schuyler and Montgomery. They were invited to join with the other colonies in an indissoluble union. To range themselves under the standard of general liberty. They were informed, that the armament was sent into the province, not to plunder, but to protect and animate them; that they themselves were enjoined to act, and to consider themselves, as in the country of their best friends; they were requested, therefore, not to desert their habitations, nor fly from their friends; but to provide them with such supplies as their country afforded; and he pledged himself for their safety and security, as well as for an ample compensation.

The city of Quebec was at this time in a state of great weakness, as well as internal discontent and disorder. The British merchants and inhabitants had been long much disgusted and dissatisfied. Their opposition to the Quebec Act, and the petitions which they had sent to England upon that subject, had been grievously resented by their own government; and from that period, they had, as the discontented said, not only been slighted and treated with indifference; but even regarded with an apparent eye of distrust and suspicion. They complained, that as the great political object in that country, was to attach the native Canadians inviolably to government, so the French nobleſſe, and

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civil officers, became, excepting the Britiſh military, the only favourites; and theſe having ſoon acquired the manners and affectations of all other courtiers and favourites, paſſed no occaſion to inſult the Engliſh as malcontents, with the violence of their zeal, and the outrageouſneſs of their loyalty. They repreſented, that theſe new courtiers induſtriouſly brought up queſtions upon public affairs, and diſcourſes upon government in their company, and then conſtrued that freedom of opinion, which the native Engliſh had derived from nature and habit, as well as from preſent diſcontent, as proceeding from real ill deſign and diſaffection. There needs not a ſtronger proof how little they were truſted or regarded, than that when the troops were ſent off to Montreal and the Sorel to oppoſe the rebels, notwithſtanding the very alarming ſtate of public affairs, and that the city, together with the large property which they poſſeſſed in it, were left expoſed without a garriſon; yet their application for leave to be embodied as a militia for its defence, ſo far from being complied with, was not even, as they affirmed, deemed worthy of an anſwer. How much of this repreſentation was the mere effect of diſcontent, we cannot undertake to ſay. It is certain that great heartburnings and animoſities prevailed among the Engliſh civil ſubjects and the military power in that government, which the Quebec Act irritated and inflamed to an high degree.

Neither does it appear that any great reliance could be placed at that time upon the French inhabitants for the defence of the city. Many of them were at leaſt wavering, and ſome worſe. As to other matters, there were no troops of any ſort in the place, until M'Lean's handful of new raiſed emigrants arrived from the Sorel. Some marines which the Governor had ſent for to Boſton, were refuſed by a naval council of war, from the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, and the danger of the navigation. The militia, however, had been lately embodied by the Lieutenant-Governor.

Such was the ſtate of affairs at Quebec, when Nov. 9th. Arnold and his party appeared at Point Levi, oppoſite the town. The river was fortunately between them, and the boats ſecured, otherwiſe it ſeems highly probable that they would have become maſters of the place in the firſt ſurpriſe and confuſion. This defect was indeed remedied in a few days by the alacrity of the Canadians, who ſupplied them with canoes, and they effected their paſſage in a dark night, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the armed veſſels and frigates of war in the river. But the critical moment was now paſſed. The diſcontented inhabitants, Engliſh and Canadians, as ſoon as danger preſſed, united for their common defence. They became ſeriouſly alarmed for the immenſe property which Quebec contained. They deſired to be, and were, embodied and armed. The ſailors had landed, and were at the batteries to ſerve the guns, the defendants were conſiderably ſuperior in number to the aſſailants, and Arnold had no artillery. In theſe circumſtances, his only hope muſt have been the defection of the inhabitants; and diſappointed in

in that, nothing remained practicable for him, but intercepting the roads, and cutting off the ſupplies, until the arrival of Montgomery. He accordingly paraded for ſome days on the heights near the town, and ſent two flags to ſummon the inhabitants; but they were fired at, and no meſſage admitted; upon which, he at length drew off his detachment into quarters of refreſhment.

In the mean time, Montgomery having found plenty of woollen manufactures, and other articles of wear, at Montreal, took that opportunity of new-cloathing his troops, who had ſuffered exceſſively from the ſeverity of the climate, the deepneſs of the roads, and the want of covering ſuitable to ſuch circumſtances. Notwithſtanding the flattering appearance of his ſucceſſes, the ſituation of that commander was far from being enviable; and indeed was attended with continual and growing difficulties, that nothing leſs than his own genius could ſurmount. The difficulty of conducting and governing an army, compoſed wholly of new ſoldiers, and theſe led directly from their civil occupations to the field, even ſuppoſing them raiſed in old countries, and where ſubordination is the moſt perfectly eſtabliſhed, will be conceived by thoſe perſons who are the leaſt converſant in military affairs. But here the troops were compoſed of men the moſt unuſed, and who from principles, habits, and manner of life, were the moſt averſe to every idea of ſubordination, of any civilized people in the known world; they were to be trained on through numberleſs wants and diſtreſſes, through ſtrange and deſart countries, and when arrived at the ſcene of action, with arms in their hands, in all the wantonneſs of military parade and novel power, their wants were to be endured, their appetites reſtrained, and their licentiouſneſs controuled, for fear of alienating the affections of the Canadians, while every appearance of a harſh or ſtrict military diſcipline was equally to be avoided, under the dread of their own defection. They were beſides only enliſted for a certain ſhort term, according to the uſual practice of the colonies; and as the time of their diſcharge now drew near, there was nothing but the name of their leader, and affection to his perſon, to keep them longer together.

General Carleton arrived at Quebec about the time that Arnold's detachment had retired from its neighbourhood, and immediately took ſuch meaſures for its defence, as were ſuitable to that military character which he had long eſtabliſhed. His firſt act was to oblige all thoſe to quit the town with their families, who refuſed to take up arms in its defence. The garriſon, including all orders who did duty, conſiſted of about 1500 men, a number, ſuppoſing them even the beſt troops, totally unequal to the defence of ſuch extenſive works, if an equal weakneſs had not prevailed on the ſide of the beſiegers. Of theſe, it could ſcarcely be ſaid that any were regulars, M'Lean's corps being newly raiſed, and the only company of the 7th regiment which had eſcaped being taken, conſiſting principally of recruits; the reſt were compoſed of the Britiſh and French militia, a few

marines, and about 450 ſeamen, belonging to the King's frigates, and to the merchant ſhips that wintered in the harbour. Theſe laſt, habituated to the management of great guns, and to prompt manœuvres, were the real ſtrength of the garriſon.

Montgomery, having left ſome troops in Montreal and the forts, and ſent detachments into different parts of the province, to encourage the Canadians, as well as to forward ſupplies of proviſions and neceſſaries, puſhed on with as many men as could be ſpared from theſe ſervices, and ſuch artillery as he could procure, to join Arnold. Their march was in winter; through bad roads, in a ſevere climate; beneath the fall of the firſt ſnows, and therefore made under great hardſhips; which, however, they encountered with equal reſolution; and arrived with incredible expedition at Quebec.

Dec. 5th. Upon their arrival before the town, Montgomery wrote a letter to the Governor, magnifying his own ſtrength, ſtating the weakneſs of the garriſon, ſhewing the impoſſibility of relief, and recommending an immediate ſurrender, to avoid the dreadful conſequences which muſt attend a ſtorm, irritated as, he ſaid, his victorious troops were, at the injurious and cruel treatment which they had in various particulars received at his hands. Though the flag that conveyed this letter, as well as every other was fired at, and all communication abſolutely forbidden by the Governor, Montgomery found other means to convey a letter of the ſame nature; but neither threats nor dangers could produce any effect upon the inflexible firmneſs of the veteran Governor.

It does not appear that Montgomery's forces were very much ſuperior in number or quality, to thoſe, ſuch as they were, who defended the town. His only proſpect of ſucceſs ſeemed therefore to be founded upon the impreſſion which the parade of his preparations, and the violence of his attacks might make upon the motley garriſon, or if thoſe failed, to weary them out by continual motions and falſe alarms. He accordingly commenced a bombardment, with five ſmall mortars, which continued for ſome days, and might have been ſuppoſed to have anſwered the former of thoſe intentions, by throwing the garriſon into diſorder; but the intrepidity of the Governor, ſeconded by the bravery, indefatigable induſtry and perſeverance, of the chief officers, as well as the activity of the ſeamen and marines, prevented the expected effect. We muſt do juſtice alſo to the garriſon in general, who nobly followed the example, and ſupported the bravery of their commanders, and endured the incommodities, wants and diſtreſſes, incident to ſo long a ſiege, joined to a moſt grievouſly ſevere and unremitted duty, with wonderful conſtancy and reſolution.

In a few days Montgomery opened a ſix-gun battery at about 700 yards diſtance from the walls; but his metal was too light to produce any conſiderable effect. In the mean time the ſnow lay deep upon the ground, and the ſeverity of the climate was ſuch, that human nature ſeemed incapable of withſtanding its force in the field.

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The hardſhips and fatigues which the Provincial ſoldiers underwent, both from the ſeaſon, and the ſmallneſs of their number, ſeemed incredible, and could only be endured from their enthuſiaſtic adherence to their cauſe, and through the affection or eſteem which they bore to their General. This conſtancy muſt however fail, if the evils were increaſed, or too long continued. The time for which many of the ſoldiers had engaged was alſo expired, or expiring; and it could not be anſwered how ſoon they might inſiſt upon returning home, nor whether ſuch an event would not totally break up the little army. It is ſaid, that the New-York men were too ſenſible of the climate, and did not ſhew the vigour or perſeverance of thoſe hardy New-Englanders who had traverſed the deſerts with Arnold.

In theſe circumſtances, Montgomery thought that ſomething deciſive muſt be immediately done, or that the benefit of his paſt ſucceſſes would, in a great degree, be loſt to the cauſe in which he was engaged, and his own renown, which now ſhone in great luſtre, be dimmed, if not obſcured. He knew the Americans would conſider Quebec as taken from the inſtant that they heard of his arrival before it. That the higher their expectations were raiſed, the more grievous the diſappointment would be in caſe of a failure. Their confidence of ſucceſs was founded upon the high opinion which they held of his courage and ability; to forfeit that opinion, was the worſt of all poſſible conſequences. Yet, to attempt the city by ſtorm, with a garriſon equal in number to the aſſailants, and the great natural ſtrength of the upper town to encounter, which is one of thoſe places that are uſually called impregnable, ſeemed an effort truly deſperate. But great minds are ſeldom good calculators of danger; and if the glory in view be great, do not minutely attend to the difficulties which lie in their way to that object. Indeed, the moſt illuſtrious military atchievements, in all ages, have owed their ſucceſs to a noble contempt of common forms, and common calculations. Fortune, in contempt of the pride of man, ever was, and ever will be, the great arbiter in war. Upon the whole, Montgomery, depending much upon fortune, and not a little upon the nature and diſpoſition of the garriſon, determined upon a deſperate attempt to carry the place by eſcalade.

Whilſt he was making the neceſſary preparations for this purpoſe, it is ſaid that the garriſon received intelligence of it by ſome deſerters, and that he perceived, by their motions, that they were not only acquainted with the general deſign, but with the particular mode of carrying it into execution, which they were accordingly preparing with the utmoſt vigour and order to oppoſe. This untoward circumſtance, rendered a total change in his original diſpoſitions neceſſary, and it is not impoſſible, that this diſarrangement had a conſiderable influence on the ſucceeding events. However that was, early in the morning, on the laſt day of the year 1775, and under the cover of a violent ſnow-ſtorm, he proceeded to this arduous attempt. He had diſpoſed of

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his little army in four diviſions, of which two carried on falſe attacks againſt the upper town, whilſt himſelf and Arnold conducted two real againſt oppoſite parts of the lower. By this means the alarm was general in both towns, and might have diſconcerted the moſt experienced troops: from the ſide of the river St. Lawrence, along the fortified front, and round to the Baſon, every part ſeemed equally threatened, if not equally in danger.

About five o'clock, Montgomery, at the head of the New York troops, advanced againſt the lower town, at Aunce de Mere, under Cape Diamond; but from ſome difficulties which intervened in his approach, the ſignal for engaging had been given, and the garriſon alarmed, before he could reach the place. He however preſſed on in a narrow file, upon a ſcanty path, with a precipice to the river on one ſide, and an hanging rock over him; ſeized and paſſed the firſt barrier, and accompanied by a few of his braveſt officers and men, marched boldly at the head of the detachment to attack the ſecond. This barricade was much ſtronger than the firſt. Several cannon were there planted, loaded with grape ſhot. From theſe, as well as from a well-directed and ſupported fire of muſquetry, an end was at once put to the hopes of this enterprizing officer, and to the fortune of his party in Canada. The General himſelf, with his Aid de Camp, ſome other officers, and moſt of thoſe who were near his perſon, fell upon the ſpot. The command devolved upon a Mr. Campbell, who immediately retired without any farther effort. Whether he yielded too eaſily to the firſt impreſſion, as the Americans aſſerted, it is impoſſible for thoſe who are not perfectly acquainted with all the particulars to determine.

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The garriſon now being recovered from their ſurprize, and their hands cleared in all other quarters, had time to attend to the ſituation of Arnold's diviſion, and to perceive the opportunity which was offered of cutting them off. Their ſituation was ſuch, that in attempting a retreat, they muſt paſs for a conſiderable way within fifty yards of the walls, expoſed to the whole fire of the garriſon. To render their fate inevitable, a conſiderable detachment, with ſeveral field

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The priſoners were treated with the greateſt humanity by General Carleton; a conduct, which the habitual military ſeverity of his temper, rendered the more honourable. All enmity to Montgomery expired with his life, and reſpect to his private character prevailed over all other conſiderations; his dead body received every poſſible mark of diſtinction from the victors, and was interred in Quebec with all the military honours due to a brave ſoldier. It appears by comparing different circumſtances previous and ſubſequent to this engagement, that the rebels, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, did not loſe fewer than half their number. A letter from Arnold, written ſoon after, ſtates their remaining force at only 700 men.

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our of the raw garriſon would have done credit to veterans. It afforded an inſtance, how far the conduct and example of a few brave and experienced officers might operate, in rendering the raweſt and worſt formed troops reſpectable. Indeed, the emulation ariſing between the different orders of men which compoſed the garriſon, probably converted an apparent weakneſs into a real ſtrength.

The beſiegers immediately quitted their camp, and retired about three miles from the city, where they ſtrengthened their quarters in the beſt manner they were able, being apprehenſive of a purſuit and attack from the garriſon. The latter, however, though now ſuperior in number, were unfit for a ſervice of that nature, and their able Governor, with a degree of wiſdom and ſobriety equal to his intrepidity and firmneſs, contented himſelf with the unexpected advantage and ſecurity he had gained, without hazarding the fate of the province, and perhaps of America, in any raſh enterprize. The city was now completely out of danger, and the great ſuccours which were expected, could not fail to relieve the whole province.

By the death of Montgomery, the command of the American army devolved upon Arnold, whoſe wound rendered him, for the preſent, unequal to ſo arduous a taſk. Their perſeverance was, however, aſtoniſhing in their circumſtances. They had loſt beſides their General, (in whom it might be ſaid all their hopes and confidence reſided) the beſt of their officers, and the braveſt of their fellows, with a part of their ſmall artillery. The hope of aſſiſtance was diſtant, and at beſt, the arrival of ſuccours muſt be ſlow. It was well known that the Canadians, beſides being naturally quick and fickle in their reſolutions, were peculiarly diſpoſed to be biaſſed by ſucceſs, ſo that their aſſiſtance now grew extremely precarious. The ſeverity of a Canada winter, was alſo far beyond any thing they were acquainted with, and the ſnow lay above four feet deep upon a level. In theſe circumſtances, it required no ſmall ſhare of activity, as well as addreſs, to keep them in any manner together. Arnold, who had hitherto diſplayed uncommon talents in his march into Canada, (which may be compared to the greateſt things done in that kind) diſcovered on this occaſion the utmoſt vigour of a determined mind, and a genius full of reſources. Defeated and wounded as he was, he put his troops into ſuch a ſituation as to keep them ſtill formidable. He diſpatched an expreſs to Wooſter, who was at Montreal, to bring ſuccours, and to aſſume the command; but as this could not be done immediately, he bore up with the force he had againſt the difficulties with which he was ſurrounded. From that time, the ſiege was for ſome months converted into a blockade, and Arnold found means effectually to obſtruct the arrival of any ſupplies of proviſions or neceſſaries in the town.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Virginia. Provincial Congreſs. Powder removed from the magazine at Williamſburg. Conſequences thereof. Aſſembly convened. Magazine rifled. Lord Dunmore retires on board a ſhip of war. Various tranſactions between the Governor and the Aſſembly. Report from the Committee of Enquiry. Refuſal of the Governor to go on ſhore to paſs the bills. Aſſembly will not attend him on board the Fowey, and put an end to their ſeſſion. Convention of Delegates held. Means uſed to arm the province. Declaration to juſtify their proceedings. Lord Dunmore repulſed in his attempt to deſtroy the town of Hampton. Proclamation for martial law, and the emancipation of the Negroes. Action near the Great Bridge. Connelly taken priſoner, and his ſcheme for raiſing the Indians and the Back Settlers, diſcovered and fruſtrated. Town of Norfolk reduced to aſhes by Lord Dunmore. Tranſactions in South and North Carolina. General Gage returns to England. Command of the army at Boſton devolves upon General Howe. Continental army before Boſton enliſt for a new term. Town of Falmouth cannonaded, and nearly deſtroyed. Law paſſed by the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſets Bay, for granting letters of marque and repriſal. Articles of confederation propoſed by the Continental Congreſs. Commercial reſolution, ſuſpending in certain caſes the prohibition with reſpect to exportation and importation. Declaration in anſwer to the royal proclamation of the 23d of Auguſt.

DURING theſe proceedings in Canada, a long courſe of jealouſy, diſtruſt, ſuſpicion, and altercation, between the Governor, and the major part of the governed, in the colony of Virginia, finally terminated in open hoſtility, and a ruinous, inteſtinal, and predatory war. Theſe unhappy effects proceeded (as is too frequently the caſe) from a cauſe apparently unimportant; but as the heat of controverſy nouriſhed the quarrel, ſo mutual diſtruſt and apprehenſion ſupplied the place of an object.

The people of that colony, as we have formerly ſhewn, had been at leaſt as forward as any other, in all the common acts, of ſending Delegates to the General Congreſs, acceding to its decrees, under whatever form or title they were iſſued, and in the inſtituting of committees, and the entering into aſſociations, among themſelves. They were alſo among the freeeſt in expreſſing their reſolutions, and the readieſt in ſhewing their determination, to ſupport, at all riſques and events, what they deemed, or termed, the rights of America. But in other reſpects, the greateſt order and quiet was preſerved in the province; and notwithſtanding the uneaſineſs excited by the prorogation or diſſolution of their aſſemblies, and the conſequent expiration of their militia laws, (which, in a country where a great majority of the people are in a ſtate of ſlavery, was a circumſtance of the moſt alarming nature, and which might have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences) yet with theſe cauſes of complaint, the people ſeemed to pay a more than

than common degree of attention and perſonal regard, to the Earl of Dunmore, their Governor.

In this ſtate of things, however, the want of a legal aſſembly, ſeeming to give ſome ſanction to the holding of a convention, a Provincial Congreſs was aſſembled in the month of March, 1775, who immediately (under the cover of an old law of the year 1738, which they ſaid to be ſtill effective) took meaſures for arraying the militia; but to ſupply in ſome degree thoſe defects in that law, to remedy which, as they pretended, all ſubſequent ones had been paſſed, they recommended to each county to raiſe a volunteer company, for the better defence and protection of the country.

This interference in the militia, probably alarmed the Governor, and ſeems to have been the cauſe, that rendered the public magazine belonging to the colony in the capital city of Williamſburg, an object of his apprehenſion. However that was, he ſoon afterwards employed the Captain of an armed veſſel, which lay at a few miles diſtance in James River, with a detachment of marines, to convey the powder, by night, from the magazine on board his ſhip.

Ap. 20, 1775.

Though this meaſure was conducted with great privacy, it was by ſome means diſcovered the enſuing morning, when the apparent ſecrecy, and ſeeming myſteriouſneſs of the act, increaſed the conſternation and alarm among the inhabitants, who immediately aſſembled with ſuch arms as they had at hand, with an intention of demanding, or, perhaps, obtaining, reſtitution of the gun-powder. The Mayor and corporation, however, prevented their proceeding to any extremities, whilſt they preſented an addreſs to the Governor, ſtating the injury, reclaiming the powder as a matter of right, and ſhewing the dangers to which they were peculiarly liable from the inſurrection of their ſlaves; a calamity, which had for ſome time been particularly apprehended, and which the removal of their only means of defence, would at any time have accelerated.

His Lordſhip acknowledged, that the gun-powder had been removed by his order; ſaid, that as he had heard of an inſurrection in a neighbouring county, and did not think it ſecure in the magazine, he had it conveyed to a place of perfect ſecurity; but gave his word, that whenever an inſurrection rendered it neceſſary, it ſhould be immediately returned. He alſo ſaid, that it had been removed in the night to prevent giving an alarm; expreſſed great ſurprize at the people's aſſembling in arms; and obſerved, that he could not think it prudent to put powder into their hands in ſuch a ſituation.

Whatever ſatisfaction this anſwer might have afforded to the magiſtrates, they prevailed on the people to retire quietly to their houſes, without any remarkable outrage, that we can learn, having been committed; indeed it appeared, from depoſitions afterwards taken by order of the aſſembly, that the officers of the men of war on that ſtation, and particularly the gentleman who might be ſuppoſed to have rendered himſelf obnoxious by removing the powder, appeared publicly in the ſtreets during the time of the greateſt

greateſt commotion, without their receiving the ſmalleſt inſult. A report being, however, ſpread in the evening, that detachments from the men of war were upon their march to the city, the people again took to their arms, and continued all night upon the watch, as if in expectation of an attack from an enemy. They alſo from this time increaſed their night patroles, and ſhewed an evident deſign to protect the magazine from any further attempts.

The whole value of the powder and arms in the magazine, or any purpoſe to which they were capable of being converted, either in the hands of friends or enemies, ſeemed very inadequate to the alarm, ſuſpicion, and diſturbance, which this meaſure excited. The quantity of powder removed amounted only to fifteen half barrels, containing fifty pounds each, of a very ordinary ſort, and the remaining ſtock left behind in the magazine, to about ſix of the ſame kind; neither does it appear that the number of ſerviceable muſkets was ſufficient to anſwer any eſſential purpoſe, or even to juſtify apprehenſion, and the caution of ſtripping theſe of their locks, only marked the ſuſpicion from which it proceeded. A conſiderable quantity of old arms, and common trading guns, were not meddled with. Upon the whole, this act derived its only importance, from time, manner, and circumſtance.

The Governor ſeems to have been exceedingly irritated at the behaviour of the people in theſe commotions, and perhaps reſented too highly, for ſuch times, their aſſembling in arms, not only without, but with an evident intention to oppoſe his authority. In this warmth of temper ſome threats were thrown out, which upon a cooler reflection would probably have been avoided. Among theſe, a threat of ſetting up the royal ſtandard, of enfranchizing the negroes, arming them againſt their maſters, and deſtroying the city, with other expreſſions of a ſimilar nature and tendency, not only ſpread a general alarm throughout the colony, but excited a kind of abhorrence of government, and an incurable ſuſpicion of its deſigns.

In the mean time, ſeveral public meetings were held in different counties, in all of which, the meaſure of ſeizing and removing the powder, as well as the Governor's threats, were reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms. Some of the gentlemen of Hanover, and other of the neighbouring counties, were not, however, ſatisfied with ſimple declarations. They aſſembled in arms to a conſiderable number, under the conduct of a Mr. Henry, who was one of the provincial Delegates to the General Congreſs, and marched towards Williamſburg, with an avowed deſign, not only to obtain reſtitution of the gun-powder, but to take ſuch effectual meaſures for ſecuring the public treaſury, as ſhould prevent its experiencing a ſimilar fate with the magazine. A negociation was, however, entered into with the magiſtrates, when they had arrived within a few miles of the city, in which it was finally ſettled, that the Receiver-General of the colony's ſecurity, for paying the value of the gun-powder, ſhould be accepted as reſtitution, and

that upon the inhabitants engaging for the future, effectually to guard both the treaſury and magazine, the inſurgents ſhould return to their habitations.

The alarm of this affair, induced Lady Dunmore, with the Governor's family, to retire on board the Fowey man of war in James River, whilſt his Lordſhip, with the aſſiſtance of a detachment of marines, converted his palace into a little garriſon, fortified it in the beſt manner he was able, and ſurrounded it with artillery. A proclamation from the Governor and Council, in which Henry and his followers were charged with rebellious practices, in extorting the value of the powder from the Receiver-General, and the preſent commotions were attributed to diſaffection in the people, and a deſire of changing the eſtabliſhed form of government, ſerved only to afford more room for altercation, and to increaſe the heat and diſcontent. Several county meetings were held, Henry's conduct vindicated and applauded, and reſolutions paſſed, that at the riſque of every thing dear, he and his followers ſhould be indemnified from all ſuffering, loſs, and injury, upon that account. The charge of diſaffection was peremptorily denied, and thoſe of changing the form of government, and cauſing the preſent troubles, retorted. They inſiſted, that they wanted nothing but to preſerve their ancient conſtitution, and only oppoſed innovations, and that all the diſturbances ſprung from the Governor's late conduct.

As there are times when all circumſtances ſeem to conſpire, towards the nouriſhment and increaſe of political, as well as natural, diſorders, ſo it appeared now in Virginia, every thing tending to one common center of diſtruſt, jealouſy, and diſcontent. The copies of ſome letters from the Governor to the Miniſter of the American department, were by ſome means procured, and public and ſevere cenſures paſſed upon them, as containing not only unfavourable, but unfair and unjuſt repreſentations, as well of facts, as of the temper and diſpoſition of the colony. Thus one diſtruſt begot another, until all confidence being totally loſt on both ſides, every falſe report that was circulated, was believed on either, and ſerved for its time to keep up the public fever.

In this ſtate of commotion and diſorder, upon the arrival of diſpatches from England, the General Aſſembl was ſuddenly and unexpectedly convened by the Governor. The grand motive for this meaſure, was to procure their approbation and acceptance of the terms, included in Lord North's conciliatory motion, and the parliamentary reſolutions founded thereupon. His Lordſhip, accordingly in his ſpeech, uſed his utmoſt addreſs to carry this favourite point; he ſtated the favourable diſpoſition of parliament, as well as of government, towards the colonies; the moderation, equity, and tenderneſs, which induced the preſent advances towards a happy reconciliation; he dwelt upon the juſtice of their contributing to the common defence, and bearing an equitable proportion of the public burthens, obſerved, that as no ſpecific ſum was demanded, they had an op- June 1ſt.

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portunity of giving a free ſcope to their juſtice and liberality, and that whatever they gave, would be a free gift, in the fulleſt ſenſe of the terms; that they would thus ſhew their reverence for parliament, and manifeſt their duty and attachment to the Sovereign; and the kindneſs with which it would be taken, that they met, on their ſide, the favourable diſpoſition ſhewn on the other, towards bringing the preſent unhappy diſputes to a period. He alſo took pains to convince them, from the proceedings and reſolutions of parliament, that a full redreſs of all their real grievances, would be the immediate conſequence of their compliance.

The firſt act of the aſſembly, was the appointment of a committee to enquire into the cauſes of the late diſturbances, and particularly to examine the ſtate of the magazine, that neceſſary meaſures might be accordingly taken for its repleniſhment. Though the magazine was the property of the colony, it was in the cuſtody of the Governor, who appointed a keeper, ſo that an application to him for admittance was neceſſary. During an altercation which aroſe upon this ſubject, and before the order for admittance was obtained, ſome people of the town and neighbourhood broke into the magazine, and carried off ſome of the arms; ſeveral members of the Houſe of Burgeſſes, however, uſed their perſonal intereſt and application in getting as many of them as they could, returned. It appeared by the report of the Committee, that they found moſt of the remainder of the powder buried in the magazine yard, where it had been depoſited by the Governor's orders, and ſuffered conſiderable damage from the rain; the depriving the muſkets of their locks was alſo now diſcovered, as well as the nakedneſs and inſufficiency of the magazine in all reſpects. Among other matters which ſerved to irritate the people, was the planting of ſpring-guns in the magazine, (without giving any public notice of ſuch a mode of ſecurity) and ſome effect they had taken at the time of the late depredations.

Whilſt the Governor's ſpeech, with the propoſitions which it recommended, were yet under the conſideration of the aſſembly, and before their addreſs was determined upon, his lordſhip, with his lady and family, quitted the palace privately, 8th. and ſuddenly, at night, and retired on board the Fowey man of war, which then lay near York town, on the river of the ſame name. He left a meſſage for the Houſe of Burgeſſes, acquainting them, that he thought it prudent to retire to a place of ſafety, as he was fully perſuaded, that both himſelf and his family were in conſtant danger of falling ſacrifices to the blind and unmeaſurable fury of the people; that ſo far from intending to interrupt their ſitting, he hoped they would ſucceſsfully proceed in the great buſineſs before them; that he would render the communication between him and the Houſe as eaſy and ſafe as poſſible; and that he thought it would be more agreeable to them to ſend ſome of their members to him as occaſion ſhould require, than to have the trouble of moving their whole body to a nearer place. He aſſured them, that he ſhould

attend as uſual to the duties of his office, and of his good diſpoſition to reſtore that harmony which had been ſo unhappily interrupted.

This meſſage produced a joint addreſs from the Council and Houſe of Burgeſſes; declaring their unbelief that any perſons in that province, could meditate ſo horrid and atrocious a crime as his lordſhip apprehended; lamenting that he had not acquainted them with the ground of his uneaſineſs before he had adopted this meaſure, as they would have uſed all poſſible means to have removed every cauſe of his diſquietude; they feared that his removal from the ſeat of government would be a means of increaſing the uneaſineſs which unhappily prevailed among the people; declared that they would chearfully concur in any meaſure which he ſhould propoſe for the ſecurity of himſelf and his family; obſerving how impracticable it would be to carry on the buſineſs of the ſeſſion with any degree of propriety and diſpatch, whilſt he was at ſuch a diſtance, and ſo inconveniently ſituated. They concluded by intreating his return, with his lady and family, to the palace, which would afford great public ſatisfaction, and be the likelieſt means of quieting the minds of the people.

10th. Lord Dunmore returned a written anſwer, in which he juſtified his apprehenſions of danger, from the public notoriety of the commotions among the people, as well as of the threats and menaces with which they were attended; beſides complaints of the general conduct and diſpoſition of the Houſe of Burgeſſes, he ſpecified ſeveral charges againſt that body; that they had countenanced the violent and diſorderly proceedings of the people, particularly with reſpect to the magazine, which was forced and rifled in the preſence of ſome of their members; that inſtead of the commitment of thoſe perſons who had been guilty of ſo daring and heinous an offence, they only endeavoured to procure a reſtitution of the arms. That the Houſe, or its Committee, had ventured upon a ſtep fraught with the moſt alarming conſequences, in appointing guards, without his approbation or conſent, under pretence of protecting the magazine, ſhewing thereby a deſign of uſurping the executive power, and of ſubverting the conſtitution.

He obſerved, that no means could be effectual for affording the ſecurity which they propoſed to concur in, but, by reinſtating him in the full powers of his office, by opening the courts of juſtice, and reſtoring the energy of the laws; by diſarming all independent companies, or other bodies of men, raiſed and acting in defiance of legal authority; by obliging the immediate return of the King's arms and ſtores; and by, what was not leſs eſſential than any other matter, their own example, and their endeavours to remove that general deluſion which kept the minds of the people in a continual ferment, and thereby to aboliſh that malice and ſpirit of perſecution, which now operated ſo dangerouſly againſt all thoſe, who from duty and affection to their King and country, oppoſed the preſent meaſures, and who from principle and conviction differed with the multitude in political opinion. That theſe were the means to afford

ford the ſecurity requiſite for all parties; and that, for the accompliſhment of thoſe ends, together with the great object and neceſſary buſineſs of the ſeſſion, he ſhould have no objection to their adjourning to the town of York, where he would meet them, and remain till the buſineſs was finiſhed.

He concluded by repreſenting, that unleſs they had a ſincere and active deſire of ſeizing the opportunity which was now offered by parliament, of eſtabliſhing the freedom of their country upon a fixed and known foundation, and of uniting themſelves with their fellow-ſubjects of Great Britain in one common bond of intereſt and mutual aſſiſtance, his return to Williamſburg would be as fruitleſs to the people, as it might poſſibly be dangerous to himſelf; but that if their proceedings manifeſted that happy diſpoſition, he would return with the greateſt joy, and conſider it as the moſt fortunate event of his life, if they gave him an opportunity to be an inſtrument of promoting their happineſs, and of being a ſucceſsful mediator between them and the ſupreme authority.

The mollifying terms of the concluſion, were by no means equal to the removal of the acrimony excited by thoſe ſevere charges and implications, which were contained in the foregoing parts of this long meſſage. It accordingly produced a reply of an uncommon length, under the form of an addreſs, which was fraught with all the bitterneſs of recrimination, as well as with defenſive arguments, and an examination of facts. The Houſe had now received the report of its Committee relative to the cauſes of the late diſturbances, backed by the depoſitions of a number of Britiſh merchants, who were reſident in different and remote parts of the colony, all whoſe teſtimony tended to ſhew the general tranquillity which prevailed previous to the late affair of the powder, and the Governor's declaration relative to the ſlaves, the latter of which, ſo far as it was believed, having particularly irritated the people; that notwithſtanding, quiet and order were ſoon every where reſtored, and ſtill continued; that there was a general acquieſcence every where in the determinations of the General and Provincial Congreſs; but they all concurred in believing, that the people had no deſign or wiſh of an independency on Great Britain; and ſome, that, on the contrary, they had a moſt eager deſire for ſuch a connection, as it ſtood before the late acts of parliament; they were unanimous in their opinion, that a redreſs of the grievances complained of, would eſtabliſh a perfect tranquillity, and produce a reconciliation with the parent ſtate.

To refute the charges or inſinuations of diſaffection and diſloyalty, the Houſe of Burgeſſes took a retroſpective view of the behaviour of the people, and of ſeveral tranſactions in the colony, for ſome years back; they ſtated the happineſs which they derived under the conduct of former Governors, as a ſtrong contraſt to their preſent ſituation; they attributed that happineſs, particularly in a very late inſtance, to the diſcountenancing of tale-bearers and malicious informers, to a proper examination of every ſubject, and the taking of nothing upon truſt; and, finally,

to the tranſmitting home a faithful repreſentation of things in the colony. They ſtated their former conduct and behaviour with reſpect to his Lordſhip, and obſerved, that changes ſeldom happened without ſome ſufficient cauſe; that reſpect was not to be obtained by force from a free people; that nothing was ſo likely to inſure it, as dignity of character, a candid and exemplary conduct. That they did not mean to inſinuate his Lordſhip would, deſignedly, miſrepreſent facts; but that it was much to be feared, he too eaſily gave credit to deſigning perſons, who, to the great injury of the community, poſſeſſed much too large a ſhare of his confidence.

They controverted the facts, and examined, with great ſeverity, the repreſentations and charges contained in thoſe two letters to the Earl of Dartmouth, which we have already taken notice of; theſe they repreſented as exceedingly injurious and unjuſt, as founded on miſconception, miſinformation, the height of colouring, the miſſtating, or the aſſumption of facts, without evidence. They then proceeded to juſtify the ſteps which had been taken with regard to the militia; their ſuppoſed countenance to the acts done concerning the magazine, and the other matters which firſt excited, and afterwards inflamed, the controverſy.

14th. The Houſe of Burgeſſes alſo preſented their addreſs in anſwer to the Governor's ſpeech, in which they entered into a long diſcuſſion of the propoſition contained in the parliamentary reſolution, founded upon Lord North's conciliatory motion. This they combated upon the ſame grounds, and with a variety of arguments of the ſame nature, that we have formerly ſtated; and they ultimately declared, that as it only changed the form of oppreſſion, without leſſening its burthen, they could not cloſe with its terms. They obſerved, however, that theſe were only offered as the ſentiments of an individual part of the whole empire; and for a final determination, they referred the affair to the General Congreſs, before whom they would lay the papers. To them alſo they referred the diſcovery of that proper mode of repreſenting their well-founded grievances, which his Lordſhip aſſured them, would meet with the attention and regard ſo juſtly due to them. For themſelves, they made the following declaration: "We have exhauſted every mode of application which our invention could ſuggeſt, as proper and promiſing. We have decently remonſtrated with parliament; they have added new injuries to the old. We have wearied our King with ſupplications; he has not deigned to anſwer us. We have appealed to the native honour and juſtice of the Britiſh nation; their efforts in our favour have been hitherto ineffectual."

In this ſtate of diſtruſt and ill humour on both ſides, every day afforded new ground for bickering, and every incident freſh room for altercation, ſo that there was a continued intercourſe, by addreſſes, meſſages, and anſwers, between the Houſe of Burgeſſes and the Fowey. This was a ſingular ſituation; an attempt to govern, without chooſing, or finding it ſafe, to ſet a foot on ſhore in the country to be governed.

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At length, the neceſſary bills having paſſed the aſſembly, and the advanced ſeaſon requiring their attendance in their ſeveral countries, the Council and Burgeſſes jointly intreated the Governor's preſence, to give his aſſent to them and finiſh the ſeſſion. They obſerved, that though the buſineſs had been greatly impeded by his abſence from the ſeat of government, and they had ſubmitted to the inconvenience of repeatedly ſending their members twelve miles to attend his Excellency on board a ſhip of war, they could not but think it highly improper, and too great a departure from the conſtitutional and accuſtomed mode of tranſacting their buſineſs, to preſent the bills to him at any other place than the capital.

Lord Dunmore in his anſwer was ſomewhat rough. He inſiſted upon his right of calling them to any place in the colony, where the exigence of affairs might render their attendance neceſſary. He further obſerved, that as he had not been made acquainted with the whole proceedings of the Aſſembly, he knew of no bills of importance, which, if he were inclined to riſque his perſon again among the people, they had to preſent to him, nor whether they were ſuch as he could aſſent to if they had.

To obviate theſe objections, though it was an unprecedented act, the Aſſembly ſent the bills, as well as other papers which were afterwards demanded, on board the Fowey, for his inſpection. The moſt intereſting of thoſe bills, ſeemingly to all parties, was that for the payment of the forces, who had lately, under his Lordſhip's command, ſuffered conſiderably, at the ſame time that they had done eſſential ſervice to their country, by their bravery and ſucceſs in the late Indian war. This bill was objected to by the Governor, for its impoſing a tax upon the importation of ſlaves, and for ſome informality in reſpect to the emiſſion of paper money. The other bills were approved of.

This produced the final addreſs from the Houſe of Burgeſſes, in which they intreated his Excellency, that he would meet them the enſuing day at Williamſburg, to paſs the bills that were ready; expreſſed their hopes, that he could not ſtill entertain any groundleſs fears of perſonal danger; but declared, that if it was poſſible he remained under ſo ſtrange an influence, they pledged their honours, and every thing ſacred, for his ſecurity. If nothing could prevail, they requeſted that he would grant a commiſſion for paſſing ſuch bills as he approved.

Lord Dunmore perſiſted in the objections he had made to the bill; ſaid that the well-grounded cauſe he had for believing his perſon not ſafe at Williamſburg, had increaſed daily. That he therefore could not meet them, as they requeſted, at the capital; but that he would be ready to receive the Houſe on the following Monday, at his preſent reſidence, for the purpoſe of giving his aſſent to ſuch acts as he ſhould approve of.

This anſwer put an end to all public correſpondence and buſineſs between the Governor and colony. The tranſferring the Legiſlative Council and Houſe of Repreſentatives of a great country on board a man of war, was evidently not to be expected. Their danger in ſuch a ſitua-

a ſituation, if on other accounts it were poſſible they could put themſelves into it, was no leſs than Lord Dunmore's could be on land. It may, however, be ſuppoſed, that the Governor's conduct was operated upon by cauſes, or influenced by motives, with which we are unacquainted.

Upon receiving the foregoing anſwer, the Burgeſſes paſſed reſolutions, in which they declared, that the meſſage requiring them to attend the Governor on board a ſhip of war, was a high breach of their rights and privileges. That the unreaſonable delays thrown into their proceedings, and the evaſive anſwers to their ſincere and decent addreſſes, gave them reaſon to fear that a dangerous attack was meditated againſt the unhappy people of that colony, and it was therefore their opinion, that they ſhould prepare for the preſervation of their property, and their ineſtimable rights and liberties. And then, ſtrongly profeſſing loyalty to the King, and amity to the mother country, they broke up their ſeſſion.

Thus, unhappily, was an end put, for the preſent, to the Engliſh government in the colony of Virginia. A convention of delegates was ſoon appointed to ſupply the place of the aſſembly, who having an unlimited confidence repoſed in them by the people, became accordingly poſſeſſed of an unlimited power in all public affairs. Theſe immediately took in hand the raiſing and embodying of an armed force, as well as the providing means for its ſupport, and purſued every other meaſure which could tend to place the colony in a ſtrong ſtate of defence. Whilſt they were purſuing theſe dangerous ſteps, they publiſhed a declaration in juſtification of their conduct, tracing the meaſures that led to the preſent unhappy ſtate of public affairs, ſetting forth the cauſe of their meeting, and ſhewing the neceſſity of immediately putting the country in a poſture of defence, for the protection of their lives, liberties, and properties. They concluded as the aſſembly had done, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of faith and loyalty, and declared, that as, on the one hand, they were determined at the peril of the extremeſt hazards, to maintain their juſt rights and privileges, ſo on the other, it was their fixed and unalterable reſolution, to diſband ſuch forces as were raiſed for the defence of the colony, whenever their dangers were removed, and America reſtored to its former ſtate of tranquillity and happineſs.

July 18th.

Whether Lord Dunmore expected that any extraordinary advantages might be derived from an inſurrection of the ſlaves, or that he imagined there was a much greater number of people in the colony, who were ſatisfied with the preſent ſyſtem of government, than really was the caſe, (a miſtake, and an unfortunate one, which like an epidemical diſtemper, ſeems to have ſpread through all our official departments in America) upon whatever grounds he proceeded, he determined, though he relinquiſhed his government, not to abandon his hopes, nor entirely to loſe ſight of the country which he had governed. He accordingly, being joined by thoſe friends of government, who had rendered themſelves too obnoxious to the people

people to continue with ſafety in the country, as well as by a number of runaway negroes, and ſupported by the frigates of war which were upon the ſtation, endeavoured to eſtabliſh ſuch a marine force, as would enable him, by means of the noble rivers, which render the moſt valuable parts of that rich country acceſſible by water, to be always at hand, and ready to profit, of any favourable occaſion that offered.

Upon this, or ſome ſimilar ſyſtem, he by degrees equipped and armed a number of veſſels of different kinds and ſizes, in one of which he conſtantly reſided, never ſetting his foot on ſhore but in a hoſtile manner; the force thus put together, was, however, calculated only for depredation, and never became equal to any eſſential ſervice. The former, indeed, was in part a matter of neceſſity, for as the people on ſhore would not ſupply thoſe on board with proviſions or neceſſaries, they muſt either ſtarve, or provide them by force. The Virginians pretend, that while the depredations were confined to thoſe neceſſary objects, the reſpect which they bore to the rank and office of their governor, prevented his meeting with any reſiſtance; but their nature was ſoon changed into open and avowed hoſtility. Obnoxious perſons, they ſaid, were ſeized and carried on board the ſhips; plantations ravaged and deſtroyed; the negroes carried off; houſes burnt, and at length lives loſt on both ſides. In one of theſe expeditions, his Lordſhip deſtroyed a number of iron cannon, and carried off ſome others, which he ſuppoſed were provided for the purpoſes of rebellion, though the Virginians aſſert they were ſhip guns. Theſe proceedings occaſioned the ſending of ſome detachments of the new-raiſed forces to protect the coaſts, and from thence enſued, a ſmall, miſchievous, predatory war, incapable of affording honour or benefit, and in which, at length, every drop of water, and every neceſſary, was purchaſed at the price or the riſque of blood.

During this ſtate of hoſtility, he procured a few ſoldiers from different parts, with whoſe aſſiſtance, an Oct. 25th. attempt was made to burn a port-town, in an important ſituation, called Hampton. It ſeems the inhabitants had ſome previous ſuſpicion of the deſign, for they had ſunk boats in the entrance of the harbour, and thrown ſuch other obſtacles in the way, as rendered the approach of the ſhips, and conſequently a landing, impracticable on the day in which the attack was commenced. The ſhips cut a paſſage through the boats in the night, and began to canonade the town furiouſly in the morning; but at this critical period, they were relieved from their apprehenſions and danger, by the arrival of a detachment of rifle and minute men, from Williamſburg, who had marched all night to their aſſiſtance. Theſe, joined with the inhabitants, attacked the ſhips ſo vigorouſly with their ſmall arms, that they were obliged precipitately to quit their ſtation, with the loſs of ſome men, and of a tender which was taken.

In conſequence of this repulſe, a proclamation was iſſued by the Governor, dated on board the ſhip William, off Norfolk, declaring, that as the civil law was at preſent inſufficient Nov. 7th.

to

to prevent and puniſh treaſon and traitors, martial law ſhould take place, and be executed throughout the colony; and requiring all perſons capable of bearing arms to repair to his Majeſty's ſtandard, or to be conſidered as traitors. He alſo declared all indented ſervants, negroes, or others, appertaining to rebels, who were able and willing to bear arms, and who joined his Majeſty's forces, to be free.

This meaſure of emancipating the negroes, excited leſs ſurprize, and probably had leſs effect in exciting the deſired inſurrection, from its being ſo long threatened and apprehended, than if it had been more immediate and unexpected. It was, however, received with the greateſt horror in all the colonies, and has been ſeverely condemned elſewhere, as tending to looſen the bands of ſociety, to deſtroy domeſtic ſecurity, and encourage the moſt barbarous of mankind, to the commiſſion of the moſt horrible crimes, and the moſt inhuman cruelties; that it was confounding the innocent with the guilty, and expoſing thoſe who were the beſt friends to government, to the ſame loſs of property, danger, and deſtruction, with the moſt incorrigible rebels. It was ſaid to eſtabliſh a precedent of a moſt dangerous nature in the new world, by giving a legal ſanction to the arraying and embodying of African negroes, to appear in arms againſt white men, and to encounter them upon an equal footing in the field; for however founded diſtinctions with reſpect to colour may appear, when examined by the teſts of nature, reaſon, or philoſophy, while things continue in their preſent ſtate, while commerce, luxury, and avarice, render ſlavery a principal object in the political ſyſtem of every European power that poſſeſſes dominion in America, the idea of a pre-eminence muſt always be cheriſhed, and conſidered as a neceſſary policy. This meaſure is perhaps liable to be charged with another political fault, which has attended too many others that have been lately adopted with reſpect to America, viz. that of violent irritation, without affording any adequate benefit.

The proclamation, however, with Lord Dunmore's preſence, and the encouragement of the ſmall marine force he had with him, produced, for the preſent, ſome effect in the town of Norfolk, and the adjoining country, where many of the people were well affected to government. He was accordingly joined by ſome hundreds both of blacks and whites, and many others, who did not chuſe to take an active part, publicly abjured the Congreſs, with all its acts, and all conventions and committees, whatever. It is probable that Lord Dunmore now hoped, that the facility and good diſpoſition which he experienced here, would have been ſo general, as to enable him to raiſe a conſiderable armed force, and thus, perhaps, without any foreign aſſiſtance, to have the glory of reducing one part of the province by the means of the other.

This pleaſing hope was interrupted by intelligence, that a party of the rebels were marching towards them with great expedition. To obſtruct their deſigns, and protect the well-affected, he took poſſeſſion of a poſt called the Great-Bridge, which lay at ſome miles diſtance from Norfolk, and was a paſs

paſs of great conſequence, being the only way by which they could approach to that town. Here he conſtructed a fort on the Norfolk ſide of the bridge, which he furniſhed well with artillery, and rendered as defenſible as the time would admit. Notwithſtanding the loyalty of the people in this quarter, which included two ſmall counties, it does not appear that his force was at all conſiderable, either as to number or quality; he had indeed about 200 regulars, including the grenadiers of the 14th regiment, and a body called the Norfolk volunteers; the reſt were a motley mixture of blacks and whites. The enemy, under the command of a Colonel Woodford, fortified themſelves alſo, within leſs than cannon ſhot of our people; they had a narrow cauſeway in their front, which muſt be paſſed to come at their works, ſo that both parties ſeemed pretty well ſecured from ſurprize.

In this ſtate they continued quiet on both ſides for ſome days, until at length a deſign was formed, of ſurprizing the rebels in their entrenchments. This was undertaken before day-light. Capt. Fordyce, at the head of his grenadiers, amounting to about ſixty, led the attack. They boldly paſſed the cauſeway, and marched up to the entrenchments with fixed bayonets, and with a coolneſs and intrepidity, which firſt excited the aſtoniſhment, and afterwards the praiſe of their enemies; for they were not only expoſed naked to the fire in front, but enfiladed by another part of the works. The brave Captain, with ſeveral of his men, fell; the Lieutenant, with others, were taken, and all the ſurvivors of the grenadier company, whether priſoners or not, were wounded.

Dec. 9th.

The fire of the artillery from the fort, enabled our people to retire without purſuit, as well as to carry off many of their dead and wounded. It will excite no great ſurprize, that the ſlaves in this engagement, did more prejudice to our own people, than to the enemy. It has been ſaid, that we were led into this unfortunate affair, through the deſigned falſe intelligence of a pretended deſerter, who was tutored for the purpoſe: however that may be, it was grievous, that ſuch uncommon bravery ſhould be ſquandered to no purpoſe. Capt. Fordyce was interred with every military honour by the victors, who ſhewed due reſpect to his former merit, as well as to the gallantry which ſignalized his laſt moments. The Engliſh priſoners were treated with great kindneſs; the Americans who had joined the king's ſtandard, with equal rigour.

The King's forces retired from the poſt at the Great-Bridge the enſuing night, without any other loſs than a few pieces of cannon, and ſome trifling ſtores which they left behind; and as all hopes in this quarter were now at an end, Lord Dunmore thought it neceſſary to abandon the town and neighbourhood of Norfolk, and retired again with his people on board the ſhips, which were conſiderably increaſed in number, by thoſe which they found in that port. Many of the well-affected, (or Tories, which was the appellation now given to them throughout America) thought it prudent, with their families, to ſeek the ſame aſylum, whither they alſo carried the

the moſt portable and valuable of their effects. Thus his Lordſhip formed a conſiderable fleet, with reſpect to the number of veſſels and tonnage, and theſe were alſo crouded with people; but the ſhips were without force, and contained mouths without hands fit to navigate them. The rebels took poſſeſſion of Norfolk, and the fleet moved to a greater diſtance.

During theſe tranſactions a ſcheme had been in agitation, for raiſing a conſiderable force at the back of the colonies, particularly in Virginia and the Carolinas, where it was known there were many well affected to the King's government; it was hoped that ſome of the Indian nations might be induced to become parties in this deſign; and that thus united, they not only would make ſuch a diverſion, as muſt greatly alarm and diſtreſs the rebels, but that they might penetrate ſo far towards the coaſts, as to form a junction with Lord Dunmore. One Connelly, a native of Penſylvania, an active enterprizing man, who ſeems to have been well calculated for ſuch an undertaking, was the framer of this deſign; and his project being approved by Lord Dunmore, he with great difficulty and danger carried on a negociation with the Ohio Indians, and his friends among the back ſettlers, upon the ſubject. This having ſucceeded to his ſatisfaction, he returned to Lord Dunmore, who ſent him with the neceſſary credentials to Boſton, where he received a commiſſion from General Gage, to act as colonel commandant, with aſſurances of ſupport and aſſiſtance, at the time and in the manner appointed. It was intended, that the garriſons which we had at Detroit, and ſome other of the remote back forts, with their artillery and ammunition, ſhould be ſubſervient to this deſign, and the adventurer expected to draw ſome aſſiſtance, at leaſt, of volunteers and officers, from the neareſt parts of Canada. He was to grant all commiſſions to the officers, and to have the ſupreme direction in every thing of the new forces, and as ſoon as they were in ſufficient condition, he was to penetrate through Virginia in ſuch a manner, as to meet Lord Dunmore, at a given time in the month of April, in the vicinity of Alexandria, upon the river Potowmac, who was to bring ſuch a naval force, and other aſſiſtance, as was deemed neceſſary for the purpoſe. It was alſo a part, and not the leaſt comprehenſive of this plan, to cut off the communication between the northern and ſouthern colonies.

Thus far, affairs ſeemed to look well with our adventurer; but on his road through Maryland to the ſcene of action, and when he was ſo far advanced that the worſt ſeemed nearly over, the vigilance, or ſuſpicious temper of one of the committees, unfortunately fruſtrated all his hopes. Being taken up on ſuſpicion, with two of his aſſociates who travelled along with him, his papers betrayed every thing; among theſe was the general ſcheme of the deſign, a letter from Lord Dunmore to one of the Indian chiefs, with ſuch other authentic vouchers, as left nothing to be doubted. The papers were publiſhed by the Congreſs, and the undertakers ſent to priſon.

As it does not appear that the loyaliſts

loyaliſts were very lenient to thoſe who differed with them in political opinions, during the ſhort time of their ſuperiority in the country adjoining to Norfolk, ſo now, upon the turn of affairs, the obtaining a plauſible ſhew of juſtice, under the colour of retaliation, afforded ſuch a favourable opportunity for the practice of ſeverity, and the gratification of private pique, and natural malignity, on the other ſide, as is never known to be neglected by any party in ſimilar circumſtances. For though many had taken ſhelter on board the ſhips, a much greater number remained behind, ſome being willing to hazard ſome danger, rather than abandon their property; others hoping that their conduct, from its moderation, would bear enquiry; and the majority, from their having no proſpect of ſubſiſtance if they quitted home, and an expectation that their obſcurity would ſave them from notice. To conclude, ſuch charges of oppreſſion, injuſtice, and cruelty, were made on both ſides, as are uſually done in ſuch caſes.

In the mean time, the people in the fleet were diſtreſſed for proviſions and neceſſaries of every ſort, and were cut off from every kind of ſuccour from the ſhore. This occaſioned conſtant bickering between the armed ſhips and boats, and the forces that were ſtationed on the coaſt, particularly at Norfolk. At length, upon the arrival of the Liverpool man of war from England, a flag was ſent on ſhore, to put the queſtion, whether they would ſupply his Majeſty's ſhips with proviſions, which being anſwered in the negative, and the ſhips in the harbour being continually annoyed by the fire of the rebels, from that part of the town which lay next the water, it was determined to diſlodge them by deſtroying it. Previous notice being accordingly given to the inhabitants, that they might remove from the danger, the firſt day of the new year was ſignalized by the attack, when a violent cannonade, from the Liverpool frigate, two ſloops of war, and the Governor's armed ſhip the Dunmore, ſeconded by parties of the ſailors and marines, who landed and ſet fire to the neareſt houſes, ſoon produced the deſired effect, and the whole town was reduced to aſhes.

It appears from a gazette publiſhed in the Governor's ſhip, (who had removed the printing preſs and materials thither from Norfolk) that it was only intended to deſtroy that part of the town which was next the water; but that the rebels compleated the deſtruction, by ſetting fire to the back and remote ſtreets, which, as the wind was in their favour, would have otherwiſe been ſafe from the fury of the flames. It is not, however, eaſy to preſcribe limits to the progreſs of a fire in ſuch, or indeed in any circumſtances. A few of thoſe who landed, as well as of the rebels, were killed and wounded.

Such was the fate of the unfortunate town of Norfolk, the moſt conſiderable for commerce in the colony, and ſo growing and flouriſhing before theſe unhappy troubles, that in the two years from 1773 to 1775, the rents of the houſes increaſed from 8000 to 10000 pounds a year. The whole loſs is eſtimated at above 300,000l. However juſt the cauſe, or urgent the neceſſity, which induced this meaſure,

meaſure, it was undoubtedly a grievous and odious taſk to a governor, to be himſelf a principal actor, in burning and deſtroying the beſt town in his government. The rebels, after this tranſaction, to cut off every reſource from the ſhips, and partly perhaps to puniſh the well-affected, burnt and deſtroyed the houſes and plantations within reach of the water, and obliged the people to remove, with their cattle, proviſions, and portable effects, farther into the country.

Nor was the ſituation of other governors in America, much more eligible than that of Lord Dunmore. In South-Carolina, Lord William Campbell, having, as they ſaid, entered into a negociation with the Indians, for coming in to the ſupport of government in that province, and having alſo ſucceeded in exciting a number of thoſe back ſettlers, whom we have heretofore ſeen diſtinguiſhed in the Carolinas, under the title of Regulators, to eſpouſe the ſame cauſe, the diſcovery of theſe meaſures, before they were ſufficiently ripe for execution, occaſioned ſuch a ferment among the people, that he thought it neceſſary to retire from Charles-Town on board a ſhip of war in the river, from whence he returned no more to the ſeat of his government. In the mean time a Mr. Drayton, who was judge of the ſuperior court, and one of the moſt leading men in the colony, marched with a ſtrong armed force to the back ſettlements, where a treaty was concluded between him and the leaders of the Regulators, in which the differences between them were attributed to miſinformation, a miſunderſtanding of each others views and deſigns, and a tenderneſs of conſcience on the ſide of the latter, which prevented their ſigning the aſſociations, or purſuing any meaſures againſt government; but as they now engaged, neither by word nor act to impede or contravene ſuch proceedings as ſhould be adopted and purſued by the province in general, nor to give any information, aid, or aſſiſtance, to ſuch Britiſh troops as ſhould at any time arrive in it, ſo they were to be entirely free in their conduct otherwiſe, to enjoy a ſafe neutrality, and to ſuffer no moleſtation, for their not taking an active part in the preſent troubles.

The government of the province was lodged in a council of ſafety conſiſting of 13 perſons, with the occaſional aſſiſtance of a committee of ninety-nine. As they had intelligence that an armament was preparing in England, which was particularly intended againſt it, no means were left untried for its defence, in diſciplining the forces, procuring arms and gun-powder, and particularly in fortifying and ſecuring Charles-Town.

Similar meaſures were purſued in North-Carolina, (with the difference that Governor Martin was more active and vigorous in his proceedings) but was attended with as little ſucceſs. The Provincial Congreſs, Committees, and Governor were in a continued ſtate of the moſt violent warfare. Upon a number of charges, particularly of fomenting a civil war, and exciting an inſurrection among the negroes, he was declared an enemy to America in general, and to that colony in particular, and all perſons forbidden from holding any

communication with him. Theſe declarations he anſwered with a proclamation of uncommon length, which the Provincial Congreſs reſolved to be a falſe, ſcandalous, ſcurrilous, malicious, and ſeditious libel, and ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

As the Governor expected by means of the back ſettlers, as well as of the Scotch inhabitants and highland emigrants, who were numerous in the province, to be able to raiſe a conſiderable force, he took pains to fortify and arm his palace at Newbern, that it might anſwer the double purpoſe of a garriſon and magazine. Before this could be effected, the moving of ſome cannon excited ſuch a commotion among the people, that he found it neceſſary to abandon the palace, and retire on board a ſloop of war in Cape Fear river. The people upon this occaſion, diſcovered powder, ſhot, ball, and various military ſtores and implements, which had been buried in the palace garden and yard; this ſerved to inflame them exceedingly, every man conſidering it as if it had been a plot againſt himſelf in particular.

In other reſpects, the province had followed the example of their neighbours in South-Carolina, by eſtabliſhing a council and committees of ſafety, with other ſubſtitutes for a regular and permanent government. They alſo purſued the ſame methods of providing for defence, of raiſing, arming and ſupporting forces, and of training the militia, and ſhewed equal vigour and eagerneſs in all their proceedings. The Provincial Congreſs publiſhed an addreſs to the inhabitants of the Britiſh empire, of the ſame nature with thoſe we have formerly ſeen to the people of Great-Britain and Ireland, containing the ſame profeſſions of loyalty and affection, and declaring the ſame earneſt deſire of a reconciliation.

General Gage having returned in the beginning of October to England, the command in chief of the army at Boſton, devolved upon General Howe, who ſoon after iſſued a proclamation, by which, ſuch of the inhabitants as attempted to quit the town without licence, were condemned to military execution, if detected and taken, and if they eſcaped, to be proceeded againſt as traitors, by the forfeiture of their effects. By another, ſuch as obtained permiſſion to quit the town, were reſtrained by ſevere penalties, from carrying more than a ſmall ſpecified ſum of money with them. He alſo enjoined the ſigning and entering into an aſſociation, by which the remaining inhabitants offered their perſons for the defence of the town, and ſuch of them as he approved of, were to be armed, formed into companies, and inſtructed in military exerciſes and diſcipline, the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money towards the common defence.

As the limited term, for which the ſoldiers in the army before Boſton had enliſted, was nearly expired, a committee from the General Congreſs, conſiſting of ſeveral of its moſt reſpectable members, were ſent thither, to take the neceſſary meaſures, in conjunction with Gen. Waſhington, for keeping it from diſbanding. This, however, does not ſeem to have

been a work of any great difficulty, the whole army having re-enliſted for a year certain to come. Of all the difficulties which the Americans met, in their attempts towards the eſtabliſhment of a military force, nothing affected them ſo grievouſly, or was found ſo hard to be remedied, as the want of gunpowder. For though they uſed the utmoſt diligence in the collecting and preparing of nitre, and in all the other parts of the manufacture, the reſource from their induſtry in that reſpect, muſt neceſſarily be ſlow, and with regard to any conſiderable effect, diſtant. Nor had they yet opened that commerce, nor entered into thoſe meaſures with foreign ſtates, which have ſince procured them a ſupply of military articles. Indeed the ſcarcity of powder was ſo great, that it is ſaid the troops at Bunker's-Hill, had not a ſingle charge left at the end of that ſhort engagement: and it is alſo ſaid, that the weakneſs of the army before Boſton in that reſpect, was at one time ſo great, that nothing but our ignorance of the circumſtance, could have ſaved them from being diſperſed and ruined. They, however, left nothing undone to ſupply this defect, and among other temporary expedients, had contrived to purchaſe, without notice or ſuſpicion, all the powder upon the coaſt of Africa, and plundered the magazine in the iſland of Bermuda, of above 100 barrels, which was carried off (as it was pretended) without the knowledge of the inhabitants.

In the courſe of the depredation, threat, and hoſtility, which continually occurred on the ſea-coaſts, the town of Falmouth, in the northern part of the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, was doomed to experience Oct. 18th. a ſhare of thoſe calamities, which were afterwards diſpenſed in a greater degree to Norfolk in Virginia. Some particular violence or miſbehaviour, relative to the loading of a maſt ſhip, drew the indignation of the Admiral upon this place, and occaſioned an order for its deſtruction. The officer who commanded the ſhips upon this occaſion, gave two hours previous notice to the inhabitants to provide for their ſafety, and this time was further enlarged till the next morning, under the cover of a negociation for delivering up their artillery and ſmall arms, at the price of ſaving the town. This, however, they at length refuſed to comply with; but had made uſe of the intermediate time in removing ſo many of their effects as they could procure carriages for, or as the darkneſs and confuſion of the night would admit of.

About 9 o'clock in the morning, a canonade was begun, and continued with little intermiſſion through the day. Above 3000 ſhot, beſides bombs and carcaſſes, were thrown into the town, and the ſailors landed to compleat the deſtruction, but were repulſed with the loſs of a few men. The principal part of the town, (which lay next the water) conſiſting of about 130 dwelling houſes, 278 ſtores and warehouſes, with a large new church, a new handſome court-houſe, the old town-houſe, with the public library, were reduced to aſhes; about 100 of the worſt houſes, being favoured by the ſituation and diſtance, eſcaped deſtruction, though not without damage.

Though the ſettlements in this quarter were new, being moſtly eſtabliſhed ſince the laſt war, this ſmall town was amazingly thriving, being ſituated on a fine harbour, and having a very conſiderable trade, ſo that it was computed to contain about 660 families, though little more than one third of that number of dwelling-houſes.

The deſtruction which fell upon Falmouth, probably accelerated in the aſſembly of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, the daring meaſure (under the pretence of protecting their coaſts) of paſſing an act, for granting letters of marque and repriſal, and the eſtabliſhment of courts of admiralty, for the trial and condemnation of Britiſh ſhips. In this law they declared an intention, of only defending the coaſts and navigation of America, extending the power of capture only to ſuch ſhips as ſhould be employed in bringing ſupplies to the armies employed againſt them.

Nov. 13th.

In the courſe of the ſummer, articles of confederation and perpetual union, between the ſeveral colonies which were already aſſociated, with liberty of admiſſion to thoſe of Quebec, St. John's, Nova-Scotia, the two Floridas, and Bermudas, containing rules for their general government in peace and war, both with reſpect to foreigners and each other, were drawn up by the General Congreſs, and by them tranſmitted to the different colonies, for the inſpection and conſideration of their reſpective aſſemblies. If theſe articles met with their approbation, they were to empower their delegates in the enſuing general congreſs, to ratify and confirm them; and from that time, the union which they eſtabliſhed was to continue firm, until, beſides a redreſs of their grievances, reparation was made for the loſſes ſuſtained by Boſton, for the burning of Charles-Town, for the expences of the war, and until the Britiſh troops were withdrawn from America. When thoſe events took place, the colonies were to return to their former connections and friendſhip with Great-Britain; but on failure thereof, the confederation to be perpetual.

The people, however, were not yet ſufficiently irritated, nor their affections and prejudices ſufficiently broken, to accede to a confederacy, which, though conditionally framed and worded, yet led to a total ſeparation from the mother country. For though they took up arms and oppoſed government, ſtill, it was, in general, under the hope of obtaining thereby a redreſs of grievances; and that being the nearer and more agreeable object, they would not willingly look to any thing further, eſpecially to one ſo dreadful as a total ſeparation. It required a longer time in the contemplation of real or ſuppoſed injuries, and in ſpeculations upon future, together with freſh and conſtant ſources of irritation, to arrive at that habit of vexation and hatred, which was neceſſary to break ties of ſo long a ſtanding, and to familiarize ſo new an idea.

A reſolution was alſo paſſed by the Congreſs at the appearance of autumn, that as America was bleſſed with a moſt plentiful harveſt, and ſhould have a great ſuperfluity to ſpare for other nations, ſo, if the late reſtraining laws were not repealed, within ſix months from the 20th of July, on which they commenced,

menced, the cuſtom-houſes ſhould be every where ſhut up, and their ports from thenceforth be open to every ſtate in Europe, (which would admit and protect their commerce) free of all duties, and for every kind of commodity, excepting, only, teas, and the merchandize of Great-Britain, and her dependencies. And the more to encourage foreigners to engage in trade with them, they paſſed a reſolution, that they would, to the utmoſt of their power, maintain and ſupport ſuch freedom of commerce for two years certain after its commencement, notwithſtanding any reconciliation with Great-Britain, and as much longer as the preſent obnoxious laws ſhould continue.—They alſo, immediately, ſuſpended the non-importation agreement, in favour of all ſhips that ſhould bring gunpowder, nitre, ſulphur, good muſkets fitted with bayonets, or braſs field pieces, ſuch ſhips being to be loaded in return with the full value of their cargoes.

Dec. 6th. Towards the cloſe of the year, the General Congreſs publiſhed a declaration, in anſwer to the royal proclamation for ſuppreſſing rebellion and ſedition, which was iſſued at St. James's on the 23d of Auguſt. In this piece they combated and denied the charges of forgetting their allegiance, of treaſon, and rebellion, and took particular notice of the dangerous tendency, and indiſcriminate nature of a clauſe, prohibiting under the ſevereſt penalties, the carrying on of any correſpondence from England, with any perſons in rebellion, or the aiding or abetting of ſuch. But not content with critical obſervations, they conclude with a declaration in the name of the people of the united colonies, That whatever puniſhment ſhall be inflicted upon any perſons in the power of their enemies, for favouring, aiding, or abetting, the cauſe of American liberty, ſhould be retaliated in the ſame kind and the ſame degree, upon thoſe in their power, who have favoured, aided, or abetted, or ſhould favour, aid, or abet, the ſyſtem of miniſterial oppreſſion.

CHAP. III.

State of affairs previous to the meeting of parliament. City public tranſactions. Letter from New-York. Addreſſes from the guild of merchants in Dublin, to Lord Effingham, and to the proteſting peers. Reſolutions of the ſheriffs and commons of the city of Dublin. Riot of the ſailors at Liverpoole. Petition from the American Congreſs, preſented by Mr. Penn. Addreſſes. State of parties. Ancient animoſities revived. Petitions. Newfoundland. Negociations for foreign troops. Great ſupplies of proviſions ſent for the ſupport of the army in Boſton. Vaſt expences of that ſervice. Reports circulated for ſome time before the opening of the ſeſſion. Conſpiracy. Mr. Sayre ſent to the Tower.

ADMINISTRATION was now ſo cloſely entwined in the preſent American ſyſtem, that there was ſcarcely a poſſibility of overthrowing the one, without involving the other in its fall; whilſt that

that ſyſtem was, itſelf, ſo firmly ſupported, that nothing leſs than ſome violent and extraordinary convulſion, ſeemed even capable of ſhaking it. Yet, notwithſtanding this pledge of ſecurity, the miniſters could not but feel great uneaſineſs, at the accounts that were daily received from the colonies during the receſs of parliament.

For though oppoſition were not very ſtrong in number, they were as quick in diſcovering faults and errors, as they were indefatigable in expoſing them, and in tracing effects up through the labyrinth of their cauſes. In truth, affairs had run ſo counter in America, and every meaſure had produced an effect ſo directly contrary to what was propoſed or expected, that it was not eaſy to ſet a good face upon the matter, either to the parliament, or to the nation.

It is true that many former miniſterial incumbrances, had been rubbed off by the calling of a new parliament; all engagements with the old, all promiſes and miſtakes, being thereby at one daſh obliterated. But a new and heavy ſcore had already been run up, in the ſingle ſeſſion which had elapſed of the preſent parliament. The reſtraining bills, paſſed by this, were to have affixed a ſeal to all the acts of its predeceſſors. The general diſtreſs ariſing from a general puniſhment in the colonies, would, it was hoped, render the majority, the avengers of government, and the puniſhers of the incorrigible. The conciliatory reſolution, independent of every thing elſe, in its double capacity of converting and dividing, was ſuppoſed well adapted to accompliſh all that was wanted. To theſe, however, was added an army, ſufficient, as the ſanguine thought, to look America into ſubjection, without the trouble of a blow. And to crown the whole, a naval force, which would in itſelf be nearly equal to the purpoſe.

Each of theſe muſt become a ſubject of animadverſion, and it would not be eaſy in ſome, to ward againſt the charges of miſinformation, ignorance, miſconception, or incapacity, which would aſſuredly attend them. In particular, the queſtions reſpecting the war, muſt be exceedingly embarraſſing. Since extremities were determined upon, why was not a ſufficient force ſent in time, to run down or prevent all oppoſition? Why has ſuch a courſe of irritation and threat been carried on for ſeveral years, as to give the people warning of their danger, and time to throw themſelves into their preſent ſtrong ſtate of defence? If it now appears that five times the number are ſcarcely adequate to the ſervice, How could the miniſter have been ſo totally ignorant and miſinformed, as to ſuppoſe that 10,000 men could ſubdue America without bloodſhed?

Theſe and many other queſtions would be much eaſier put than anſwered. To remedy the miſchiefs of paſt tardineſs, it was determined to carry on the war with a vigour that ſhould aſtoniſh all Europe, and to employ ſuch an army in the enſuing campaign, as never before had entered the new world. This, it was ſaid, beſides the grand object, would be the moſt effectual means of ſilencing clamour, and of preventing troubleſome, and now uſeleſs, enquiries. When once the people were heartily engaged in a war, they would never wait to recollect, much leſs to animadvert

on, the original cauſes of diſpute; but would in their uſual manner, and from their natural diſpoſition, carry it on with eagerneſs, and if gratified now and then with a brilliant ſtroke of ſucceſs, care nothing about future burthens or conſequences. Thus the public opinion would be ſecured; they had already ſhewn a decided ſuperiority in parliament; and the efforts of the minority, ſtruggling with the general opinion, and directed againſt the apparent national intereſt, would only tend to render them every day more feeble; and deprive them of that popularity, which is the ſoul of oppoſition.

The late engagements in America, had, in a certain degree, affected both the national and military pride of the people. Many of thoſe, who had not approved of our late conduct with reſpect to the colonies, thought it now too late to look back, or to enquire into paſt cauſes, that government muſt be ſupported at any rate, that we muſt not heſitate at any expence or danger to preſerve our dominions, and that whoever was right in the beginning, the American inſolence deſerved chaſtiſement at preſent.

Many cauſes concurred to prevent the loſs of the American commerce from being yet generally felt. The prodigious remittances in corn during our ſcarcity, which we muſt do the Americans the juſtice to ſay, they with great honeſty made in diſcharge of their debts, with the much larger than uſual ſums which they were enabled to pay, from the advanced prices of oil, tobacco, and other commodities, all together occaſioned a prodigious influx of money.

The ſailing of the flota from Spain, the armament againſt Algiers, and the peace between the Ruſſians and Turks, occaſioned an unuſual demand for goods and manufactures of various ſorts, from Spain, the North of Europe, and Turky, which keeping up a briſk circulation in trade, buſineſs, and money, all contributed to the ſame effect.

The war itſelf, the ſupplying of an army and navy with proviſions and neceſſaries of every ſort, at ſo prodigious a diſtance, gave employment and emolument to an infinite number of people, engaged a vaſt quantity of ſhipping in the tranſport ſervice, which would have been otherwiſe idle, and cauſed ſuch a buſtle of buſineſs, and circulation of caſh, as checked all obſervation of other deficiencies, and ſtifled all attention to future conſequences. A golden harveſt alſo, was not only opened to the view of contractors, but they had already enjoyed ſuch a ſhare of the fruits, as was ſufficient to excite the moſt eager rage for its continuance and renewal. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to mention the numberleſs dealers and gameſters, in lotteries, ſtocks, and other money tranſactions, who profit by all wars. Theſe contributed to keep up the ſpirits of the people, and to animate them to this civil contention.

On the other hand, the great bodies of American, African, and Weſt-India merchants, with the Weſt-Indian planters, had too long foreſeen, and already too deeply experienced, the fatal effects of the preſent unhappy conteſt. They accordingly, with a majority of the inhabitants of the great trading cities of London and Briſtol, ſtill wiſhed and ſtruggled

to

to have matters reſtored to their ancient ſtate, and reprobated all the meaſures which led to the preſent criſis. No inconſiderable part of the people in other places, though grown leſs loud in their demands for peace, ſtill, however, remained diſſatisfied with the preſent meaſures. In Ireland, though thoſe in office, and the principal nobility and gentry declared againſt America, by far the majority of the proteſtant inhabitants there, who are ſtrenuous and declared whigs, ſtrongly leaned to the cauſe of the colonies.

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that an unuſual apathy with reſpect to public affairs, ſeemed to prevail with the people, in general, of this country; of which a ſtronger proof needs not to be given, than that which will probably recur to every body's memory, that the accounts of many of the late military actions, as well as of political proceedings of no leſs importance, were received with as much indifference, and canvaſſed with as much coolneſs and unconcern, as if they had happened between two nations with whom we were ſcarcely connected. We muſt except from all theſe obſervations, the people of North Britain, who, almoſt to a man, ſo far as they could be deſcribed or diſtinguiſhed under any particular denomination, not only applauded, but proffered life and fortune in ſupport of the preſent meaſures. The ſame approbation was alſo given, and aſſurances made, though with ſomewhat leſs earneſtneſs and unanimity, by a great number of towns in England. The recruiting ſervice, however, which may be conſidered as a kind of political barometer with reſpect to the ſentiments of the loweſt orders in caſes of that nature, went on very heavily for the land and ſea ſervice, both in England and Ireland, though no encouragement was wanting, nor means left untried, for the making of extraordinary levies.

In this ſtate of things, at a meeting of the citizens of London in Common-hall for the election of their annual officers, the Lord-Mayor laid before them his Majeſty's anſwer to their laſt remonſtrance, together with the ſubſequent letter from the Lord Chamberlain,* giving notice, that the King would not receive, on the throne, any more of their petitions, except in their corporate capacity. Upon this information, they paſſed a number of reſolutions, in one of which they declared, "That whoever adviſed his Majeſty to declare he would not in future receive on the throne any addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition, from the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of London, are enemies to the right of the ſubject to petition the throne, becauſe ſuch advice is calculated to intercept the complaints of the people to their Sovereign, to prevent a redreſs of grievances, and alienate the minds of Engliſhmen from the Hanoverian ſucceſſion."

June 24, 1775.

They then agreed upon another addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition, which at leaſt equalled any of the former, in thoſe ſentiments, declarations, and charges, which

* See an account of both theſe tranſactions in the Hiſtorical part of our laſt volume, p. 113.

were conſidered as moſt obnoxious. Among thoſe expreſſions that were the leaſt exceptionable, they deſire his Majeſty to conſider, "what "the ſituation of his people here "muſt be, who have nothing now "to expect from America, but "Gazettes of blood, and mutual "liſts of their ſlaughtered fellow-"ſubjects." In other reſpects, they paſſed the ſevereſt and harſheſt cenſures upon the Grand Council and Repreſentative of the nation, as alſo upon miniſters and ſecret adviſers; and they conclude with a prayer for the diſſolution of parliament, and a diſmiſſion for ever of the preſent miniſters and adviſers.

A reſolution was paſſed at the ſame time, that this addreſs ſhould not be preſented, unleſs it was received ſitting on the throne; and the Sheriffs having accordingly waited on the King to know when he would be pleaſed to receive it, they were informed, that it would be accepted the next day at the levee, to which one of the Sheriffs replied, that the Livery in Common-Hall had reſolved that their addreſs ſhould not be preſented, unleſs it was received on the throne, the King immediately put an end to farther application by the following words: "I am "ever ready to receive addreſſes "and petitions; but I am the "judge where."

July 4th. In conſequence of this failure with reſpect to the petition, another Common-Hall was held in a few days, when the proceedings of the Sheriffs, and the King's anſwer, being reported to them, the latter was ordered to be entered in the city books; after which they reſolved, That the King is bound to hear the petitions of his people, it being the undoubted right of the ſubject to be heard, and not a matter of grace and favour.—That the late anſwer was a direct denial of the right of that court to have their petitions heard.—That ſuch denial renders the right of petitioning the throne, recognized and eſtabliſhed by the Revolution, of no effect.—And that the adviſer, directly or indirectly, of the refuſal, was equally an enemy to the happineſs and ſecurity of the King, and to the peace and liberties of the people.

They then ordered that their remonſtrance, which was refuſed to be heard on the throne, ſhould be printed in the public papers, and ſigned by the Town Clerk; that the Sheriffs, attended by the Remembrancer, ſhould wait on the King, and deliver, in their name, into his hand, a fair copy of their reſolutions, both on Midſummer-day, and the preſent, ſigned by the Town Clerk; and that they ſhould be alſo printed in the public papers.—The reſolutions were accordingly preſented, and received without any anſwer.

The Common-Hall then paſſed an inſtruction to their repreſentatives in parliament, directing that they ſhould move immediately at the next meeting, for an humble addreſs from the Commons to his Majeſty, requeſting to know who were the adviſers of thoſe fatal meaſures, which had planted popery and arbitrary power in America, and had plunged us into a moſt unnatural civil war, to the ſubverſion of the fundamental prin-

ciples of Engliſh liberty, the ruin of our moſt valuable commerce, and the deſtruction of his Majeſty's ſubjects; alſo to know who were the adviſers of the preſent meaſure of refuſing petitions; and then to move for an impeachment of the authors and adviſers of all thoſe meaſures, that by bringing them to public juſtice, evil counſellors might be removed from before the King, his throne eſtabliſhed, the rights of the people vindicated, and the whole empire reſtored to the enjoyment of peace, liberty, and ſafety.

Notwithſtanding this heat of reſentment in the Common-Hall, which, with the refuſal on the other ſide, ſeemed to cut off all communication, in the way of petition, between the city and the throne, a very moderate and temperate application of that nature, under the title of an humble Addreſs and Petition, was, within a few days after, moved for, and carried by a majority, after conſiderable debate, in the body corporate, conſiſting in the court of Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council. In this petition, they deplored the grievous diſtractions in America, lamented thoſe meaſures whoſe deſtructive principles had driven their brethren there to acts of deſperation, and ſtrongly aſſerted their loyalty and affection, notwithſtanding thoſe acts, juſtifying their conduct upon that love of liberty which actuates all the members of the empire; they applied to the humanity of the Sovereign to heal the miſeries of his people; hoped that the former conduct of the Americans, their free gifts and ready ſervice, in both of which they ſprung far beyond, not only demand, but expectation, would procure a liberal and favourable conſtruction of their preſent actions, and plead powerfully for granting them every reaſonable opportunity of giving as freemen, what they ſeemed reſolutely determined to refuſe, under the injunction of laws made independent of their own conſent. They concluded with the moſt pathetic ſupplications, that the preſent operations of force might be ſuſpended; and that the Americans, uncontrouled by a reſtraint incompatible with a free government, might poſſeſs an opportunity of tendering ſuch terms of accommodation, as, they did not doubt, would approve them worthy of a diſtinguiſhed rank among the firmeſt friends of this country.

15th. This petition was received upon the throne, and his Majeſty ſaid in anſwer, That he was always ready to liſten to the dutiful petitions of his ſubjects, and ever happy to comply with their reaſonable requeſts; but while the conſtitutional authority of this kingdom was openly reſiſted by a part of his American ſubjects, he owed it to the reſt of his people, of whoſe zeal and fidelity he had ſuch conſtant proofs, to continue, and enforce, thoſe meaſures by which alone their rights and intereſts could be aſſerted and maintained.

Previous to theſe city tranſactions, a letter was received from the Committee of New York, addreſſed to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, containing, together with a copy of their aſſociation, a recital of moſt

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of thoſe grievances and complaints, which we have ſo often been under a neceſſity of repeating. In this piece they rejected, and commented with ſeverity upon, the terms included in the miniſter's conciliatory propoſition; they declared the willingneſs of the colonies, in the ancient form of requiſition, and upon ſuitable emergencies, to contribute to the ſupport of the empire; but they muſt contribute of their voluntary gift as Engliſhmen; they teſtified their fidelity and inviolable loyalty, with their affection to this country; ſtated the great danger at preſent, of further irritation with reſpect to the colonies; declared the unanimity of their citizens in defending their rights at all riſques; and truſt in the moſt vigorous exertions of the city of London, towards reſtoring union, mutual confidence, and peace to the whole empire.

The Earl of Effingham, whoſe military genius had led him when a youth into the army, and had ſince prompted him to ripen theory into experience wherever real ſervice was to be found, by acting as a volunteer in the war between the Ruſſians and Turks, had ſince his return, as a peer in parliament, uniformly oppoſed the whole ſyſtem of meaſures purſued againſt the Americans, and finding, at length, that the regiment in which he ſerved was intended for the American ſervice, thought it inconſiſtent with his character, and unbecoming of his dignity, to enforce meaſures with his ſword, which he had ſo utterly condemned in his legiſlative capacity. He accordingly wrote a letter of reſignation to the Secretary at war, in which having declared the chearfulneſs with which he would ſacrifice life and fortune in ſupport of the ſafety, honour, and dignity, of his Majeſty's crown and perſon, he obſerved, that the ſame principles which had inſpired him with theſe unalterable ſentiments of duty and affection to the King, would not ſuffer him to be inſtrumental in depriving any part of his people of thoſe liberties, which form the beſt ſecurity for their fidelity and obedience to his government. He expreſſed the deepeſt regret, and greateſt mortification, at being obliged to quit a profeſſion which had been that of his anceſtors for many ages, to the ſtudy and practice of which from childhood his paſt life had been applied, and his future intentionally dedicated; and that as he waved the advantage which the cuſtom of the ſervice entitled him to, the right of ſelling what he had bought, he intreated, that he might be allowed to retain his rank in the army, that whenever the envy or ambition of foreign powers ſhould require it, he might be enabled to ſerve his Majeſty and his country in that way, in which of all others he thought himſelf beſt calculated to do it with effect.

This nobleman's reſignation, or rather the cauſe from which it proceeded, gave great offence, and the requeſt of retaining his rank in the army, we believe, was not complied with. Some officers had not ſhewn the ſatisfaction in going upon that ſervice, which they would have done upon any other. A few, indeed, who could not conquer their repugnance to it had

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quitted. But the majority thought, that where the ſuperior authorities of King and parliament had decided, it was no part of their military duty to enquire into the juſtice or policy of the quarrel.

This conduct, however, rendered that nobleman extremely popular among thoſe who held ſimilar opinions in regard to the American meaſures, and who ſtill compoſed a numerous body in England and Ireland. This ſoon appeared in the city, where among the reſolutions paſſed in the Common-Hall on Midſummer-day, and which were afterwards preſented to the King, public thanks were ordered to be given to "the Right Honourable the Earl of Effingham, for having, conſiſtently with the principles of a true Engliſhman, refuſed to draw that ſword, which has been employed to the honour of his country, againſt the lives and liberties of his fellow-ſubjects in America." And ſoon after, a ſimilar addreſs of thanks, but in ſtill fuller terms, was preſented to him from the Guild of Merchants in Dublin.

This laſt body, who in Dublin form a corporation, preſented alſo an addreſs of thanks to the ſeveral Peers, who (as they ſay) "in ſupport of our conſtitution, and in oppoſition to a weak and wicked adminiſtration, proteſted againſt the American Reſtraining Bills." This addreſs to the Proteſting Lords, (to which was affixed the corporation ſeal) was ſent to each ſeparately, and a ſeparate anſwer accordingly given, all of which appeared at that time in the public papers.

The Sheriffs and Commons of the city of Dublin, had for ſome time endeavoured to obtain the concurrence of the Lord-Mayor and board of Aldermen, in a petition to the throne, againſt the meaſures purſued with reſpect to the colonies; but were anſwered by the latter, upon their firſt application, that the matter was of the *higheſt importance*, and therefore *inexpedient*. Upon a ſubſequent occaſion, however, they ſeem to have concurred in the meaſure, as a committee of ſix Aldermen, with as many Commoners, and the Recorder, were appointed to draw up a petition and addreſs; this taſk, after ſeveral weeks preparation or delay, being at length accompliſhed, the petition was arreſted in its further progreſs, by a negative from the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen.

Upon this diſappointment, the Sheriffs and Commons prefaced the two following reſolutions by a declaration, that "Anxious to preſerve our reputations, from the odium that muſt remain to all poſterity on the names of thoſe, who in any wiſe promote the acts now carrying on in America, and feeling the moſt poignant grief, as well on account of the injured inhabitants of that continent, as on that of our brave countrymen, ſent on the unnatural errand of killing their fellow-ſubjects, have reſolved, That it is the duty of every good citizen to exert his utmoſt abilities to allay the unhappy diſputes that at preſent diſturb the Britiſh empire.—That whoever would refuſe his conſent to a dutiful petition to the King, tending to undeceive his Majeſty, and from which it could Aug. 28.

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be hoped that the effuſion of one drop of ſubject blood might be prevented, is not a friend to the Britiſh Conſtitution."—Such was at preſent the ſtate of political opinion among the merchants, and the principal proteſtant inhabitants of the city of Dublin.

The inability of purchaſing, and providing for, Negroes, which the preſent diſputes had occaſioned in our Weſt-India iſlands, together with the loſs of the American market for ſlaves, and the impediments cauſed by the proclamations of council againſt the exportation of arms and ammunition, had, all together, nearly extinguiſhed our African trade. This loſs was more particularly felt in the port of Liverpoole, which had poſſeſſed a much greater part of that commerce than any other in the kingdom. As the Guinea ſhips now arrived they were laid up, in an uncertainty of their future diſpoſition, whilſt their crews looked in vain for other employment. As other branches of commerce were alſo ſlackened in a great degree, and that the crews of the Greenland ſhips, upon their return in July and the beginning of Auguſt, were as uſual diſcharged, the number of ſeamen out of employ in that town became very great, and according to ſome accounts amounted to about 3000.

In this ſituation, the ſeamen complained that an attempt was made by the merchants to lower their wages, in conſequence of which a violent commotion was excited among them, in which they cut the rigging of ſome ſhips to pieces, aſſaulted ſome houſes, and committed other violences. They, however, diſperſed again, and all became quiet; but the ſeizing a number of them, and ſending them to priſon, re-kindled the flame with greater violence, ſo that without any extraordinary bias upon the common courſe of things in ſuch circumſtances, it might well have ended in the deſtruction of that flouriſhing town. The ſailors immediately aſſembled, procured not only fire-arms, but cannon, and were proceeding to the deſtruction of the priſon, when its ſafety was purchaſed by the enlargement of their companions. But their rage was by this time too high, and they were too much inflamed by liquor, to be appeaſed by reaſonable conceſſions. They not only proceeded to deſtroy the houſes of obnoxious perſons, but they at length marched in a body to demoliſh the Exchange. This danger was foreſeen, or probably announced by themſelves, a conſiderable time before the attempt, ſo that the Exchange was ſhut up, barricaded, and well garriſoned by the merchants and townſmen. They, however, made ſeveral confuſed attacks, which continued through the courſe of a night, and part of the enſuing morning; during which, through their drunkenneſs and diſorder, they laid themſelves ſo open to the fire of the defendants, (who were themſelves ſafe under cover) that ſeveral of them were killed and wounded. The arrival of a detachment of light-horſe, at length put an end to the diſorder. It was then apprehended, that this would prove only a prelude to other diſorders. But the affair was accidental; and ſufficient employment for the ſeamen was ſoon found in the King's ſervice.

Aug. 29th.

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About this time, Mr. Penn, late Governor, and one of the proprietors of Penſylvania, arrived from thence, with a petition from the General Congreſs to the King, which he preſented through the hands of Lord Dartmouth. During the ſhort time that the fate of this petition hung in ſuſpence, the moſt ſanguine hopes were formed, by thoſe who were earneſt for peace, or friends to America, that it would have led to a happy reconciliation; more eſpecially, as it had already tranſpired, that it contained profeſſions of the greateſt loyalty, and was couched in the moſt moderate and humble terms. But in proportion to the extent of theſe hopes, was the greatneſs of the diſappointment to thoſe who eagerly wiſhed for ſo deſirable an event, when they found that Mr. Penn was informed by the American miniſter, that no anſwer would be given to the petition. The Americans had alſo laid great ſtreſs upon the ſucceſs of this final application, and are ſaid to have relaxed their operations conſiderably upon that idea, until they heard the event.

This petition, which was ſubſcribed by all the members of the Congreſs, teemed with expreſſions of duty, reſpect, and loyalty, to the King, and of affection to the parent ſtate. They attribute all the differences and misfortunes which have hitherto taken place, to a pernicious ſyſtem of government, adopted at the cloſe of the late war, and to the evil deſigns and conduct of miniſters ſince that time. They declare in one part, That they not only moſt ardently deſire, that the former harmony between the mother country and the colonies may be reſtored, but that a concord may be eſtabliſhed between them upon ſo firm a baſis, as to perpetuate its bleſſings, uninterrupted by any future diſſentions, to ſucceeding generations in both countries. And in another, That notwithſtanding the ſufferings of his Majeſty's loyal coloniſts, during the courſe of the preſent controverſy, their breaſts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which they derive their origin, to requeſt ſuch a conciliation, as might in any manner *be inconſiſtent with her dignity or her welfare.* That, theſe, related as they are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce them to ſupport and advance; and the apprehenſions, that now oppreſſed their hearts with unſpeakable grief, being once removed, his Majeſty will find his faithful ſubjects on that continent, ready and willing, at all times, as they have ever been, with their *lives and fortunes, to aſſert and maintain the rights and intereſts of his Majeſty, and of their mother country.*

It may perhaps hereafter be a matter of doubt, when the war and its conſequences are much better remembered, than the circumſtances that preceded, or the cauſes that led to it, whether it was poſſible that ſuch ſentiments could really prevail with either of the parties, at the time that ſo unnatural, and ſo unhappy a conteſt took place between them. The particular drift and deſign of this petition, diſtinct from its great and general object of a reſtoration of harmony and peace, will be underſtood by their own words in the following

following paſſage—" With all humility ſubmitting to your Majeſty's wiſe conſideration, whether it may not be expedient, for facilitating theſe important purpoſes, that your Majeſty be pleaſed to direct ſome mode by which the united applications of your faithful coloniſts to the throne, in purſuance of their common-councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the mean time meaſures be taken for preventing the further deſtruction of the lives of your Majeſty's ſubjects, and that ſuch ſtatutes as more immediately diſtreſs any of your Majeſty's colonies be repealed."

Whatever the inward intentions of the parties were, the language was conciliatory, and the requeſt not immoderate. Thoſe who favoured the plan of pacifying by conceſſion, loudly clamoured at the anſwer of Lord Dartmouth, as calculated to drive the colonies to the laſt extremities of independence and foreign connection; for this reception, they ſaid, of ſo dutiful and decent an addreſs, amounted to no leſs than a renunciation of their allegiance. On the other hand, the friends of the miniſtry took it in a different point of view. The petition, they allowed, had a decent appearance. But did they formally admit the rights of parliament? Were they not ſtill in arms? and in that ſituation could their ſincerity be relied on? They ſaid, that they only wanted to gain time by a negociation, until they had formed their government, and eſtabliſhed their ſtrength in ſuch a manner, as would render all future efforts for their reduction ineffectual. We had already gone far in the expences of a war; we ſhould not now ſtop ſhort; but reap the benefits to government, which always ariſe from unſucceſsful rebellion. And beſides thoſe great objects, of puniſhing the obnoxious, and providing for our friends, to rivet, without leaving room for a future conteſt, that unconditional ſubmiſſion upon the Americans, which no treaty or negociation could ever obtain. While on the contrary, if amicable terms were now entered into, all our expence and preparation would be thrown away; we muſt ſhrink from the propoſals we had made to foreign Princes for hiring their troops, which would degrade us in their eyes, as our tameneſs in putting up with the inſolence of our own people, would in thoſe of all Europe; and all the buſtle we had made would paſs over, without having impreſſed the colonies with a ſenſe of our dignity, or with the terror of our power. Beſides, the nation was prepared by the language of war for the event, and it was not certain that vigorous meaſures, if it ſhould be found neceſſary to reſume them, would be ſo well received as they were in the preſent temper of the nation, whoſe favourable diſpoſition was to be carefully cultivated, and employed in the critical moment.

As the time approached for the meeting of parliament, addreſſes were poured in from different quarters, ſome in violent, others in more temperate language, but all condemning the conduct of the Americans, approving of all the acts of government, and in general, recommending a perſeverance

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in the ſame ſtrong meaſures, until the colonies were reduced to a thorough obedience, and brought to a full ſenſe both of their errors and duty. In ſeveral of theſe, very intemperate reflections were paſſed upon thoſe gentlemen who had oppoſed adminiſtration in the preſent American meaſures, who were repreſented as factious and deſperate men, and ſtigmatized as being not only encouragers, but in a great degree the authors of the American rebellion. This exceedingly inflamed the leaders of the minority againſt the procurers of thoſe addreſſes; and only ſerved to irritate the ſpirit of oppoſition againſt the miniſters and meaſures which the addreſſes were intended to ſupport.

As all the ancient diſtinctions between Whig and Tory, had of late been unhappily revived, they now appeared in full vigour; and as Mancheſter took the lead in addreſſes, it was ſaid, with great acrimony, that they were the legitimate offſpring only of Tory towns, though they ſprung up accidentally from the Tory party in others; while all the odium of encouraging civil war, devaſtation, and bloodſhed, with the atrocious deſign of miſleading government, by giving it partial and falſe ideas of the diſpoſition of the nation in general, was attempted to be thrown upon them. It was ſaid, that diſtraction at home, and diſhonour abroad, were the conſtant effect of the predominance of Tory councils. Theſe reproaches were laughed at on the other ſide, who, ſtrong in the ſanction of authority, turned the tables upon the Whigs, and charged them not only with a cauſeleſs oppoſition, but with diſaffection to government. The writers who more openly attacked the Whigs, as ſuch, and by that name, declared, that they were the perpetual enemies to government. That if they appeared to ſupport it for a time, it was only becauſe they had rendered it ſubſervient to their faction; but that whenever it was put upon an independent and reſpectable bottom, their eternal animoſity againſt it could not be concealed. At this time the preachers, after a long intermiſſion, entered into politics. Some of thoſe diſtinguiſhed by the name of Methodiſts, began to revive the doctrine of paſſive obedience, nearly as it had been aſſerted in the laſt century. By degrees this mode of preaching went higher. On the other hand, ſome clergymen, eſpecially of the Diſſenters, eſpouſed the cauſe of liberty with great fervour.

Thoſe who wiſhed to be conſidered as Whigs, divided amongſt themſelves. They who ſtood with the court, reproached the oppoſition with having abandoned their principles. That true Whigs were the ſtrongeſt ſupporters, not the mean betrayers, of the rights of parliament. That formerly Whigs oppoſed the crown, when it ſet up *prerogative* in oppoſition to *parliament*; but modern corrupt and degenerated whiggiſm, maliciouſly and unconſtitutionally oppoſed the crown, becauſe it acted in concurrence with parliament, and in ſupport of its inherent rights. That thoſe whom the oppoſition called Tories (at a time when all toryiſm was loſt in general loyalty, and love of law and liberty) were much more truly deſerving the appellation of Whigs, than they who now proſtituted

proſtituted its name, and diſgraced its principles, by abetting an inſolent and ſlaviſh rebellion, againſt the ſole guardian of freedom and order.

The other party retorted theſe charges with ſcorn. They ſaid, that their adverſaries, the Court Whigs, were ſo fond of their new allies the Tories, that they had perfectly gleaned their opinions and language. They denied toryiſm to exiſt, only becauſe they had become Tories themſelves. They aſſerted, that whiggiſm did not conſiſt in the ſupport of the *power* of parliament, or of any other *power*; but of the *rights* of the people. That as long as parliament protected thoſe rights, ſo long parliament was ſacred. But if parliament ſhould become an inſtrument in invading them, it was no better in any reſpect, and much worſe in ſome, than any other inſtrument of arbitrary power. That the ancient Whigs, like the modern, contended for things, not names. That the Tories are likewiſe now, as well as formerly, true to their principles. They never quarrelled with a parliament of their own party; that is, a parliament ſubſervient to the crown, arbitrary, intolerant, and an enemy to the freedom of mankind. That if parliaments deſtroy the liberty of the ſubject in America, they are overturning its principle every where. They ſaid, that to be burthened by parliament is not law and liberty, as the Tories in the maſk of Whigs have the effrontery to aſſert; but to have the public exigencies judged of, and its contributions aſſeſſed, by a parliament or ſome other aſſembly (the name is immaterial) of *its own choice*,—this is law and liberty; and nothing elſe is ſo. Such are whig principles; becauſe if they were different, the whig principles could not form a ſcheme of liberty; but would be juſt as ſlaviſh as any that were ever imputed to the abettors of the rankeſt deſpotiſm.

In this manner, the controverſies dividing and ſubdividing the nation, the public became ſomewhat leſs languid towards the meeting of parliament. Petitions met the addreſſes from various parts of the kingdom; and it was for ſome time doubtful which way the ſcale would incline. From the cities of London and Briſtol very long repreſentations were preſented, dwelling chiefly on the inefficacy of all the late coercive and reſtrictive meaſures; the miſchiefs which were inevitable to our own trade from the deſtruction of the American; the advantage which our rival neighbours would derive from our diviſions. The danger and ſhame of employing foreign mercenaries to decide our domeſtic differences; and the improper manner of carrying on the war by burning of towns, ſavage invaſions, and inſurrections of negroes. They ſtate in proof of the diſpoſition of America to reconciliation, the large remittances ſhe had made, the large debts ſhe had voluntarily paid; and particularly the ſupply of corn from thence, after all export trade from England had ceaſed; by which means the miſeries of actual famine in this country had been prevented. On the whole, they implore the termination of ſo unfortunate a diſpute by pacific methods, and by accommodation, rather than by arms.

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The Newfoundland fiſhery in the preſent year, did not in any degree anſwer the expectations which were held out in the preceding ſeſſion, of the eaſe with which the great American ſhare of it was immediately transferrible to the people of Great Britain, and the ſignal advantages which they would from thence derive. For though there was probably ſome ſmall increaſe of ſhips and men both from England and Ireland employed in the fiſhery, they were not in any manner equal to ſupplying the deficiency which the late law had occaſioned, even ſuppoſing that no new obſtacles were thrown in their way, and that all other matters had continued in their uſual ſtate. But the retaliation, which was practiſed by the Americans, of cutting off our fiſheries from all proviſions and ſupplies from the colonies, (a meaſure which, however ſimple and obvious, does not ſeem to have been apprehended till it was felt) threw the whole buſineſs upon the banks and coaſts of Newfoundland into the greateſt diſorder and confuſion, and brought diſtreſs upon all who were employed by ſea or land. To prevent the ſtill more dreadful conſequences of famine, a number of ſhips, inſtead of being loaded with fiſh, were neceſſarily ſent off light, to procure flour and proviſions wherever they were to be found. Upon the whole, it was computed, that to the value of a full half million ſterling was left in the bowels of the deep, and for ever loſt to mankind, by the firſt operation of the Fiſhery Bill.

Thoſe who were averſe to the American meaſures, conſidered the calamities which fell on the Britiſh fiſhery as a ſort of judgment from heaven, againſt thoſe who made laws to deprive mankind of the benefits of nature. To the ſame cauſe they were ready to attribute a dreadful tempeſt, the fury of which was chiefly diſcharged on the ſhores of Newfoundland. This aweful wreck of nature, was as ſingular in its circumſtances, as fatal in its effects. The ſea is ſaid to have riſen thirty feet almoſt inſtantaneouſly. Above ſeven hundred boats with their people periſhed, and ſeveral ſhips with their crews. Nor was the miſchief much leſs on the land, the waves overpaſſing all mounds, and ſweeping every thing before them. The ſhores preſented a ſhocking ſpectacle for ſome time after, and the fiſhing nets were hauled up loaded with human bodies.

Theſe circumſtances, together with the ill ſucceſs of the laſt campaign, and the difficulty of recruiting at home, ſeemed for a while to caſt ſome damp upon the ſpirit, which had been raiſed and kept alive with ſo much induſtry for carrying on the American war. But the court was not diſcouraged. Through all obſtacles they proceeded directly to their object. They opened ſeveral negociations on the continent of Europe, in order to ſupply the deficiency at home. The obtaining of ſuch an aid, was upon this occaſion a matter of difficulty. The vaſtneſs of the diſtance, and the adventuring to a new world, were terrifying, and rendered the proſpect of return doubtful. Germany is now the only country in Europe which is an open market for that ſort of traffic. But the ſending of its people to ſuch a diſtance, being

liable to be conſtrued as contrary to the conſtitutions of the empire, might chance to be reſented, not only by the head of that body, but perhaps by one of its members. And if the opinions, or likings, of men who were conſtrained to act merely as machines, were matters at all to be conſidered, the idea of ſuch a voyage, to an inland people who ſcarcely knew the ſea by report, muſt have been dreadful and odious in the higheſt degree.

In theſe difficulties, a negociation is ſaid to have been entered into with the court of Peterſburg for 20,000 Ruſſians. It is believed that this treaty was at one time in conſiderable forwardneſs. But the extreme diſtance of the ſervice, the difficulty of recall, the little probability that many of them would ever return, and, above all, the critical ſtate of public affairs throughout Europe, and particularly in the North, after the moſt ſanguine hopes, prevented its ſucceſs. A long negociation was alſo carried on at the Hague, for the Scotch brigade, which has been for many years in the Dutch ſervice, and always allowed to be recruited from Scotland. No doubt was entertained for a time of ſucceſs in this treaty, and it cauſed great debates in the Aſſembly of the States-General, where the ſimilarity between the preſent ſtruggles of the Americans, and their own original efforts againſt oppreſſion, were deſcribed by ſome of the ſtates in warm colours, and the impropriety of a republic, which had herſelf purchaſed freedom at ſo dear a price, and by ſo long and arduous a ſtruggle, interfering in any manner, in depriving others of their liberties, was placed in the ſtrongeſt point of view, until at length the propoſal was rejected. In Holland, the Engliſh party is always exceedingly powerful. But on this occaſion, thoſe who were the moſt warmly affected to the intereſt of this nation, were ſaid to have been againſt the meaſure of ſending the troops. They declared loudly againſt a war which tended to drive America to the protection of France, as ruinous to the welfare both of England and of Holland; and thought it better by withholding the means of it, to compel the Britiſh miniſtry to pacific courſes. The city of Rotterdam, and ſome other towns, were an exception to this general ſentiment. In the former, the merchants of North Britain have had a long eſtabliſhment and great power, and the opinions prevalent in that part of the united kingdom, muſt have great weight in that commercial city. It is not a pleaſing circumſtance, though perhaps of no conſequence, that in all the countries of Europe, in which public affairs are a ſubject either of writing or converſation, the general voice has been rather in favour of the Americans. Even Voltaire and Rouſſeau, who never agreed in any thing elſe, are ſaid to hold the ſame opinion upon that ſubject.

Diſappointed in Ruſſia and in Holland, we were thrown back upon Germany, as our only reſource for foreign troops. A ſucceſsful negociation was accordingly opened with the Princes of Heſſe and Brunſwick, and ſome ſmaller ſtates, by which we at length contracted for large bodies of men, the particulars of which we ſhall ſee in their due place. In the

mean

mean time, the King thought it neceſſary to ſend five battalions of his electoral troops, to replace the like number of Engliſh, in the important garriſons of Gibraltar and Minorca, thereby to increaſe the force in America with the addition of the latter.

Towards the latter part of the ſeaſon, government went to a vaſt expence, in ſending out proviſions and neceſſaries of all ſorts, for the ſupply and relief of the army in Boſton. As the want of freſh proviſions of every ſort was one of their principal grievances, and had cauſed much ſickneſs amongſt them, the remedy of that evil was an object of principal conſideration. For this purpoſe, much cattle of all kinds were contracted for and ſhipped for America. It is ſaid, that no leſs than 5000 oxen, 14000 of the largeſt and fatteſt ſheep, with a vaſt number of hogs, were purchaſed and ſent out alive. Vegetables of all kinds were alſo bought up in incredible quantities, and new arts were employed in curing them. Ten thouſand butts of ſtrong beer were ſupplied by two brewers.

Five thouſand chaldron of coals were purchaſed in the river, and ſhipped off for Boſton; even the article of faggots was ſent from London. The ſeemingly trifling neceſſaries of vegetables, caſks, and vinegar, amount, in two diſtinct articles, where they are detached from the general comprehenſion of other proviſions, to near 22000l. And though we had but a ſingle regiment of light cavalry at Boſton, the articles of hay, oats, and beans, amounted to nearly as much. The immenſe charge of ſupplying an army at ſuch a diſtance, was now for the firſt time experimentally felt. Beſides the expence of theſe articles we have mentioned, and the charge of flour, corn, and ſalted proviſions, near half a million of money was expended in the purchaſe of coined Spaniſh and Portugal ſpecie, and tranſmitted, for the extraordinary and contingent articles in various branches of military operations, which were confined nearly to a ſingle town. The expence ſwelled in every thing. From the multitude of tranſports employed in the different parts of the ſervice, the price of tonnage was raiſed one-fourth above its uſual rate. As the contracts were very lucrative, the connections of thoſe who had intereſt to obtain them extenſive, and the number of perſons who found employment or benefit by the different ſervices infinite, it is not to be wondered at, that ſuch a concurrence of circumſtances, formed a numerous and zealous party in ſupport of government; and that they ſhould earneſtly wiſh for the continuance of a war, by which they profited ſo much.

It did not ſeem an ill-founded expectation, that theſe liberal ſupplies, beſides reſtoring health and ſpirits to our forces, would have ſilenced the general clamour that had been raiſed, and removed the too juſt complaints that had been made by the army, of the bad and unwholeſome quality of the proviſions with which they had been lately furniſhed. Things, however, turned out very untowardly in this reſpect. Whether it was, that the orders were not iſſued in time, or that delays occurred in the execution, which could neither have been foreſeen or prevented;

however it was, the tranſports were not ready to proceed on their voyage, until the year was ſo far advanced as to render it nearly impracticable. By this means they were detained upon our own coaſts by contrary winds, or toſſed about by tempeſts, until the greater part of their live cargoes of hogs and ſheep, particularly the latter, periſhed, ſo that the channel was every where ſtrowed with the floating carcaſſes of theſe animals, as they were driven about by the winds and tides. A great part of the vegetables, over fermented and periſhed.

Nor was the condition of the tranſports mended when they got clear of our own coaſts. They were peculiarly unfortunate as to winds and weather in the mid ſeas, and as they approached to the place of their deſtination, the American periodical winds were ſet in, which blew full in their teeth, and drove them off from the coaſts. Thus ſeveral of them were blown off to the Weſt-India iſlands, where they arrived in great diſtreſs; others that got entangled with the American coaſts, were either taken, or ſeized in thoſe harbours and creeks where they put in for ſhelter. The few that arrived at Boſton, had beat the ſeas from three to four months, and being nearly wrecks, their cargoes ſuffered accordingly. A very inconſiderable portion of the refreſhment procured at ſo vaſt an expence, and that too in a miſerable condition, arrived at the place of its deſtination.

As the compaſſion and humanity of this country are always awake to the wretched, and particularly to thoſe who are ſufferers in the cauſe of the public, a ſubſcription was opened towards the latter end of the year, for the relief of the ſoldiers at Boſton, and of the widows and children of thoſe that were ſlain. This ſcheme was moſt liberally ſupported, and ſeveral thouſand pounds were ſubſcribed in a little time. A great number, however, withheld their benevolence from this purpoſe upon principle, who could not have been ſuſpected of doing it upon any other account. Thoſe who conſidered the meaſures now purſuing, as unjuſt and oppreſſive to America, and ruinous to their country, thought they ſhould participate in the guilt of thoſe crimes, and render themſelves anſwerable for the miſchiefs which they foreboded, if they gave encouragement, much leſs granted rewards, to thoſe who were the immediate actors in carrying them into execution. Many alſo thought, that ſuch contributions were degrading to the ſervice; but that it was ſtill more derogatory to the honour of a great nation, to admit that any of its ſervants, much leſs thoſe who were fighting its battles, ſhould be conſidered as objects of public charity. Others thought it abſurd to add to the vaſt maſs of expences already incurred by the public, and which, if they had been well applied, were, as they ſaid, more than ſufficient to have provided the greateſt comfort and abundance to the ſoldiery. Some ſhips which arrived from Boſton, and exhibited the ſpectacle of maimed and wounded ſoldiers, with the wives and children of thoſe that were ſlain, all of whom were in the moſt extreme degree of miſery and wretchedneſs, did not

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fail to quicken the humanity of ſuch as were not actuated by the motives we have mentioned. This ſubſcription was, however, conſidered as a kind of political touch-ſtone, and the degree of attachment to government, was ſuppoſed to be meaſured by the extent of the bounty.

By theſe and other means, the ſpirit in favour of the American war was kept up. To diſcountenance the ſtrong oppoſition, which it was thought would be made, towards the opening of the ſeſſion the minds of men were filled with rumours of conſpiracies and treaſonable correſpondences with the rebels in America. The moſt diſtinguiſhed noblemen and gentlemen of the minority were directly pointed at. They were charged with having been the incendiaries, who by their dark and wicked practices had kindled up the war. This language ſounded in many of the addreſſes. But the news-papers were induſtriouſly filled with it. There it was daily and confidently aſſerted, that a very great number of letters from the moſt conſiderable Peers and members of parliament had been intercepted, and were actually in the hands of government. Theſe they aſſerted would be laid before the Grand Council of the nation, when the Tower would be ſpeedily filled with perſons of rank, and a full harveſt of impeachments and puniſhments ſucceed. This was carried ſo far, that it was ſaid a number of the members of both houſes, who were deſcribed and underſtood, would not venture to attend their duty in parliament at the meeting.

Such reports, if not perfectly well founded, are cautiouſly to be encouraged or permitted, as certain inevitable conſequences muſt neceſſarily follow, which may be productive of much miſchief and danger. For when the minds of any people have been long brooding over ſuch ſubjects, treaſons, plots, and conſpiracies, will haunt the ſleeping and waking dreams of the weak, and exerciſe the profligate and wicked ingenuity of thoſe, who make uſe of the public fear and credulity in framing accuſations. They may ſerve even to ſuggeſt ſchemes, which otherwiſe might not be thought of, to men of an enthuſiaſtic turn and daring character.

At the opening of the ſeſſion, the report of a conſpiracy of a moſt extraordinary nature, at firſt alarmed the public fears, though it afterwards became a ſubject of leſs ſerious diſcuſſion. It was announced in the Gazette, that a Mr. Sayre, an American born, and then a banker in London, was committed by the Secretary of State to the Tower, for high treaſon. At firſt, people connected this account with the former reports; and it was univerſally ſuppoſed, that the treaſon of Mr. Sayre, conſiſted in remitting money, and conveying intelligence from parties here to the inſurgents in America. When the real ſtory came to be known, it could be ſcarcely believed, that the offence with which he ſtood charged, was nothing of this ſort. The crime for which he was committed, was a deſign of ſeizing the perſon of his Majeſty, at noon-day, in his paſſage to the Houſe of Peers; of conveying him a priſoner to the Tower, afterwards out of the kingdom, and over-

turning the whole form of government. The means, indeed, ſeemed very inadequate to the greatneſs of the end. An inconſiderable ſum of money was to be diſpoſed of in bribing a few Serjeants of the guards, who were alſo to lay out a part of it in bribing their men, and this handful, in the faces of the great majority of their fellows who were not bribed, were to effect the double and arduous work of ſeizing the King's perſon and the Tower at the ſame time. Nothing ſeemed prepared for a purpoſe of this kind; nothing to overcome the military power which would aſſemble from all parts of the kingdom; to ſay nothing of the other obvious impediments.

It was ſaid in juſtification of the commitment on ſuch extraordinary matter, that though there was but one witneſs to this charge, his teſtimony was poſitive. That the folly of a wicked attempt, did not prove that no ſuch attempt could be made. That as the information was officially laid before the Earl of Rochford, (who was then Secretary of State for the ſouthern department) whatever degree of credit it obtained in his private opinion, he was obliged officially, as the King's perſon was at all mentioned, and any danger to it implied, to prevent the poſſibility of ſuch an attempt. It muſt be admitted, that this juſtification, ſuppoſing the proceſs unexceptionable, ſeems perfectly good in law; but whether it is equally ſo in point of policy and diſcretion, may be doubted. It might have been as adviſable, to have examined into the nature of the tranſaction, and how far it might be ſupported by further evidence, before ſo public and decided a ſtep was taken.

In whatever manner the diſcretion of this proceeding may be thought of, it is certain, that Mr. Sayre was taken in his houſe, and his papers ſeized, when being examined before the Secretary of State, and confronted with his accuſer, bail was refuſed for his appearance, and he was committed to cloſe confinement in the Tower. Oct. 23d.

The report of this tranſaction flew like wild-fire throughout the kingdom, and for a while confirmed all the rumours that had been already ſpread of treaſonable acts and deſigns; whilſt anxiety for the ſafety of the King's perſon, and the indignation and horror excited by ſo atrocious a deſign, abſorbed all other conſiderations with reſpect to public affairs.

In the mean time, the order with reſpect to Mr. Sayre's confinement, was ſo ſtrictly complied with, that it was with difficulty, and by particular application, his wife was permitted to ſee him, while all his other friends were refuſed that liberty. His confinement, however, laſted only for five days, at the end of which time, an Habeas Corpus being granted for his appearance before the Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, the matter appeared in ſuch a light to that noble Lord, that he not only readily admitted him to bail, but received his own ſecurity in the trifling ſum of 500l. and that of two ſureties in as much, for his appearance to anſwer for the charge. No proſecution was attempted, and the bail

being discharged, he sued Lord Rochford for illegal imprisonment, for which a jury granted him a thousand pounds damages, liable, however, to the future determination on a question of law.

CHAP. IV.

Speech from the throne. Address. Motion for an amendment. Great debates. Amendment rejected, and the original address passed by a great majority. Debates renewed upon receiving the report. Motion for recommitment, withdrawn. Motion for a new amendment, substituted in its place. Amendment rejected, after long debates, and the original address passed. Motion for an amendment to the address in the House of Lords. Great debates. Original address passed. Protest.

SUCH was in general the state of public affairs in England and America, previous to and about the time of the meeting of parliament. In the speech from the throne, after accounting for this early meeting by the situation of America, heavy complaints were made of the misrepresentations of the leaders of sedition in the colonies, who having first infused into the minds of the people, a system of opinions repugnant to their true constitutional subordination, had at length commenced hostilities, and usurped the whole powers of government. His Majesty then entered into the difference of the views of those leaders, and of those of the crown and parliament, from whence the former derived their present advantages. The view of the latter was rather to undeceive, than punish. Therefore only small forces were sent, and propositions of a conciliatory nature accompanied the measures taken to enforce authority. The former, whilst they endeavoured to delude with specious professions, had in view nothing but the establishing of an independent empire. That the consequences of the success of each plan were too obvious. The spirit of the British nation was too high, and its resources too numerous, to suffer her tamely to lose what had been acquired with so great toil, nursed with great tenderness, and protected at much expence of blood and treasure. That wisdom, and in the end clemency, required a full exertion of these resources. That the navy had been increased, and the land forces greatly augmented. Foreign succours (though no treaty was then concluded) were held out. The disposition of the Hanover troops in Mahon and Gibraltar was specified. In the end, an assurance of the royal mercy was given, as soon as the deluded multitude should become sensible of their error, and to prevent the inconveniences which might arise from the great distance of their situation, and to remove as soon as possible the calamities which they suffer, authority would be given to certain persons upon the spot, to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities, in such manner, and to such persons, as they should think fit, and to receive the submission of any province or colony which should be

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diſpoſed to return to its allegiance. It was alſo obſerved, that it might be proper to authoriſe ſuch commiſſioners, to reſtore any province or colony, returning to its allegiance, to the free exerciſe of its trade and commerce, and to the ſame protection and ſecurity as if it had never revolted.

At the concluſion they were informed, that from aſſurances received, as well as from the general appearances of affairs in Europe, there was no apparent probability that the meaſures which they might adopt, would be interrupted by diſputes with any foreign power.

The addreſſes in anſwer to this ſpeech, which, as uſual, were an adoption of the whole, with no other alteration in the terms, but what was neceſſary to the difference of ſituation of the makers, produced ſimilar effects with thoſe of the preceding ſeſſion; long and earneſt debates in both houſes, and a proteſt in one. The reſemblance was not leſs perfect in the ſuperior force by which they were carried through.

The minority were little diſpoſed to give way to theſe addreſſes in the form in which they were brought in. An amendment to the addreſs in the Houſe of Commons was moved for by Lord John Cavendiſh, propoſing to leave out the whole, except the introductory paragraph, and to ſubſtitute in the place a declaration, "That they beheld, with the utmoſt concern, the diſorders and diſcontents in the colonies, rather increaſed than diminiſhed by the means that had been uſed to ſuppreſs and allay them; a circumſtance alone ſufficient to give them juſt reaſon to fear, that thoſe means were not originally well conſidered, or properly adapted to their ends. That, they were ſatisfied by experience, that the misfortune had, in a great meaſure, ariſen from the want of full and perfect information of the true ſtate and condition of the colonies being laid before parliament; by reaſon of which, meaſures injurious and inefficacious had been carried into execution, from whence no ſalutary end could have been reaſonably expected; tending to tarniſh the luſtre of the Britiſh arms, to bring diſcredit on the wiſdom of his Majeſty's councils; and to nouriſh, without hope of end, a moſt unhappy civil war.

"That, deeply impreſſed with the melancholy ſtate of public concerns, they would, in the fulleſt information they could obtain, and with the moſt mature deliberation they could employ, review the whole of the late proceedings, that they may be enabled to diſcover, as they will be moſt willing to apply, the moſt effectual means of reſtoring order to the diſtracted affairs of the Britiſh empire, confidence to his Majeſty's government, obedience, by a prudent and temperate uſe of its powers, to the authority of parliament, and ſatisfaction and happineſs to all his people. That, by theſe means, they truſt to avoid any occaſion of having recourſe to the alarming and dangerous expedient, of calling in foreign forces to the ſupport of his Majeſty's authority within his own dominions, and the ſtill more dreadful calamity, of ſhedding Britiſh blood by Britiſh arms."

This motion brought on a ſeries of long and moſt intereſting debates, which were conducted with the utmoſt eagerneſs, and unceaſing

ſing energy on both ſides, and intermixed with much acrimony and bitterneſs. In this conteſt the ſpeech was taken to pieces, and every part of it moſt ſeverely ſcrutinized. The miniſters were charged with having brought their ſovereign into the moſt diſgraceful and unhappy ſituation of any monarch now living. Their conduct had already wreſted the ſceptre of America out of his hands. One half of the empire was loſt, and the other thrown into a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion. After having ſpread corruption like a deluge through the land, until all public virtue was loſt, and the people were inebriated with vice and profligacy, they were then taught, in the paroxyſms of their infatuation and madneſs, to cry out for havoc and war. Hiſtory could not ſhew an inſtance, of ſuch an empire ruined in ſuch a manner. They had loſt a greater extent of dominion in the firſt campaign, of a ruinous civil war, which was intentionally produced by their own acts, than the moſt celebrated conquerors had ever acquired in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time.

The ſpeech was ſaid to be compoſed of a mixture of aſſumed and falſe facts, with ſome general undefined and undiſputed axioms, which no body would attempt to controvert. Of the former, that of charging the colonies with aiming at independence, was ſeverely reprehended, as being totally unfounded, being directly contrary to the whole tenor of their conduct, to their moſt expreſs declarations both by word and by writing, and to what every perſon of any intelligence knew of their general temper and diſpoſition. But what they never intended, we may drive them to. They will undoubtedly prefer independence to ſlavery. They will never continue their connection with this country, unleſs they can be connected with its privileges. The continuance of hoſtility, with the determined refuſal of all ſecurity for theſe privileges, will infallibly bring on ſeparation.

The charge of their making profeſſions of duty, and propoſals of reconciliation, only for the inſidious purpoſe of amuſing and deceiving, was equally reprobated. It was inſiſted, that, on the contrary, theſe had from the beginning, told them honeſtly, openly, and bravely, without diſguiſe or reſerve, and declared to all the world, that they never would ſubmit to be arbitrarily taxed by any body of men whatſoever, in which they were not repreſented. They did not whiſper behind the door, nor mince the matter; they told fairly what they would do, and have done, if they were unhappily urged to the laſt extremity. And that though the miniſters affected not to believe them, it was evident, from the armament which they ſent out, that they did; for however incompetent that armament has been to the end, no body could admit a doubt that it was intended to oppoſe men in arms, and to compel by force; the incompetence for its purpoſes proceeding merely from that blind ignorance, and total miſconception of American affairs, which had operated upon the miniſters in every part of their conduct.

This ſhameful accuſation, they ſaid, was only to cover that wretched conduct, and, if poſſible,

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to hide or excuſe, the diſgrace and failure that had attended all their meaſures. Was any other part of their policy more commendable, or more ſucceſsful? Did the cruel and ſanguinary laws of the preceding ſeſſion, anſwer any of the purpoſes for which they were propoſed? Had they in any degree fulfilled the triumphant predictions, had they kept in countenance the overbearing vaunts of the miniſter? They have now ſunk into the ſame nothingneſs with the terrors of that armed force which was to have looked all America into ſubmiſſion. The Americans have faced the one, and they deſpiſe the injuſtice and iniquity of the others.

Yet the miniſters cannot pretend that they have entered, or been led, blindfolded into theſe deſtructive meaſures. They have been repeatedly warned, ſeſſion after ſeſſion, of the danger in which they were involving themſelves, and of the ruin into which they were plunging the nation; the conſequences were ſo truly foretold, the predictions have been ſo exactly verified, that they ſeem now rather the effect of ſome extraordinary inſpiration, than of reaſon founded upon obſervation, and applied to the nature and relation of things. Theſe warnings they received from thoſe gentlemen in oppoſition, whom they wiſh and endeavour to ſtigmatize, as operated upon only by factious motives, as enemies to their country, and as framers of ſedition both here and in America. Theſe are the Caſſandra's, who foretold the deſtruction which the miniſters were bringing upon their country, and who, becauſe they foreſaw the danger, are unworthily to be blackened with the imputation of having produced the evils which they foretold.

But the miniſters, they ſaid, had other ſources of information, and which, in ſpite of reaſon and experience, they were ſtill evidently determined to rely upon. Theſe were the falſe, partial, illiberal repreſentations, of artful, deſigning, and intereſted men, who had held public offices in America, and who wanted to increaſe their own influence, emoluments, and authority, as well as to find the means of gratifying their petty prejudices and reſentments, by extending the powers of the crown to the prejudice of the people. Men who became at length ſo ſoured by the oppoſition they met with, and the conſequent diſappointment in all their ſchemes, that all their ſentiments ſeem to have been dictated only by malice and revenge.

The diſgrace and danger of calling in foreign troops to ſettle our domeſtic quarrels, of rendering them the arbiters in a conteſt with our own people, were ſtrongly inſiſted upon by the oppoſition. They ſaid, that this new dignity, of which we were become of late ſo wonderfully fond, was of a very peculiar nature. That while it was ſo irritable with reſpect to our own people, that the mention of an American right or privilege, operated upon it in the moſt violent degree, it crouched in the moſt ſuppliant manner in its commerce with foreigners. It was not difficult to bring examples from hiſtory, to ſhew the danger of calling in foreigners in ſuch circumſtances.

The country gentlemen were repeatedly

epeatedly called upon to ſupport he amendment, and not to give heir approbation to the dangerous nd ſanguinary meaſures propoſed n the ſpeech, until they had, at eaſt, conſidered the ſubject, and ad the neceſſary information laid before them. They were aſked, f they would for ever continue to run blindfolded into every deſtructive meaſure that was propoſed, without once heſitating or reflecting upon the common ruin, in which they were involving themſelves with the nation? Would they ſtill follow, without examination or enquiry, thoſe leaders who had already deceived and miſled them in every thing, until they had brought us into our preſent moſt diſaſtrous circumſtances? Had they yet had time to conſider the difficulties attending the ſupport of an army of 70,000 men, on the other ſide of the Atlantic? Had they calculated how many thouſand tons of ſhipping would be neceſſary for their conveyance, and for their ſupport, or what the expence might amount to, of ſupplying them with freſh proviſions from Smithfield market, and with vegetables, and all other neceſſaries, from London and its neighbourhood? Theſe were matters of ſerious conſideration. The land-tax muſt this ſeſſion be riſen to four ſhillings, and the moſt ſanguine imagination can ſcarcely hope that it will ever again be lowered, even ſuppoſing the moſt fortunate change of circumſtances. Thus are their eſtates already mortgaged to one fifth of the value of their clear income; and if this ruinous war is carried on to the extent that is held out, they might expect at its end to find the mortgage doubled.

They were taught to conſider, ſuppoſing, (which was far from being admitted) that we ſhould be ſucceſsful, how they ſhould be repaid the enormous expences which they muſt neceſſarily incur in proſecuting the conflict. They were aſked, whether burnt towns, military executions, a total loſs of trade, a change, or annihilation of property, with ruined and depopulated provinces, ſtill ſmoking under all the calamities of a cruel civil war, would be able to repay fifty, ſixty, or a ſtill greater number of millions of money, which would probably be loſt or expended in the conteſt. This firſt loſs, great as it might be, was not, however, the worſt part of the conſequence. Thoſe wide and ruined dominions, irritated as the remaining poſſeſſors ever muſt continue, with an immortal abhorrence of our name and nation, could only be kept in ſubjugation, by an immenſe ſtanding army, and a very conſiderable naval force. They demanded whether any gentleman, the leaſt informed in the hiſtory of mankind, could once imagine, that ſuch an eſtabliſhment would or could be ſupported by ſuch a people. America, in its priſtine ſtate of vigour and felicity, when it gloried in the Engliſh conſtitution, was itſelf a living and unparalleled proof of its excellence, and pointed it out as an honour to human nature and ſociety, muſt, even in that ſtate, have ſunk beneath the burthen. How will it be then when ſhe is thus fallen and debilitated, and when ſhe conſiders every man employed

ployed in that ſervice by ſea and land, as rivetting on her chains, as her ſworn and implacable enemy?

The fleet and army of England, and as ſhe has not men ſufficient, hoſts of foreign mercenaries muſt be hired, and compoſe her ſtanding peace eſtabliſhment. The conſequences of ſo enormous an additional power thrown into the hands of the crown, are too obvious to require any comment, and too melancholy to be dwelt upon with pleaſure. The Engliſh conſtitution will inevitably periſh in the ſame grave, into which our pride and injuſtice had a little before precipitated the liberties of America.

If ſuch are the conſequences of the moſt perfect ſucceſs which the miniſters can wiſh for, by the compleat reduction of the colonies, they aſked, in what ſituation ſhall we be if we fail in the attempt? The moſt violent advocates for war, do not even pretend to any certainty of ſucceſs. That queſtion is acknowledged by all to be problematical; and are the conſequences in that event to be totally overlooked? Should we unfortunately be foiled and diſgraced in a ruinous conteſt with our own people, in a war attended with circumſtances of expence, before unheard of in the hiſtory of mankind, and unſuppoſed in the calculations of politicians; ſhould our fleets and armies be waſted and ruined, our treaſures exhauſted, our expenditure and taxes increaſed, in an inverſe proportion to our loſs of power, dominion, and commerce, whilſt a newly-acquired debt was overwhelming the old, and our ancient friends and fellow-ſubjects were become our rivals and competitors in every thing that was left, if the poſſibility of theſe unhappy events is admitted, is not the preſent a proper time to view them in their utmoſt extent, and to uſe every poſſible means to prevent their taking place? Is not the ſituation in which ſuch circumſtances would place us with reſpect to the reſt of Europe, an object of conſideration?

Surely no ſubjects were ever diſcuſſed in any aſſembly, which called more ſtrongly for the fulleſt and cleareſt information, the moſt mature deliberation, and for higher wiſdom in determining.

Upon the whole, it was contended by oppoſition, that either adminiſtration had been moſt groſsly impoſed upon themſelves in every thing relative to the colonies, or had intentionally deceived and miſled parliament, by the ſuppreſſion of true information, and the advancement of falſe, in order thereby to lead the nation piecemeal, and by ſtated progreſſes into a war, until they were ſo far involved, that there could not be a poſſibility of receding. From theſe premiſes they inferred, that whether our calamities proceeded from their ignorance and incapacity, or from a traiterous deſign of impoſition, in either caſe, they were no longer fit to be truſted in any public affairs, much leſs with thoſe, which they had already involved in ſuch ruin, it being totally immaterial in this reſpect, what motives influenced their conduct, or from what cauſes their faults proceeded.

On the other ſide, the veracity of the ſpeech in all its parts, was warmly contended for. In particular, the charge againſt the Americans

ricans of ſeeking independence, was moſt ſtrenuouſly ſupported. In proof, it was aſked, whether the Congreſs had not ſeized all the powers of government? Whether they had not raiſed armies, and taken meaſures for paying, cloathing, and ſubſiſting them? Have they not iſſued bills to a great amount upon continental credit? Are they not forming a marine? Are they not waging war in all its forms againſt this country, at the very inſtant that they hypocritically pretend to owe a conſtitutional obedience to her? Are theſe acts of ſovereignty and independence, or are they only the dutiful and loyal applications of ſubjects for obtaining a redreſs of grievances? It was inſiſted, that their words correſponded with their actions; that in the intercepted letters and papers, as well as the public writings and declarations of ſeveral of their leaders, they boaſt of the labour and ſucceſs with which they are new modelling their government, and talk of their new empire as already eſtabliſhed. Can any one after this pretend to queſtion the tendency of their views?

It was aſked, what even the language they held out for the deception of this country amounted to? The Congreſs have declared in general terms that they did not aim at independency. But if we examine their particular claims, and compare them with this general aſſertion, we ſhall find, that the dependence which they would acknowledge, will virtually amount to little more than a nominal obedience to whoever ſits on the throne, and very nearly a renunciation of the juriſdiction of the Britiſh legiſlature.

As to conciliation, every hope of that ſort, was ſaid, to be now at an end. Parliament had already tried every experiment to reclaim the incorrigible diſpoſition of the Americans, endeavouring, if poſſible, to avoid bringing matters to the utmoſt extremity. But what has ſhe gained by this conduct? her lenity, her reluctance to puniſh, was conſtrued into weakneſs and fear, and the time which ſhe ſacrificed to forbearance and moderation, was ſeduloufly applied by the Americans to preparation and war. If the matter in diſpute were merely a contention for a revenue, it might be prudent to ſuſpend that claim till a more favourable ſeaſon; parliament, though ſhe could not give up the right of taxation, had already obviated the objections that were made to the exerciſe of it, by permitting the Americans to tax themſelves; but what return have they made to this indulgence? they have given a new proof of their diſobedience and contempt; for though they knew any reaſonable ſum would be accepted, they would not gratify this country ſo far as to contribute a ſingle ſhilling towards the common exigencies of the ſtate.

In a word, it was inſiſted, that the queſtion was no longer confined to any particular exerciſe of the authority of Great Britain, but extended to the very being of the ſovereignty itſelf. That in this ſtate, an accommodation was impracticable; and any advance towards it on our ſide, except in the line laid down in the ſpeech, and accompanied with ſuch a military force as would command obedience, would be pernicious as well as diſgraceful. It was acknowledged,

ledged, that it were much to be wiſhed, that affairs were now preciſely in the ſame ſituation, that they had been in the year 1763; but matters had taken ſuch a turn, and things were ſo totally changed ſince that time, that it was in vain now to look back; and as to a repeal of the great body of American laws which had been paſſed within that period, ſuch a meaſure would be a virtual ſurrender of America, to all uſeful or beneficial intents and purpoſes whatſoever.

As to any retroſpect into the cauſes of theſe troubles, or the manner in which we had been brought into the preſent unhappy ſituation, it was not apprehended that ſuch an enquiry could anſwer any uſeful purpoſe. The preſent object was to remedy, not to inveſtigate the evil. It was believed, that no miniſtry ſince the time of the ſtamp act had been entirely free from blame upon the ſubject; that probably the fault did not ſo much lie in any particular meaſures, as in that variable and fluctuating conduct, which had ſo remarkably prevailed with reſpect to America; that the nature of our government, however, had rendered ſuch a conduct in ſome degree unavoidable; but the great weight of blame was thrown upon thoſe, who not ſatisfied with expreſſing their diſapprobation of particular meaſures, had argued both within and without doors, againſt the authority of the ſupreme legiſlature itſelf; and who, from an exceſs of zeal in ſupport of America, and an apprehenſion that the colonies might be ruled with too heavy a hand, ſeemed too much to forget the intereſts of the mother country.

As to the expediency of adopting the meaſures propoſed in the ſpeech, it was ſaid, that it did not admit of a queſtion. We were now in a ſituation, which did not afford a poſſibility of receding, without ſhame, ruin, and diſgrace. The conteſt was empire. We muſt either ſupport and eſtabliſh our ſovereignty, or give up America for ever. The eyes of all Europe were upon them. The future fate of the Britiſh Empire, and of ages yet unborn, would depend upon their firmneſs or indeciſion. A ſtrong picture was drawn, of the conſequences that would attend America's becoming an independent empire; of her interference with us, in our trade, and in our deareſt intereſts, in every quarter of the globe. It was acknowledged, that the reduction of America would be attended with great and numerous difficulties. That it was a conteſt of the moſt ſerious nature; and however ſucceſsful we might be, that the conſequences muſt be ſeverely felt by the nation. But however aweful the ſituation, it was the firſt duty of a great national aſſembly, not to deſpair of the republic; and where the intereſts of a great people were at ſtake, difficulties muſt be encountered and overcome, not ſubmitted to.

The difficulties were not, however, greater than we had often ſurmounted. Let us recollect the ſtrength, the numerous reſources, and above all, the high and invincible ſpirit of the Britiſh nation, which, when rouzed, knows no oppoſition, but riſes in proportion to the magnitude of the difficulty and danger. Let us recollect the great, extenſive, and ſucceſsful

wars,

wars, which this country carried on before America was known; or that late period when we defended this very people from the attacks of the moſt powerful and warlike nation in Europe; when our armies gave law, and our fleets rode triumphant on every coaſt. Shall we then be told, that this people of yeſterday, whoſe greatneſs is the work of our own hands, can reſiſt the powerful efforts of this nation.

As to the danger apprehended from foreign powers, they ſaid, that we were never more unembarraſſed in that reſpect than at preſent; but that however, it were ridiculous to ſuppoſe, that we were to court the approbation, and wait the conſent of every ſtate in Europe, before we durſt venture to quell or to puniſh, a commotion or rebellion among our own people. They concluded, that war was at all times an evil, but in many inſtances, as in this, an inevitable one; that in ſuch caſes, regret or complaint could anſwer no purpoſe; we were plunged in, and muſt depend upon our native reſources and bravery to carry us through as ſucceſsfully as they had already ſo often done upon other occaſions.

Amongſt the matter brought forth by the replies to ſome of the foregoing poſitions, the conciliatory propoſition of the preceding ſeſſion, became of courſe a ſubject of diſcuſſion. The oppoſition contended, that taxation, as it had been originally, was ſtill the object of contention; that it was not in any degree changed by what was falſely and ridiculouſly called the conciliatory propoſition; the Americans denied the right and reſiſted the power of taxation, as unconſtitutional; an inſidious propoſal is held out, ſolely with regard to the temporary manner of exerciſing that right; a propoſal which, far from giving it up, had been ſupported as the ſtrongeſt and moſt effectual exerciſe of it, and which was evidently calculated, only to produce diſſentions amongſt the colonies, without ſatisfaction to that country, or relief to this. No change is made in the claim, or in the cauſe of diſpute. They reject that alſo; and the queſtion is ſtill in its original ſtate, without the leaſt change in reſpect to its nature or eſſence. They therefore inſiſted, that it was not fact, that the Americans when conſtitutionally called upon, had ever refuſed to contribute a juſt proportion to the defence of the empire.

The queſtion of rebellion was alſo agitated; and it was aſſerted, that the taking up of arms in the defence of juſt rights, did not, according to the ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution, come within that comprehenſion. It was alſo aſſerted with great confidence, that notwithſtanding the miſchiefs the Americans had ſuffered, and the great loſſes they had ſuſtained, they would ſtill readily lay down their arms, and return with the greateſt good-will and emulation to their duty, if candid and unequivocal meaſures were taken for re-inſtating them in their former rights. But that this muſt be done ſpeedily, before the evils had taken too wide an extent, and the animoſity and irritation ariſing from them, had gone beyond a certain pitch.

The boaſted lenity of parliament was much rallied. It was aſked, whether the Boſton port bill, by which, without trial or condemnation,

nation, a number of people were ſtripped of their commercial property, and even deprived of the benefit of their real eſtates, was an inſtance of it? Was it to be found in the fiſhery bill, by which large countries were cut off from the uſe of the elements, and deprived of the proviſion which nature had allotted for their ſuſtenance? Or was taking away the charter, and all the rights of a people, without trial or forfeiture, the meaſure of lenity from which ſuch applauſe was now ſought? Was the indemnity held out to military power lenity. Was it lenity to free ſoldiers from a trial in the country, where the murders with which they ſhould ſtand charged, when acting in ſupport of civil and revenue officers, were committed, and forcing their accuſers to come to England at the pleaſure of a governor.

In the courſe of theſe long and warm debates, all the old queſtions, on the right of taxation, on virtual repreſentation, on the dignity of parliament, the ſupremacy of the legiſlature, and on the abſolute neceſſity, that a ſupreme and uncontroulable power, muſt be ſomewhere lodged in all governments, were again canvaſſed; and the old ground, which had been ſo often traced, was ſo embelliſhed, either by a freſhneſs of colouring, or by changing the poſition, or ſituation of the objects, as to give it in ſeveral parts the appearance of novelty.

The gentleman who had ſeconded the motion for the addreſs, and who had himſelf been a governor of one of the ſouthern colonies, having hazarded ſomething like a propoſal, for encouraging the negroes in that part of America to riſe againſt their maſters, and for ſending ſome regiments to ſupport and encourage them, in carrying the deſign into execution, was moſt ſeverely reprehended from the other ſide, and the ſcheme totally reprobated, as being too black, horrid, and wicked, to be heard of, much leſs adopted by any civilized people.

Theſe long debates were put an end to, at about half an hour paſt four o'clock in the morning, by a diviſion upon the latter motion; when the amendment was rejected by a majority of 278, againſt 108. The original queſtion being then put, the motion for the addreſs was carried without a diviſion.

Though the fatiguing buſineſs they had gone through, and the lateneſs of their breaking up, would have well excuſed the receſs of a day, the forms of the houſe in this inſtance prevented it, as they were obliged, that afternoon, to receive the report upon the addreſs, from the committee. This circumſtance afforded an opportunity for renewing all the preceding debates, and for bringing up ſuch ſubjects, as had either been paſſed over, or but ſlightly touched upon before.

To explain this matter it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that the part of the ſpeech which mentioned as a favour the ſending of Hanoverian troops to Gibraltar and Minorca, as well as the correſponding part of the addreſs, which acknowledged and returned thanks for it in that ſenſe, had, beſides the party in declared oppoſition, given diſguſt to ſeveral of thoſe gentlemen, who call themſelves *independent*; a diſtinction, which is well known, to include a numerous and

and powerful body in that houſe. The gentlemen under that appellation, who had long been diſtinguiſhed in the late reigns for the ſteadineſs of their oppoſition to court meaſures, have for ſeveral years paſt taken the contrary ſide, and been as remarkable, from an uniform ſupport of adminiſtration, in almoſt all caſes. In American affairs particularly, they have always been among the foremoſt, in propoſing or ſupporting the moſt cœrcive meaſures.

It is ſo well known, as ſcarcely to require mention, that an averſion to continental connections, with ſomething bordering upon an antipathy, to the employing of foreign troops in any caſe whatſoever, had formerly been one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed tenets, in the political creed of the party which we have deſcribed; and whatever revolutions other parts of their doctrine may ſince have undergone, this article ſeems to have been preſerved tolerably pure and inviolate. Upon this occaſion, however, it ſhewed its efficacy; for ſome of theſe gentlemen were ſo diſſatisfied, that though they warmly approved of all the other parts of the addreſs, they, upon that account only, went away without giving their votes. Others who continued in the houſe would not, however, give their votes, until they had received what they underſtood to be an aſſurance, that full ſatisfaction would be afterwards given upon that ſubject.

In this, however, they found themſelves totally diſappointed, no diſpoſition at all of the ſort appearing in the miniſter. Whether they conſidered themſelves as deceived or not, with reſpect to the implied condition on which many of them had ſupported the addreſs in the preceding debate, it is probable, that they thought themſelves much ſlighted in not having a greater deference paid to their opinion and principles, and it is not to be doubted, that the meaſure itſelf appeared to them as exceedingly illegal and dangerous. By this means, when the report came to be received, the miniſter found, to his ſurpriſe, the addreſs unexpectedly attacked and oppoſed from all quarters; thoſe who excepted only to that particular part, being thrown into one common maſs of oppoſition, with thoſe who equally condemned it in all its principles.

It was inſiſted upon in the moſt peremptory terms, that the meaſure was illegal and unconſtitutional in the higheſt degree; that it was directly repugnant to, and ſubverſive of the principles, of the bill of rights; that it would eſtabliſh a precedent of a moſt alarming and dangerous tendency, as it recognized a right in the crown to introduce foreigners into the Britiſh dominions, and to raiſe armies without the conſent of parliament; that it was ſtill rendered the more alarming, and required the more immediate reprobation, from its being wanton and unneceſſary in point of policy, and from its being ſo ſtrenuouſly defended by the miniſters, both of which afforded too much room for apprehenſion, that its oſtenſible purpoſes covered others of a very different nature.

On the ſide of adminiſtration, the exceptionable clauſe in the addreſs was defended, as being only a compliment; as returning thanks

only for the good intentions from which it originated, without including any approbation of the meaſure itſelf; that decency abſolutely required the firſt, though they ſhould hereafter condemn the other. The meaſure itſelf was vindicated on the plea of neceſſity, on the ill conſequences that might have proceeded from delay; on the ground of precedent, particularly that of the Dutch troops in the year 1745; its being thoroughly legal and conſtitutional, was alſo ſtrongly contended for; and the crown lawyers endeavoured to reſtrain the conſtruction of the bill of rights, by ſhewing that its operation extended no farther than this iſland.

In the mean time, the miniſter was repeatedly called upon from different parts of the houſe, and by many of his old and warm friends, as well as by the real oppoſition, to give an aſſurance, that if the addreſs were permitted to paſs in its preſent form, he would, on ſome future day to be appointed, bring the legality of the meaſure under the conſideration of the houſe. The miniſter was, however, at that time abſolutely inflexible on that point. He perhaps conſidered this peeviſhneſs in his own party, as deſerving rather of reprehenſion than indulgence. No direct anſwer could be obtained from him; and at length, when it could be no longer ſhifted off, he ſaid with an apparent indifference, that the military eſtimates would ſoon be laid before the houſe, which he ſuppoſed would afford a fitter opportunity for the diſcuſſion of the ſubject than the preſent.

However it was, many of the country gentlemen, who uſually fell in with the court, did not conſider this ſteadineſs as well timed. A motion was made by one of them, and ſeconded by another, for re-committing the addreſs. The debates which now aroſe became ſo general, as by degrees to take in the whole round of American buſineſs. Nothing was left untouched. In the courſe of them it was repeatedly thrown out both by friends and adverſaries, that the Hanoverian buſineſs was not a meaſure of the miniſter's own; and hints were given that it had been dictated by the ſame overruling influence, which had often before been charged in other matters, with obliging him to act contrary to his diſpoſition and opinion. Upon this imputation of ſecret influence, he avowed the meaſure, and acknowledged he was one of thoſe who adviſed it; declared that he thought it perfectly juſtifiable, and was ſatisfied that it was defenſible on every principle both of law and of the conſtitution.

It being found that the general motion for re-commitment, had a good deal divided the country gentlemen, many of whom had already voted for the addreſs, and were ſtill, as well as thoſe who had not, zealous ſupporters of its general principles, the gentleman who made, was prevailed upon to withdraw his motion, and another was framed which was confined to the particular ground of objection, that the obnoxious paſſage ſhould be expunged, and the following words inſerted in its place, "we will immediately take into conſideration the meaſure of introduc-

ing foreign troops into any part of the dominions of the crown of Great Britain, without the previous consent of parliament." This motion again united the country gentlemen, with those who were averse to the address at large.

The minister at length feeling the affair more serious than he could have apprehended, and dreading to come to a division until the country gentlemen were recalled to their standard, with great address, converted to immediate use, a hint which was thrown out on purpose by one of the law officers. He all at once changed his ground, quitted the high and peremptory tone of authority, said, that though he had advised the measure as believing it right, and though he still continued to think so, yet as other gentlemen, for whom he had ever held the highest deference, seemed to be of another opinion, he had no objection that the question should be brought in a regular and parliamentary manner before the house, when he would chearfully abide by their determination; and if it was their general sense, that the measure was illegal, or unconstitutional, he should rest the defence on the ground of necessity only, and then its advisers might receive the protection, as was always practised in such cases, of an act of indemnity.

This concession set every thing to rights. The country gentlemen being now satisfied, returned to their usual temper and disposition, and the opposition was again reduced to what was properly so called. In this state of things, the question being put about one o'clock in the morning, the amendment was rejected, and the address in its original state accordingly passed upon a division, by a majority of 176, to 72.

Among several peculiar circumstances which attended the debates of both these days, was the total defection of Gen. Conway from administration upon the first, who after expressing the utmost detestation of that official principle, that persons holding places must implicitly support government in all cases whatsoever, and however contrary to their opinion, he then condemned in the most decisive terms the American war, which he declared to be cruel, unnecessary, and unnatural; calling it in plain terms a butchery of his fellow-subjects, and to which his conscience forbade him to give an assent. He reprobated every idea of conquering America, upon all the grounds of justice, expediency, and practicability. He declared in the most unreserved terms against the right of taxation; and wished to see the declaratory law repealed, though it had been passed under his own auspices when in administration, and though on abstract legal principles he thought it right, and at the time of passing it proper and necessary, rather than it should be employed to colour designs, the most opposite to the intentions publicly declared of those who supported it in parliament; and particularly opposite to the fullest declaration of his own at the time of his moving it.

He, as well as several other gentlemen, repeatedly called upon the minister, to give them some information of the state of affairs in America, that they might know with certainty upon what ground they

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ſtood, and were likely hereafter to ſtand, before they paſſed a bloody addreſs, which would be a ſtanding record againſt them, and which, notwithſtanding the profuſion of ſophiſtical arguments that were now uſed to palm it upon them, by endeavouring to explain away its ſubſtance, and to repreſent it only as froth and compliment, would not only be found a curb upon, but muſt in a great degree influence their conduct throughout the ſeſſion, notwithſtanding any information they might hereafter obtain. Some of the country gentlemen likewiſe, ſaid they had gone with the miniſter in the preceding ſeſſion, upon a ſuppoſition that he had given them authentic information with regard to America; but now finding by the event that they had been totally deceived, it became abſolutely neceſſary to have a full and clear ſtate of affairs laid before them, prior to their entering into any buſineſs upon the ſubject.

This matter preſſed very hard upon, and was extremely vexatious to adminiſtration. The accounts from America were at that time far from favourable. It was even doubtful whether we had any thing left there. The giving of any particular information, with the power which the miniſter now poſſeſſed in the houſe, was indeed eaſily ſtaved off. But too much was already publicly known from other ſources, not to render it difficult to account for the failure of ſucceſs in many inſtances, and to guard againſt the cenſure which of courſe attended it. One gentleman in adminiſtration acknowledged that there had been miſmanagement ſomewhere; but whether by the parliament, in not granting a ſufficient force; by the miniſtry, in an improper application of the force granted; or by the officers who commanded, in not carrying the deſigns which were formed into execution, he would not determine. He however ſeemed to lean upon the latter, by talking of a parliamentary enquiry. He alſo made an apology for adminiſtration, upon the ground of the peculiar ſituation of a miniſter in this country, who, notwithſtanding any ſagacity or preſcience he might be endued with, muſt wait for the opinion of the people, before he could attempt to carry any great deſign into execution; and that if government had demanded a force of 40 or 50,000 men in the preceding ſeſſion, parliament, perhaps, might not have granted them.

Another gentleman in high power and office, though not properly a member of adminiſtration, acknowledged there were faults ſomewhere; but afterwards confined them, by ſaying he did not know whether they were in the ſea, or the land department. Some of thoſe who were particularly attached to the miniſter, charged him, notwithſtanding, with want of vigour in the American buſineſs; but conſoled him with the aſſurance that it was not yet too late, and recommended an immediate adoption of the moſt coercive meaſures. They alſo condemned ſeverely the inactivity of the preceding campaign; but left the blame at large as to the objects.

The miniſter pledged himſelf to proceed with vigour and activity. Acknowledged that he had been deceived in events; but that he

he had adapted his measures last session to the then state of affairs, not imagining that all America would have armed in the cause. Administration, he said, proceeded upon the information they had received; if other gentlemen were in possession of better, why did they not communicate it? Observed, that if we suffered by the war, America would suffer much more. A great force should be sent out, accompanied with offers of mercy, upon a proper submission. It could not be supposed, that America, without money, without trade, without resources, would continue to prefer a ruinous war with Great Britain, to the blessings of peace, and a happy dependence upon her. He professed, that there were no intentions to oppress America; but on the contrary, to establish the most mild, just, and equitable government there.

The question upon the address, was scarcely less warmly agitated in the house of lords than in that of the commons. As soon as it had been moved for and seconded, the Marquis of Rockingham, after taking a retrospective view of the conduct of different administrations for some years with respect to America, and tracing a long series of what he considered as weak, contradictory, and oppressive measures, through the various stages of their unhappy consequences, unto their final termination in the present upshot of calamity, then proceeded to examine different parts of the speech, which he condemned in the most pointed terms, contending that the measures which were recommended from the throne, and which it was proposed they should now give a sanction to by an address, bore the most portentous aspect to the British empire, and were big with the most ruinous and fatal consequences. His lordship concluded his speech by moving for an amendment to the address, similar to that which we have represented in the other house.

The present debate was rendered particularly remarkable, by the sudden and unexpected defection of* a noble duke, who had been for some years at the head of administration, had resigned of his own accord, at a critical period; but who had gone with government ever since, and was at this time in high office. The line which he immediately took, was still more alarming to administration than the act of defection. Besides a decisive condemnation of all their acts for some time past with respect to America, as well as of the measures now held out by the speech, he declared that he had been deceived and misled upon that subject; that by the withholding of information, and the misrepresentation of facts, he had been induced to lend his countenance to measures which he never approved; among those, was that in particular of coercing America by force of arms; an idea the most distant from his mind and opinion; but which he was blindly led to give a support to from his total ignorance of the true state and disposition of the colonies, and the firm persuasion held out that matters would never come to an extremity of that

* Duke of Grafton.

nature, that an *appearance* of coercion was all that was requiſite to eſtabliſh a reconciliation, and that the ſtronger government appeared, and the better it was ſupported, the ſooner all diſputes would be amicably adjuſted.

He declared, that nothing leſs than a total repeal of all the American laws which had been paſſed ſince the year 1763; could now reſtore peace and happineſs, or prevent the moſt deſtructive and fatal conſequences; conſequences which could not even be thought of, without feeling the utmoſt degree of grief and horror; that nothing could have brought him out in the preſent ill ſtate of his health, but the fulleſt conviction of his being right, a knowledge of the critical ſituation of his country, and a ſenſe of what he owed to his duty and to his conſcience; that theſe operated ſo ſtrongly upon him, that no ſtate of indiſpoſition, if he were even obliged to come in a litter, ſhould prevent his attending to expreſs his utmoſt diſapprobation of the meaſures which were now purſuing, as well as of those which he underſtood from the lords in office, it was intended ſtill to purſue. He concluded by a declaration, that if his neareſt relations, or deareſt friends, were to be affected by this queſtion, or that the loſs of fortune, and of every other thing which he moſt eſteemed, was to be the certain conſequence of his preſent conduct, yet the ſtrong conviction and compulſion, operating at once upon his mind and conſcience, would not permit him to heſitate upon the part which he ſhould take.

Such an explicit condemnation of their paſt conduct and preſent views, and coming from ſuch an authority, ſeemed at firſt view as alarming to adminiſtration as it was to the houſe. No body could yet tell, nor even gueſs, where the defection might end. It was, however, productive of leſs effect than could have been expected, and conſequently attended with none of the danger that was probably apprehended. A right reverend Prelate of great eloquence and ability, who in the preceding ſeſſion, had both ſpoken and voted for coercive meaſures, took the ſame part, and accounted for the change in his ſentiments and conduct, upon the ſame principles that the noble duke had done—miſinformation, deception, a total failure of all the promiſes, and diſappointment in all the hopes, held out by adminiſtration; but above all, the ruinous conſequences of the conteſt, and the now evident impracticability of coercion.

A noble lord in adminiſtration, and who continued firmly in its ſupport, alſo acknowledged that he with his brethren in office had been greatly deceived, and thereby miſled in their conduct, with reſpect to American affairs; from whence it proceeded, that the meaſures taken were by no means proportioned to the nature and extent of the ſervices which they were expected to perform. All theſe acknowledgements from ſo many quarters of the want of real information, or charges of being miſled by falſe, afforded a ſtrong ground of argument to the oppoſition in ſupport of the amendment to the addreſs, which was calculated to gain time for a thorough inveſtigation of theſe matters, to prevent their being plunged blind-

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ly into all the horrors of a civil war, and from pledging themſelves to ſupport the ſanguinary meaſures propoſed in the ſpeech, before they were capable of forming any judgment upon their neceſſity or expediency. This ground they accordingly diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage, and maintained ſtrongly; and though the noble lord we have laſt mentioned, attributed thoſe miſtakes to unforeſeen events, and afterwards endeavoured to explain away the entire force of what he had ſaid, the impreſſion it had made, concurring with ſo many other teſtimonies, was not eaſily removed.

The arguments againſt the addreſs, and conſequently in ſupport of the amendment, were neceſſarily upon the ſame ground in general with thoſe in the other houſe—The great hazard of our failing in the attempt to reduce America by force, the little value it would be of if we ſucceeded, when conquered, and the total inability of Great Britain to retain, for any length of time, ſuch a ſpecies of dominion, together with the ruinous conſequences that muſt attend on, what was called, ſo wild and abſurd an attempt, were ſtrongly urged, and placed in different points of view; whilſt the innumerable advantages we muſt immediately forego in ſuch a conteſt, were contraſted with the ſubſtantial benefits we ſhould continue to reap from a ſtate of tranquillity, reciprocal good temper, and mutual confidence. A few, who held the higheſt notions of the ſupremacy of the legiſlature, yet condemned in the ſtrongeſt terms, as an act of abſolute inſanity, every idea of a war, or of attempting to reduce the Americans to obedience by mere coercion. A young nobleman, who within a few days after obtained a conſiderable place at court, and who had been remarkable in the preceding ſeſſion for his violence againſt the Americans, now diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his condemnation in the moſt pointed terms of the miniſtry, charging them with having failed in their promiſes and information, of being miſled themſelves, or purpoſely miſleading others, and therefore not to be truſted or ſupported with ſafety; he had not, however, changed his ſentiments with reſpect to America, but conſidered matters as totally changed there, through their want of timely vigour, and the ſeaſon for coercion being now paſſed. Upon that account therefore, and a total want of dependence on the future conduct of ſuch men, he was for cloſing with the noble duke's propoſal, of repealing all the laws ſince the year 1763, as the only means now left for reſtoring the public tranquility.

It was not eaſy for the lords in adminiſtration to ward off all the attacks which were made upon them from ſuch different quarters. The failure and diſappointment in many inſtances in America, were attributed to a number of events, which no ſagacity could have foreſeen, nor prudence prevented. Such was the defection of New York, which had been overawed, and compelled into meaſures by the Connecticut inſurgents, which the people there would never otherwiſe have adopted. Such was the general union of the colonies, particularly of the ſouthern with the northern; a fact of ſo extraordi-

nary a nature, as muſt ſtagger the faith of poſterity, and which ſeems ſubverſive of every principle founded upon reaſon and experience, and of every inference derived from a knowledge of mankind. It was acknowledged, that adminiſtration, had been miſtaken and deceived in many particulars; but ſuch muſt ever be the caſe, when the ſource of information lies at ſo great a diſtance; they communicated with men, and as ſuch they were liable to err; if they had been to regulate their conduct by mere matters of fact, miſtakes would have been ſcarcely excuſable; but from the nature of this buſineſs, they were obliged to proceed upon a kind of information, which related more to opinion than to facts, being the temper and diſpoſition of the ſeveral colonies; all they could do in this caſe, was to apply to thoſe who had the beſt opportunity of being thoroughly informed on the ſubject; whatever ſucceſs might attend this method, it was not in the power of humanity to have done better.

It was, however, ſtill to be hoped, that when a ſufficient force was ſent out to emancipate the friends of government, the well diſpoſed, and the peaceable, and this force accompanied with terms of grace to thoſe who had violated the laws, that the colonies would ſoon return to their duty, without waiting to experience thoſe calamities, or urging the mother country to thoſe meaſures of devaſtation and ruin, which had been ſo ſtrongly depictured, and ſo pathetically lamented, on the other ſide. But however that might be, we were now in a ſituation which admitted but of one choice of meaſures. We muſt either reduce the colonies to ſubmiſſion, or for ever relinquiſh all power and dominion over them, and all advantage from north America.

A noble lord at the head of a very great department, upon which the power and ſecurity of this country principally depend, acknowledged, that a ſpecies of deception had been neceſſarily practiſed in the preceding ſeſſion, particularly in reſpect to the navy, by concealing the extent of the real force which would be neceſſary for the American ſervice, from an apprehenſion, that ſuch a demand would have excited a great oppoſition, and thereby have impeded, if not totally fruſtrated, the proſecution of thoſe meaſures which government intended with regard to America. This ſyſtematic ſpecies of deception, was ſeverely animadverted upon by the lords in oppoſition, who repreſented it as a moſt contemptuous treatment of that houſe, as miſleading parliament and the nation, and trepanning them into a war; and was, they ſaid, an impoſition of ſuch a nature as no body could have ventured upon, much leſs avowed, without the moſt abſolute certainty of impunity for any conduct.

In this debate a noble duke *, who has long been diſtinguiſhed by his firmneſs and perſeverance in oppoſition, after ſome very ſevere obſervations upon the conduct of adminiſtration, as well as ſtrictures upon the ſpeech and the addreſs, took notice, that the public papers had held out threats againſt ſome

* Duke of Richmond.

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of the members of both houſes, in order to ſtifle the freedom of debate; that he underſtood he was one of the perſons ſingled out, and meant to be honoured upon this occaſion. He now called upon his threatners and accuſers; if any ſuch were preſent, (he would not pretend to ſay there were) he defied them; he ſcorned their menaces, and invited them to make good their charges. He did not ſuppoſe, he ſaid, that any noble lords in adminiſtration would encourage or uſe ſuch baſe, futile, and ſcandalous means to intimidate the members in either houſe of parliament from doing their duty, even though they had ſuppoſed, that ſo ſhameful and unjuſtifiable a ſcheme could have produced the deſired effect.

The noble lord who ſeconded the addreſs, having ſpoken with great freedom of a deſperate faction, and incendiaries at home, to whom he attributed the rebellion in America, and a ſimilar language being held by ſome others, who charged all oppoſition to the meaſures of adminiſtration, to factious and ambitious motives, the matter was moſt ſpiritedly taken up by another noble duke, not leſs diſtinguiſhed on the ſame ſide, than the former whom we have juſt mentioned. He ſolemnly declared, that while-ever he ſate in that houſe, he would not endure ſuch language, nor ſuffer ſuch unconſtitutional attempts to check and deſtroy all freedom of debate, to paſs without the ſevereſt reprehenſion which he was capable of beſtowing. He called upon the lords who had made thoſe accuſations, if they had any grounds to juſtify them, to bring them forward, or elſe to confeſs that they had no authority for what they ſaid or inſinuated. If they were ſilent, the houſe muſt conclude they had none, and as ſuch could not permit them to interrupt that freedom and decorum of debate, for which they had at all times been ſo juſtly diſtinguiſhed.

As the point of accuſation was relinquiſhed, as well by the ſilence upon this occaſion, as by ſome ſpecific diſavowals in the courſe of the debates, a noble earl on the ſame ſide, ſaid he might now congratulate the public, upon the miniſtry having pronounced the funeral oration of their addreſſes. He ſaid, that from the language of thoſe addreſſes, and the various threats which had been induſtriouſly circulated, he came to town with ſome apprehenſions, not for himſelf, but leſt the zeal of ſome friend, for the violated rights of his ſuffering fellow-ſubjects, ſhould have led him into any unguarded expreſſions, and thereby have enabled ſome dark deſigning lawyer, to ſtab the public freedom through the indiſcretion of an individual. He ſaid he did not blame the addreſſers, who had thus unjuſtly aſperſed the characters of thoſe whoſe aim was, by ſteady, juſt, and temperate counſels, to ſave this deluded country from deſtruction. They had been deceived, and were deceived by thoſe very miniſters, who being now called upon, explicitly avow, without ſhame or remorſe, that they have no evidence to ſupport their accuſation.

The manner of obtaining the addreſſes, alſo became a matter of diſcuſſion, from its being inſiſted upon by one ſide, that they were to be conſidered as the full voice

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and ſenſe of the nation, which conveyed through them the fulleſt approbation of the preſent meaſures, and the moſt perfect confidence in adminiſtration. This called up a noble lord in oppoſition, who ſpoke from his own knowledge, of the ſurreptitious manner in which an addreſs was obtained, and preſented in the name of one of our principal trading and manufacturing cities; that it had been drawn up, and ſhamefully ſmuggled through by the mere agents, and known creatures of adminiſtration, without any previous notice to the citizens; that nine tenths of thoſe who had ſigned it, did not know a ſingle ſyllable of its contents; that with all the influence, and all the unfair means which were uſed, only 117 ſubſcribers could be procured; but that when a counter addreſs was propoſed, which militated with every part of the former, and conveyed truth to the foot of the throne, it was carried fairly and openly through all the uſual forms, and ſigned by conſiderably more than three times the number.

After long debates, the queſtion upon the amendment being put about 11 o'clock at night, it was rejected upon a diviſion by a majority of 40, the numbers being 69, to 29, the original motion for the addreſs was then carried by a majority of 76 (including 10 proxies) to 33 who oppoſed the queſtion. Two biſhops were in the minority on this diviſion.

The addreſs was productive of a proteſt ſigned by nineteen lords, in which they combat the civil war, as unjuſt and impolitic in its principles, dangerous in its contingent, and fatal in its final conſequences. After condemning the injuſtice and imprudence of our conduct, in rejecting the American petitions and applications for a reconciliation, with the indecency and folly of affecting to diſbelieve their loyalty, when they expreſs it in the warmeſt profeſſions, and expatiating upon the known and the probable evils of the conteſt, they deſcribe the abſurdity of refuſing to give credit to the declarations of our fellow-ſubjects, and blindly confiding in the inſidious profeſſions of the natural enemies of this country, thereby, it is to be dreaded, preparing an eaſy prey for thoſe who prudently ſit quiet, beholding Britiſh forces, which, if united, might carry terror into the heart of their dominions, deſtroying each other. Thus, every event, which-ever way it turns, is a victory to them. Our very hoſpitals furniſh them with daily triumphs; the greater, as they are certain, without any riſque to them of men or money.

They cenſured the calling in of foreign forces to decide domeſtic quarrels, as diſgraceful and dangerous; and reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms the late meaſure of employing the Hanoverians, at the mere pleaſure of the miniſters, by which they appear to be conſidered as a part of the Britiſh military eſtabliſhment, to take a rotation of garriſon duties through theſe dominions. They ſum up and conclude the proteſt by declaring, "we cannot therefore conſent to an addreſs, which may deceive his majeſty and the public, into a belief of the confidence of this houſe in the preſent miniſters, who have deceived parliament, diſgraced the nation, loſt the

the colonies, and involved us in a civil war againſt our cleareſt intereſts; and upon the moſt unjuſtifiable grounds, wantonly ſpilling the blood of thouſands of our fellow-ſubjects."

CHAP. V.

Duke of Mancheſter's motion relative to the Hanoverian troops. Debates. Previous queſtion carried by a great majority. Similar motion by Sir James Lowther in the Houſe of Commons. Debates. Previous queſtion put and carried. Debates on the Militia Bill. Army eſtimates. Motion for returns rejected. 28,000 *ſeamen voted. Motion for an addreſs on American affairs rejected.* 55,000 *men voted for the land ſervice.*

THE meaſure of ſending the Hanoverian troops to occupy our Mediterranean garriſons, was not an object of leſs cenſure or jealouſy in the Houſe of Lords, than we have already ſeen it in that of the Commons. Soon after the delivery of the addreſs, the Duke of Mancheſter moved for a reſolution, "That bringing into any part of the dominions of Great Britain, the electoral troops of his Majeſty, or any other foreign troops, without the previous conſent of parliament, is dangerous and unconſtitutional." The noble mover added an explanation, that by the term unconſtitutional, he meant that it was againſt law.

Nov. 1ſt.

In the introduction and ſupport of this motion, the ſpeech again underwent much ſevere cenſure, as breathing ſentiments which included higher ideas of prerogative, than any other that had been delivered in that place ſince the Revolution; and, as containing ſlights of that council, neglect of parliament, and indifference of their approbation. The meaſure in queſtion was ſaid to have inflicted a moſt dangerous wound in the conſtitution, which, if not ſpeedily healed, would gangrene and extend, in ſuch a manner as to mortify the whole. That however innocuous it might ſeem in its firſt operation, the example and precedent were of the moſt alarming nature, and might produce the moſt fatal conſequences. That it was totally ſubverſive of the great charter and ſecurity of Engliſh liberties, the Bill of Rights. They were requeſted to conſider the importance of the ſubject, and it was averred to be of as much conſequence to the liberties of this country, as America had been to its wealth and power; that in this ſeaſon of calamity, when half the empire was too probably loſt for ever, they were bound by all the ties of intereſt, duty, and love to their country, to watch ſtrictly over the liberties of the remainder, that ſomething might ſtill be left, worth preſerving, worth contending for. That it would be too much, to be at once ſtripped of wealth, power, the ſecurities afforded by our conſtitution, and all the peculiar characteriſtics which diſtinguiſhed us from other nations.

Among other objections, it was contended, that the Hanoverians would

would not be under the controul of any military law in thoſe garriſons; that the Mutiny Act did not reach them, being confined to thoſe troops only, who were therein ſpecified, or voted by parliament; that it would not be pretended, that they carried their own laws along with them; when there, they muſt to all intents and purpoſes be ſubject to thoſe of England; thus all military ſubordination would be at an end the moment of their arrival; and an action at common law would lie againſt their officers, for any puniſhment which they inflicted. It was ſaid, that the putting foreigners in poſſeſſion of thoſe great barriers of our commerce and maritime power, was alſo exceptionable in point of ſecurity. The truſt was of too great a magnitude to be repoſed in aliens, who had no intereſt in its preſervation. Upon the whole it was concluded and inſiſted upon, that the King had no right to maintain, in any part of the dominions of the Britiſh crown, any troops, other than are conſented to by parliament, both as to number and to nation.

The Lords in adminiſtration, avowed and juſtified the meaſure. They denied its offending either againſt the letter or the ſpirit of the Bill of Rights. The clauſe which was ſuppoſed to affect this meaſure, muſt be taken with the conditions which were annexed to it, and could extend no farther; one of theſe related to the bringing troops "within the kingdom," and another ſpecifies "in time of peace;" nothing can be more demonſtrably evident, than that the troops in queſtion are not within the kingdom; and it is not to be preſumed, that any body will ſay we are at preſent in a ſtate of peace and tranquillity. It would be abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the words, "within the kingdom," included all its dependencies; but if ſuch a latitude were even admitted, and received as a fiction of policy, ſtill, the rebellion in America, the exiſtence of which could not be diſputed, would juſtify the meaſure, even upon the principles of that bill.

That the King had been at all times competent to raiſe or keep an army in time of war or rebellion, in any part of his dominions; that this competence was rather confirmed than leſſened by the Bill of Rights; that the bill made no diſtinction between an army of natives and foreigners; that this was no novel doctrine, but had been repeatedly brought into practice ſince the Revolution, in times when the rights of the people were as fully underſtood, and their preſervation as carefully attended to as at preſent; and that foreigners had not only been hired, but brought into the kingdom, without the previous conſent of parliament. They, however, contended, that were all this ſtrong ground given up, ſtill the Bill of Rights being retroſpective and declaratory, could bear no view to poſſeſſions which were not at that time in the crown. The expediency of the meaſure, and the neceſſity of its being timely adopted, were alſo inſiſted upon; and it was much argued, that ſuch a cenſure would ſhew a ſhameful diſtruſt of the crown, at a time when it could not be juſtified with the ſmalleſt appearance of reaſon.

To theſe and other arguments in the

the ſame line it was replied, that it was beneath the dignity, and contrary to the liberal conſtruction and comprehenſive views of that houſe, to enter into the quibbles and diſtinctions of Weſtminſter-Hall; to weigh words and ſentences, to define their diſtinct, legal, or grammatical import, was for others, not for them. They were to conſider the ſpirit, the intention, the circumſtances that led to, and the evils that were to be cured, by that ſolemn compact between the King and the people, the Bill of Rights. Theſe they were to conſider as legiſlators, as the hereditary guardians of that new magna charta, which includes within its pale all the liberties of the people of England, not as lawyers, who wanted to explain away its ſubſtance, or to find loopholes to creep through. That bill was a capitulation between the people and their newly elected ſovereign; a compact to be for ever binding on their reſpective poſterity and ſucceſſors. It claimed no new rights, it required no favours; it declared old rights; what was already the law and the conſtitution; and particularly provided againſt thoſe violations of them, which were then more immediately felt. Of theſe, the keeping of a ſtanding army, without the conſent of parliament, was the firſt in danger and magnitude, and had been recently experienced; this giant evil had already ſubverted the liberties of all the other ſtates in Europe, and had nearly ſwallowed up our own. This deſtroyer of the rights of nations was accordingly provided againſt, as far as compacts can bind mankind, and as wiſdom can govern futurity.

The conſtruction now attempted to be put upon the words "within the kingdom," it was ſaid, might be carried to an extent, which the noble lords on the other ſide might not be willing to avow. If theſe terms did not include all the poſſeſſions belonging to this country, then armies of foreigners, to any amount, might be introduced into Jerſey, Guernſey, Ireland, and even Scotland, which was not at that time within the kingdom. Can it be ſeriouſly contended, that this is in the intention or ſpirit of the Bill of Rights? Or that when the maintaining an army of natives within England and Wales, was deemed dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people, the ſurrounding and beſieging them with hoſts of foreigners, was an object neither of jealouſy nor apprehenſion. The diſtinctions made between a time of peace and war, and the great latitude of power attributed to the crown in the latter inſtance, were equally controverted, and ſaid neither to be warranted by the law, nor by any cuſtomary uſage; that if the arguments uſed on that head were carried to their full extent, it would neceſſarily follow, that an inſurrection, or war, in the remoteſt part of this widely extended empire, would render it legal in the crown to introduce armies of foreigners, of any nation, and to any amount, even into this kingdom. The inference attempted to be drawn from the word *foreigners* not being expreſſed in the law, was, it was ſaid, too puerile to deſerve a ſerious conſideration, if

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it had not been for the great ſtreſs which ſeemed to be laid upon it by ſome lords on the other ſide; but can it be thought or believed, that when it was deemed dangerous to entruſt the ſword in the hands of a ſtanding army of natives, it ſhould be conſidered as perfectly wiſe, legal, conſtitutional, and ſafe, to place it in thoſe of foreigners?

It was abſolutely denied that foreign troops had been brought into the kingdom at any time ſince the Revolution, without the previous conſent of parliament, either by an addreſs, or by ſome former treaty which it had ratified. Such was the caſe of the Heſſians in the years 1745 and 1756, upon which ſo much weight had been laid; in the firſt inſtance, the meaſure had the ſanction of an addreſs from both houſes to the throne; and in the ſecond, it was covered by an exiſting treaty, which had already received the approbation of parliament. As to the hiring of foreign troops, and afterwards prevailing on parliament to ratify the engagements, it did not at all come up to the point in queſtion, though it could be ſhewn, that even this practice, had in other times been an object of much animadverſion and cenſure.

It was ſhewn, that former adminiſtrations had been ſo tender and cautious with reſpect to employing foreigners, and the vigilance and jealouſy of parliament upon that ſubject was ſo well underſtood, that in the height of the turbulence, heat, and danger of the late war, when the fate of empires ſeemed at ſtake, and our annual levies for the army and navy, were not much fewer than twenty thouſand; yet in ſuch a ſeaſon of urgent neceſſity, when the propriety of the meaſure did not admit of a doubt, that great ſtateſman the Earl of Chatham, would not venture upon raiſing a German regiment of 4000 men for the American ſervice, under any colour of the royal prerogative, but waited to go through the formalities, and to receive the ſanction of an act of parliament for the purpoſe. And ſuch precautions were taken at that time to ſecure the rights of the people, and ſuch an attention paid even to their opinions, that the number of foreign officers was limited to fifty, which was leſs than one third of the whole; the ſoldiers were alſo to be proteſtants, to become naturalized ſubjects, and to take the oath 1ſt George I. And ſo tenacious was the miniſter and parliament then with reſpect to the act of ſettlement, ſo careful of the ſmalleſt violation, that the law which enabled the crown to take thoſe Germans into its ſervice, provided that they ſhould ſerve in America only, and that none of the foreign officers ſhould bear any commiſſion higher than that of Lieutenant-Colonel. So far were we then from putting the ſtrong fortreſſes of this empire into the poſſeſſion of foreigners, that a very deſerving naturalized officer could never arrive at the command of a regiment of his own countrymen, which he had a principal ſhare in raiſing and forming. And ſo widely different were the principles and modes of acting a few years back, from the doctrines which are held out at preſent.

They alſo obſerved, that ſo lately as the year 1768, when the crown thought an augmentation of the

the army in Ireland, from 12000 to 15000 men neceſſary, in order thereby to ſtrengthen the foreign garriſons, without leaving that kingdom defenceleſs, however neceſſary the meaſure was, and though the Iriſh parliament, which was to provide the expence, ſeconded the King's views, yet he did not think himſelf authorized at the head of that body, to make any addition to his forces, though of natural-born ſubjects, without the ſanction of the Britiſh parliament, which was accordingly obtained by an act paſſed for that purpoſe.

As to what had been repeatedly ſaid, of not ſhewing any diſtruſt of the Prince upon the throne, it was replied, that no diſtruſt was meant or entertained; compliments were not to be thought of in queſtions of great national concern; nor a precedent eſtabliſhed as a matter of compliment, which might prove fatal in its conſequences to the rights of a people. No Prince ever ſat upon a throne that deſerved a more unlimited confidence, than our great deliverer King William; yet, with all his virtues, and all the obligations we were under to him, parliament would not indulge him in that meaſure which went ſo near to his heart, of keeping a ſingle regiment of Dutch guards here. They who refuſed him in that inſtance, notwithſtanding all his great virtues and qualities, deſerve the higheſt applauſe and honour for their firmneſs in ſo doing. If they had been ceremonious, a precedent would not now have been wanting; and the uſage being once eſtabliſhed, would upon ſome future occaſion be applied to the moſt dangerous purpoſes.

Upon the whole, the oppoſition inſiſted, that the meaſure was highly illegal and unconſtitutional; that it was directly contrary both to the letter and ſpirit of the law; but that if it had militated with no poſitive law, it would ſtill have been a total infraction, and fundamentally ſubverſive, of the firſt principles of our government. A noble Earl went ſo far, as to pronounce it deciſively, to be high treaſon againſt the conſtitution.

A great Lord at the head of the law, and Speaker of that houſe, gave up the point, as to Gibraltar and Minorca not being ſuppoſed within the kingdom, in the intention and ſpirit of the law; he beſides allowed that the law applied to foreigners; but juſtified the meaſure upon the ſame principle, for as America was alſo included in the deſcription of within the kingdom, and a rebellion and war were now exiſting there, ſo the operation of the Bill of Rights muſt ceaſe, until peace was reſtored.

A noble Lord, high in office, had moved the previous queſtion early in the debate, upon a ſuppoſition that a bill of indemnity would be brought into the Houſe of Commons by the miniſter, in order to remove the ſcruples, and quiet the apprehenſions of the country gentlemen. The idea of an act of indemnity, was however totally reprobated by the other Lords in office, and the noble author endeavoured, as well as he could, to explain away the ſubſtance of what he had thrown out upon that ſubject. The previous queſtion being at length put, it was carried by a majority of 75, including 22 proxies, to 32, including one proxy, who ſupported the motion.

In the mean time, the miniſter

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was continually preſſed in the Houſe of Commons by the country gentlemen, for the Indemnity Bill which he had promiſed to bring in, and which he did not now ſeem at all diſpoſed to think of. Their perſeverance, however, brought him to an explanation, that though he was perfectly ſatisfied of the legality of the meaſure, he had no objection to give thoſe gentlemen ſatisfaction who held another opinion, and were apprehenſive that it might be drawn into a precedent, by concurring with them in any meaſure, which might tend, as he expreſſed it facetiouſly, to the preſervation of miniſters heads upon their ſhoulders; but that he had conſulted ſeveral upon the ſubject, who joined exactly with himſelf in opinion, that bills of indemnity were only intended to cover miniſters from actions at law; but did not at all operate againſt criminal charges, nor in any degree bar an impeachment.

This opinion was by no means received, and it was on the contrary inſiſted, that bills of indemnity were acts of grace and favour extended by parliament to miniſters, to protect them from puniſhment for thoſe acts of illegality which they might be guilty of through neceſſity, expediency, or human infirmity, where the intention was clear, and the operating motive might be brought in juſtification, or mere error, in alleviation of the crime. The miniſter then propoſed a reſolution, by which the meaſure in queſtion was applauded in nearly the terms of the addreſs, and a ſtill farther ſanction given to it, by declaring it as the opinion of the houſe, that it neceſſarily required a greater degree of diſpatch, than was conſiſtent with waiting for the aſſembling of parliament.

This propoſal was ſo directly the reverſe to the ſatisfaction which was demanded, that it was of courſe rejected; not without ſome diſapprobation of the idea, that any reſolution of one houſe of parliament, ſhould be ſet up to encounter the eſtabliſhed law of the land, founded upon, and growing out of the conſtitution. The miniſter endeavoured to remove this objection by a conference with the Lords, which would render the reſolution the joint act of both houſes. None of theſe propoſals affording any ſatisfaction, and none better being offered, one of the country gentlemen gave notice that he would move for leave to bring in an act of indemnity. The miniſter, however, thought proper afterwards to take the buſineſs out of his hands, and was himſelf the mover to bring in the propoſed bill.

Though this was all that was wiſhed by the country gentlemen, it by no means ſatisfied the oppoſition, properly ſo called, who knew that the bill would be ſo contrived, as to appear rather an indulgence offered by the miniſters to tender and ſcrupulous conſciences, and was in fact a compliment to many of their own friends, who would wiſh in ſome meaſure to balance preſent conduct with former profeſſions, than as including any cenſure upon themſelves, acknowledgment that an indemnity was neceſſary to their ſecurity, or effectual condemnation of the meaſure upon which it was founded.

Nov.

Nov. 3d. Upon theſe, or ſimilar grounds, Sir James Lowther made a motion, That the introducing the Hanoverian troops into any part of the dominions belonging to the crown of Great Britain, without the conſent of parliament firſt had and obtained, is contrary to law. The miniſter, to guard againſt the effects of this motion, and to detach the country gentlemen entirely from it, had his bill of indemnity framed with great diſpatch, and brought in upon that very morning.

As this motion went directly home to the queſtion of law, the charge in that reſpect was ſtrongly ſupported, and beſides the general illegalities which we have already ſeen attributed to the meaſure in queſtion, whether with reſpect to the general law of the realm, or the Bill of Rights in particular, it was now affirmed to be directly contrary to that clauſe in the Act of Settlement, which ſpecially enacts, That no perſon born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereto belonging, (although he be naturalized, or made a denizen,) except ſuch as are born of Engliſh parents, ſhall be capable to enjoy any office, or place of truſt, civil or military.

The application of a clauſe which left ſo little room for doubt or miſtake, was not difficult. It was aſked, whether the poſſeſſion of Gibraltar and Minorca, were not military truſts of the higheſt nature? Whether the crown could legally commit theſe truſts to the officers of France or Spain? Was there any diſtinction in point of law, which rendered it more legal to commit the keys of the empire to the cuſtody of Hanoverians than Spaniards? The troops of Hanover are as diſtinct from the troops of this country, as thoſe of Ruſſia. The King of Great Britain is alſo as diſtinct from the Elector of Hanover in every political point of view, as he is from the remoteſt ſovereign in Chriſtendom.

Several paſſages in the Bill of Rights, and Annual Mutiny Act, were applied in further proof of the charge of illegality.

On the other ſide, the ground of legality, with reſpect to the laws which had paſſed in conſequence of the Revolution, not being found tenable, was quitted, and new taken. One of the law officers, and ſome other gentlemen on the ſame ſide, advanced and inſiſted, that it was an indiſputable prerogative inherent in the crown, to protect the public, which could not be done but by arms. That parliament had no means of controlling this prerogative, and preventing any miſchievous conſequences, but by withholding the ſupplies which were neceſſary for the ſupport of armies. That this prerogative was coeval with the inherent right in the crown of making peace and war, which would not only be nugatory, but an abſolute mockery without it; and that it was ſupported by uninterrupted uſage, the conſtant exerciſe of the right, from the earlieſt period of our monarchy to the Revolution. That the Bill of Rights created no new law; it only aſſerted ancient uſage, by way of declaration; conſequently, inſtead of militating with this inherent prerogative, it confirms it, if that were wanting; as whatever then appeared to be the ancient uſage,

muſt ſtill continue to be the law. It damns and reprobates ſuch armies, and in ſuch circumſtances, as could not be juſtified by ſuch uniform unqueſtioned uſage; but no others; and whilſt it ſecures the conſtitution, it does not weaken the defence of the kingdom. What was the militia, before the new regulation? It was an army, the command of which was unqueſtionably and ſolely in the crown, and ſo declared to be by act of parliament.

That, if there could be any difference of opinion with reſpect to the prerogative, in the extent now laid down, ſtill there could not be a colour of objection, with regard to the meaſure now attempted to be cenſured; for, however, the general right of the crown might be diſputed, the particular right of placing garriſons in the King's fortreſſes, whether within or without the realm, had never been queſtioned, even in times of the greateſt popular licentiouſneſs. In ſupport of this poſition, inſtances were given of the garriſon kept in Calais for above two hundred years, and of that at Tangier, during the greater part of the reign of Charles the Second, in neither of which, was parliament ever conſulted, or did it ever pretend to interfere; at home, the inſtances were more numerous, and in the ſame predicament; for which the garriſons formerly maintained, in Newcaſtle, Berwick, Portſmouth, the Marches, and Cinque Ports, were brought in proof. All danger from ſuch garriſons to the conſtitution is guarded by the clear line that is drawn. For the moment the troops quit the garriſon towns, or are kept up in any other manner than bona fide for that garriſon uſe, they become illegal; and thoſe who thus keep up or employ them, are anſwerable with their heads for the abuſe.

Theſe arguments, inſtead of ſatisfying the oppoſition, gave them new ground of complaint. They denied the legal force of any uſage contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles of the conſtitution. Otherwiſe all ancient arbitrary proceedings, for which there were but too many precedents, would become foundations for our laws. They ſaid, that the ancient armies of the crown, were compoſed of thoſe who ſerved by virtue of their tenure, for a limited time, and for particular ſervices; to which the King was intitled in common with the inferior Lords, in right of property and tenure. That from the abolition of the military tenures, the crown had no conſtitutional military force whatever, except what was granted by parliament. That an army was a thing totally different from the occaſional call on the ſubject for his own defence againſt an actual invaſion. The legal power of the crown, however, with regard to the militia, was by no means clear, until an act was formed for that purpoſe, though there was no doubt made as to the ſupreme command, whenever it was legally called forth and acted. That the ancient garriſons were by tenures and caſtle guard as other ſervices were, and did no way reſemble regular troops. They laughed at what they called the new diſtinction of garriſons, which might legally form a military chain about the extremities of the kingdom, and were to be held there by words. If any army could be kept there by prerogative, they would

would not ask leave of law to enlarge their quarters.

As to the precedent with respect to foreign garrisons, it was observed, that Calais was the last remnant of those vast possessions which our kings held of their own right in France; that they claimed the crown and the whole kingdom by lineal descent; and that, consequently, the English parliament had no more to do with the King's government of France, than they have now with his government of Hanover. As to Dunkirk and Tangier, Charles the Second, who kept garrisons in those places, maintained an army within the kingdom contrary to law. It was one of those great and dangerous infractions of the constitution, which the Revolution was intended to cure. He also sold Dunkirk to France. Will that now be drawn into precedent?

Notwithstanding the firmness with which the crown lawyers and ministers defended in debate a very qualified sense of the words in the declaration of rights, and of course a very high, and not very clearly defined prerogative in the crown, with regard to garrisons and armies, they did not however think proper to give it a further sanction and confirmation, by putting a direct negative upon the motion, which would have been tantamount to a resolution, and consequently establish the doctrine in debate, so far as that house was capable. Instead of this, the previous question was put, and the motion, accordingly, indirectly lost, by a majority of 203, to 81, by whom it was supported. Thus was this great question, of no small legal and constitutional importance, left open and undecided, to be perhaps resumed at some future period.

A new militia bill having been brought in, in consequence of a passage which we have already seen in the speech from the throne, considerable debates arose upon the second reading of it, which happened on the day preceding the motion we have just mentioned. The principal objection made to this bill, was the prodigious additional power with which it armed the crown, the King being enabled by it to draw out the militia, in case of a rebellion in any part of the empire. This was said to be, in fact, empowering the crown to draw the militia out whenever it thought fit, as a pretence could never be wanting for the purpose, while there was a black Carib remaining in St. Vincent's, a runaway Negro in the mountains of Jamaica, or a Hindoo Rajah left on the coast of Coromandel.

The bill was said to be entirely subversive of every idea of a constitutional militia, which should be merely local, and calculated only for internal and domestic defence. That the present militia was formed under the express condition of not being called out, except in cases of invasion, rebellion, or an imminent danger of either, in the kingdom; but by this bill, it is in the power of a minister to embody the militia whenever he pleases; and as they are then immediately within the Mutiny Act, they are to all intents and purposes, whether they will or no, converted at once into a regular standing army.

It was urged with great severity,

that this bill was rounding and compleating that ſyſtem which had for ſome years been uniformly purſued, of rendering the crown totally independent of the people, and placing them naked and defenceleſs in its power. In ſupport of this aſſertion, beſides the general inſtances, of the great increaſe of our military peace eſtabliſhment both by ſea and land, and the continually growing and dangerous influence obtained by multiplying places and penſions, were reckoned, the great weight thrown into the preponderating ſcale of the crown, by the Royal Marriage Bill; the inordinate power obtained by a violation of all the rights of the Eaſt-India company; the violent attempt of extending the prerogative to the levying of money upon the ſubject by proclamation, in the caſe of the four and half per cent. in the Weſt Indies, which, notwithſtanding every poſſible obſtacle thrown in the way of juſtice, has at length been condemned by our courts of law; with the further breaches in our old form of government, and the unuſual powers granted by the Quebec Act, and the Boſton Port Bill; and the deſign to overawe us into a ſubmiſſion to any meaſures, by the introduction of a foreign force. They ſaid, that every meaſure adopted, and every incident which occurred in the preſent troubles, whether favourable or unfavourable to government, was converted to the furtherance of that deſign. And that adminiſtration was now evidently taking advantage from the ſituation of public affairs, to bring the people by the preſent bill under martial law, and to add that law to the prerogative. They concluded, that no perſon who attentively conſidered the quick ſucceſſion of theſe meaſures within ſo ſhort a period, could have a doubt remaining concerning their deſign.

On the other ſide, all thoſe dangers to the conſtitution which it was ſuppoſed might ariſe from the bill, and the evil purpoſes to which it might be applied, were repreſented as purely chimerical, and as impoſſible in the nature of things ever to be realized. What miniſter would run the riſque of his head by calling out the militia of England, under the pretext of a riot in Bengal, or a diſturbance in any other remote part of the King's dominions? Muſt he not face parliament to account for his conduct? Would the trifling cauſes which have been ſuppoſed, be accepted as a juſtification, for exciting ſuch an alarm, and cauſing ſuch expence and trouble to the nation? An impeachment muſt be the inevitable conſequence, and the alternative of a mad-houſe, or a ſcaffold, the final reſult, in caſe of a conduct ſo replete with folly and danger. That poſſible abuſes were no arguments againſt neceſſary powers; but that the abuſes here predicted were ſcarcely within poſſibility.

A militia was the great conſtitutional defence of a free country. It had always been called for in oppoſition to a ſtanding army, by the moſt celebrated patriots; by thoſe who were the moſt jealous of the powers of the crown, and the moſt zealous ſticklers for the rights of the people. As there was a neceſſity in a great national conteſt, of ſending the regular forces abroad to ſupport the rights of

of the crown, and of the people, ſome mode of home ſecurity and defence muſt be adopted in their abſence. What other could have been found ſo proper, and ſo conſtitutional as the preſent? Would thoſe who ſtigmatize the meaſure of ſending a few battalions of Hanoverians (who though foreigners, are the King's ſubjects, and of courſe our natural friends) to ſtrengthen the garriſons of Gibraltar and Minorca, would they recommend the introduction of foreigners into England, or would they wiſh, that our ports, our docks, the capital, and the kingdom itſelf, ſhould be open to the enterprize, and ſubject to the mercy, of any inſidious enemy that might chuſe to take an advantage of our defenceleſs ſituation? Could any thing be more pleaſing to Engliſhmen, than that the defence of their country ſhould reſt upon themſelves only? Or could his Majeſty give a more ſtriking inſtance of the unbounded confidence which he placed in their zeal, affection, and loyalty, than by repoſing the protection of his crown, perſon, and kingdom, in the gentlemen of England?

This debate was by degrees drawn off from the main ſubject to that of the late addreſſes to the throne; a matter which had been continually agitated ſince the opening of the ſeſſion, and which now produced more warm animadverſion, and pointed altercation, than any other which occurred in its courſe. Beſides the general cenſure which the oppoſition paſſed upon theſe pieces of miniſterial craft and manufacture, (which they affected to call and conſider them,) for the indecency and ſcurrility of their language, the falſehood of their charges, and the dangerous tendency of their implications and threats, an addreſs from the firſt battalion of Devonſhire militia, in which they made a tender of their perſonal ſervice againſt all *internal* enemies, afforded an opportunity of bringing the matter home to the preſent queſtion, by ſhewing the danger of intruſting the ſword to a militia upon the new conſtruction, when a part even of the old, which ſeemed more immediately in the hands of the people, was ſo managed, as wantonly to propoſe its application to the moſt fatal purpoſes.

That thoſe who were entruſted with arms by the conſtitution for purpoſes of national defence, were to uſe them only in the manner preſcribed, and under the powers ordained by that authority. They were, as a militia, to hold no opinion as to time or place, fitneſs or neceſſity; they were to obey the orders which they received, not to ſay what thoſe orders ſhould be; they were to ſecond and ſupport the execution of the law, not to declare what was the law; much leſs to dictate in great political and legiſlative queſtions. Theſe gentlemen, they ſaid, come uncalled, with drawn ſwords in their hands to make a tender of them; againſt whom are theſe ſwords to be employed? not againſt the natural enemies of this country, nor even againſt their unfortunate fellow-ſubjects in America; but againſt internal enemies; that is, againſt all thoſe throughout the kingdom, who happen to differ with them in political opinion; and more immediately and particularly againſt thoſe gentlemen,

who in fulfilling their duty to God and their country, have unremittingly ſtrove in parliament, to prevent a moſt unnatural and ruinous civil war.

To theſe ſevere ſtrictures it was replied, that the public addreſſes from London and Middleſex to the electors and freeholders of England, rendered it neceſſary for thoſe who were well affected to government to make as public an avowal of their ſentiments and principles, thereby to vindicate the character of the nation, and to prevent his Majeſty, and the world at large, from being deceived, with reſpect to the general diſpoſition of the people. That letters from a ſociety in London, which called itſelf *conſtitutional*, had been circulated with great induſtry, recommending to the people to enter into aſſociations in the different counties and towns, and citing as an example, and aſſigning as a motive, the ſucceſs which had attended ſuch a practice in bringing about the Revolution. That plain country gentlemen, who do not trouble themſelves much with nice diſtinctions, and are not at all verſed in ſubtilties, thought that nothing leſs could be intended by theſe propoſals than another Revolution; and that in ſuch circumſtances, the officers of the firſt regiment of Devonſhire militia, not only thought it juſtifiable, but highly neceſſary, to make a public profeſſion of their loyalty and affection to the ſovereign, attachment to government, and reſolution to defend both. That it was a new doctrine, and peculiar to the preſent times, to conſider loyalty, and an attachment to the conſtitution and government, as crimes, or the profeſſion of them, as deſerving cenſure.

The queſtion being at length put upon the ſecond reading of the Militia Bill, it was carried upon a diviſion by the vaſt majority of 259, to 50 only, who oppoſed the meaſure.

A debate aroſe about the ſame time, on laying the army eſtimates for the enſuing year before the houſe, the oppoſition preſſing very cloſely for information, as to the number, condition, and ſituation of the troops now in America, whilſt the miniſters, as uſual in this buſineſs, refuſed the ſatisfaction required. This occaſioned a motion, That there be laid before the houſe an account of the laſt returns of the number of effective men, in the ſeveral regiments and corps in his Majeſty's ſervice, ſerving in North America, together with a ſtate of the ſick and wounded; diſtinguiſhing the ſeveral places where the ſaid troops are ſtationed. Nov. 1ſt.

This motion was oppoſed as being unſupported by precedent; and that the calling for the returns of an army in time of war, by a reſolution of the houſe, would eſtabliſh one highly inconvenient and dangerous. That the return of an army, includes the moſt accurate and authentic account of every particular relative to it. Could it be proper or ſafe to publiſh ſuch a ſtate, to furniſh ſuch information, while the enemy was in the field? while he was in a ſtate to convert ſuch intelligence to the higheſt advantage? No miniſters could pretend to carry on the public buſineſs, if any gentleman had a right to demand and obtain ſuch information. If miniſters

niſters act badly, they ſhould be turned out of their places; and not to ruin the public ſervice, and deſtroy all confidence in them while in office, by calling for improper accounts.

On the other ſide it was aſſerted, that a precedent was ſo far from being wanting, that it was to be found juſt at hand, and no longer ago than the affair of the Caribs at St. Vincent's. That information was now indiſpenſably neceſſary, as it was acknowledged that the officers of the crown had hitherto been deceived themſelves, and deceived parliament, for want of it. That the pretence of danger, from the enemy's becoming maſter of our ſecrets, was too ridiculous to deſerve a ſerious anſwer. Could any body be weak enough to imagine, that the returns of three months ſtanding from America, and received from this by Waſhington three months hence, could afford him any information relative to the army at Boſton? He has them every day under his eye. But it is not from the enemy, they ſaid, but from parliament, that the true ſtate of the troops is to be withheld.

How can we pretend to judge of the propriety or ſufficiency of the eſtimates for future ſervice, of the number of new forces which we ſhould vote for, without knowing the ſtate of thoſe which we have already? But, ſaid they, was the fair truth to be laid before the houſe, the demands of miniſters would be found inconſiſtent with the facts they produced. This was the caſe laſt ſeſſion; they kept back all information, and impoſed on the houſe, in order to get the cry of the people before the extent of the evil was known. The queſtion being then put, was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 170, to 63, who ſupported the motion.

A motion was then made from the Admiralty in the Committee of Supply, that 28,000 ſeamen, including 6,665 marines, ſhould be voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year. This was accompanied with a general outline of the ſervices to which the navy ſhould be applied; particularly, that the fleet on the North-American ſtation ſhould amount to ſeventy-eight ſail. One of the firſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed of our naval commanders oppoſed this motion, as the force, he ſaid, was much too great for a peace eſtabliſhment, and totally inadequate to a war. He ſhewed, that the number of ſhips deſigned for the American ſervice, would demand ſo great a proportion of the complement of ſeamen propoſed, that our coaſts at home muſt be left naked and defenceleſs, in a ſeaſon of ſuch imminent peril and danger, or that our Weſt-India iſlands, and all other diſtant ſervices, muſt be wholly abandoned. He alſo arraigned, in the moſt unequivocal terms, the preſent government and conduct of our naval affairs, which he repreſented to be ſuch, as not only merited much reprehenſion, but an immediate change of ſyſtem, to prevent the moſt dangerous conſequences.

Adminiſtration defended itſelf upon the circumſtances of the time which required a great fleet in America; while the ſtate of affairs in Europe did not call for the ſame exertion at home. The profeſſions of the neighbouring courts were pacific and friendly; and what was of more weight than profeſſions, their armaments were not

unuſual or conſiderable. It was not fitting to alarm them by unneceſſary preparations, which would juſtify them in arming on their ſide; and thus, by an injudicious ſhew of apprehenſion, we might be brought into real danger, and certain expence. That the guard-ſhips were ſo many, ſo well appointed, and on a ſhort notice could be ſo well manned, as to be much ſuperior to what any other power could bring againſt us. This would keep us in a reſpectable ſituation, without overſtraining our national reſources.

7th. A few days after, a gentleman in oppoſition made a motion for an addreſs to his Majeſty, that the commiſſioners appointed to act in America, for the purpoſes held out in the ſpeech, ſhould be authorized to receive propoſals for conciliation, from any general convention, congreſs, or other collective body, that ſhould be found to convey the ſentiments of one or more of the continental colonies, ſuſpending all enquiry into the legal or illegal forms under which ſuch colony or colonies may be diſpoſed to treat; "as the moſt effectual means to prevent the effuſion of blood, and to reconcile the honour and permanent intereſt of Great Britain with the requiſitions of his Majeſty's American ſubjects."

The gentleman introduced his motion with a ſpeech, in which he ſhewed from a number of authorities both in the ancient and modern part of our hiſtory, that it was not only cuſtomary with the crown to treat with conventions of the people, which were aſſembled without any of the legal forms; but that ſuch aſſemblies, in the name and under the authority of the people, had ſeveral times diſpoſed of the crown itſelf, a right which our Kings fully acknowledged, by moſt thankfully receiving it at their hands.

From theſe and various other precedents he argued and inferred, that it was no diminution of dignity in the crown or parliament to treat with the American conventions, under whatever forms or denominations they were held. And in further ſupport of his poſition, brought the remarkable inſtance of the moſt powerful and arbitrary monarch in Europe, Lewis the XIVth, who did not diſdain to enter into and conclude a treaty, negociated by two Marſhals of France, with a contemptible handful of rebellious Cevennois, and their leader, the ſon of a baker, whoſe name is perpetuated to poſterity, by being ſubſcribed to the ſame inſtrument which bears the ſignature of the haughty Lewis.

The motion was ſeconded, but produced little or no debate. It was ſaid, in general, that peace was much to be wiſhed for; but that the entering into any treaty with the Congreſs, would be an acknowledgement of its being a legal aſſembly, which muſt, of courſe, determine the whole queſtion of diſpute in favour of America. For if that meeting was legal, our whole conduct muſt have been a courſe of injuſtice. That it was more conſonant with the dignity of parliament to find ſome other method; that by waiting a little, ſuch an opportunity might offer; and that, at worſt, it would be time enough to apply to this as

the laſt reſort. The queſtion being put, it paſſed in the negative without a diviſion.

8th. On the following day, the miniſter in the war department laid the eſtimates of the land-ſervice for the enſuing year before the Committee of Supply. Theſe eſtimates exceeded two millions, including the ſtaff, the difference between the Engliſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhment in the pay of the latter, the pay of the five Hanoverian battalions, near 100,000l. levy-money, and the extraordinary unprovided expences of the ordnance in the preceding year, which, notwithſtanding the limited ſphere of ſervice, amounted to 223,655l. His Lordſhip ſhewed, that the whole force appointed for the land-ſervice, abroad and at home, would amount to about 55,000 men, of which upwards of 25,000 would be employed in America. He acknowledged, that though this was the general arrangement, he was ſorry to ſay it was only on paper, for that ſcarcely any of the corps were completed to their full complement. He ſaid, that no means had been untried to remedy this defect. That the bounty had been raiſed, and the ſtandard lowered; attempts had been made to enliſt Iriſh Roman Catholics, and to incorporate foreigners ſingly into the Britiſh regiments; but all failed of the expected effect, and the recruiting ſervice ſtill went on very ſlowly. He endeavoured to obviate the popular obſervation which had been ſo often repeated, and he knew would be now renewed, that the difficulty, or rather impracticability of procuring men, proceeded from the abhorrence, with which the people in general regarded the preſent odious civil war. He mentioned ſeveral cauſes for this ſlackneſs, but reſted chiefly on the flouriſhing ſtate of our manufactures, (notwithſtanding the predictions of oppoſition) which, whilſt it brought a temporary diſtreſs on the ſervice, was a proof of the real ſtrength of the kingdom, and its ability fully to ſupport this or any war.

He alſo threw out, without pretending, however, to any abſolute authority, that every idea of taxing America, was now entirely given up; and that the only remaining conſideration, was to ſecure the conſtitutional dependency of that country. That this could only be effected by ſuch a conduct, as ſhewed the moſt determined reſolution of maintaining our conſtitutional rights, and that for this purpoſe, it was intended to ſend out ſuch an armament, as would be ſufficient to enforce them, if America ſhould ſtill perſiſt in her diſobedience. That this armament would be attended with commiſſioners, who ſhould be furniſhed with powers to accommodate matters; and that a great military officer, who ſtood high in the eſteem both of his ſovereign and the nation, was intended to be the firſt commiſſioner.

Some of the country gentlemen, as well as the oppoſition in general, were much diſſatisfied at not being able to obtain any information from the miniſter, relative to his intended operations, whether with reſpect to the meaſures for bringing about an accommodation, or for the proſecution of the war. The former ſaid, they voted with him for the militia and the augmentation of the navy, in a firm perſuaſion,

perſuaſion, and underſtanding it as a matter of courſe, that before the remaining ſupplies were granted, he would have laid his plan before the houſe. That if they had not thought ſo, they would not have given their ſupport to meaſures, which it ſeemed now they were not to be acquainted with. That it looked as if it were meant that they ſhould vote the eſtimates firſt, and hear the reaſons afterwards; or in other words, that the houſe ſhould begin with a diviſion, and end with a debate. They ſaid, that in looking for information, they did not mean a few ſcraps of garbled and mutilated papers; but that verbal and official information, which they thought it the miniſters duty to impart to parliament. That it was particularly neceſſary they ſhould receive information as to the perſons who were to be appointed as Commiſſioners in America, and the nature and extent of their commiſſion, that parliament might be enabled to judge, whether they were men fit to be entruſted with ſo important a negociation, and whether the terms they carried out, were conſiſtent with the dignity of Great Britain to offer, and the intereſt of the Americans to receive.

One of the country gentlemen was ſo earneſt in this deſire of information, and ſo picqued at finding no diſpoſition in the miniſter to give the ſatisfaction which he required, that he attempted to break up the committee without its coming to any reſolution, by moving, "that the Chairman ſhould quit the chair," which was ſeconded by another gentleman under the ſame deſcription.

Though the miniſter did not think it prudent, or was not prepared to give any direct or explicit anſwer, he, however, thought it neceſſary to do ſomething to keep that party in temper. He ſaid, that the commiſſion to be ſent, would be in conformity to the intimation given from the throne; that the gentlemen need not make themſelves uneaſy, under the apprehenſion that any treaty of conceſſion would be agreed to without the conſent of parliament; but that it would be neceſſary to know upon what grounds the Americans would treat, before the powers ſufficient to ratify what the Commiſſioners might think expedient, were derived from parliament. When the terms that America was willing to ſubmit to, were in a ſtate proper to be laid before the houſe, that, in his opinion, would be the proper time to take the ſenſe of parliament on previous communications, and leave it to judge of the alternative, whether the offers of America could be accepted with honour, or whether we ought to reduce them to a ſtate of obedience, however difficult or hazardous the undertaking.

In the further proſecution of the ſubject, the oppoſition inſiſted, that the eſtimates were under-rated in ſuch a degree, as to afford no clue whereby to form any judgment of the extent of the expences. That the propoſed force of 25,000 men, was totally inadequate to the purpoſes of abſolute coercion. This was ſupported by the opinion of a great general officer, who had long been in adminiſtration, and who declared it in the moſt unreſerved terms; the other military gentlemen preſent were called upon to declare their diſſent, if they thought

thought otherwiſe; but they all continued ſilent. The mixt ſyſtem of war and conciliation was repreſented as highly improper. The meaſure adopted, whether of peace or war, ſhould be clear, ſimple, and decided, not involved in doubt, perplexity, and darkneſs. If war was reſolved, and it was determined to compel America to ſubmiſſion, let the means of coercion be ſuch, as will, to a moral certainty, inſure ſucceſs. The force employed muſt be able to command terms, or it does nothing. If, on the contrary, peace is really wiſhed for, and terms of conciliation are to be propoſed, your propoſitions ought to be ſo clear as to be obvious to every common underſtanding, and ſo ſimple as to baffle the powers of chicanery.

On the other ſide it was ſaid, that the force propoſed, when its operations were directed to ſpecific ſervices, and ſupported by a formidable fleet, would be fully ſufficient for the purpoſe, and ſuch as all America could not withſtand; nor was it probable, that they would enter into ſo arduous a conteſt, when terms were held out to them at the very inſtant, which would fully preſerve their rights. The idea of ſimple war, or ſimple conceſſion, was ſtrongly controverted. It was ſaid, that a conqueſt over our own ſubjects, was neither ſought nor deſired. That it was our intereſt, as it was our wiſh, to reclaim, not to deſtroy or enſlave. That in the preſent ſtate of things in America, this deſirable object could only be obtained by ſuch an armament as would command reſpect, ſtrike an awe into the factious, and enforce a ſubmiſſion to the conciliatory terms which we propoſed, if coercion became abſolutely neceſſary. And that either to withdraw the force we already had there, or to leave it expoſed to the inſults and danger of a greater on the ſide of the rebels, would not only be in the higheſt degree diſgraceful to ourſelves, but would, in its conſequences, be equally ruinous to both countries.

A gentleman in office, but who has for ſeveral years been conſidered as poſſeſſing much more real than oſtenſible power, departed totally from theſe temperate ideas of conduct which the miniſter profeſſed, and on which he valued himſelf. He was of opinion, that all attempts of conciliation would be fruitleſs: obſerved, that at any rate, a number of terms were to be made, and ſecurities given, before conciliation could be obtained. That terms of force were the meaſures chalked out by his Majeſty in the ſpeech; attended, however, with conditions of conciliation, and gracious offers of forgiveneſs and protection. On this foundation, the preſent vote on the eſtimates was propoſed; but if premature explanations were deſired; if the gentlemen, who had pledged themſelves to ſupport thoſe meaſures, had altered their minds, or had withdrawn their confidence from the King's ſervants, he ſaw no poſſible way to remedy matters but by a change of adminiſtration. He, however, animadverted ſeverely on the cowardice of declining the conteſt, almoſt in the very outſet, after their having gone ſuch lengths in bringing matters to that criſis.

This being conſidered as the language

language of authority, was alſo underſtood, both by the country gentlemen and oppoſition, as fully tantamount to a declaration for war. The latter did not let it paſs without obſervation and ſtricture. They ſaid, it was treating parliament with every poſſible degree of diſreſpect. Meaſures are concerted in the cabinet; the King is made by the miniſters to expreſs the general intentions which they had there determined upon; the Houſe of Commons is deſired to ſupport thoſe meaſures, by voting an enormous war eſtabliſhment; and when queſtions are aſked, and explanations are deſired, even by the very friends of adminiſtration, the gentlemen who call for a plan are very laconically referred to the King's ſpeech. The ſpeech holds out generals, and refers you to particulars; when theſe particulars are called for, the ſpeech is quoted, as the true ſtandard of information.

After long debates, the queſtion being put upon the firſt of the reſolutions in the eſtimate, was carried upon a diviſion by the uſual majority, the numbers being 227, to 73 who oppoſed the reſolution. The other reſolutions were agreed to of courſe.

CHAP. VI.

Reſignation of the Duke of Grafton. Lord George Germaine appointed to the American department, in the room of the Earl of Dartmouth, who receives the privy ſeal. Lord Weymouth appointed Secretary of State for the ſouthern department, in the room of the Earl of Rochford, who retires. Other promotions and changes. Petition from the American Congreſs laid before the Lords. Duke of Richmond's motions. Mr. Penn's examination. Motion relative to the petition. Great debates. Motion rejected. Four ſhillings in the pound land-tax voted. Debates on the Militia Bill. Amendment propoſed and rejected. Several motions propoſed by the Duke of Grafton, and rejected. Mr. Burke's Conciliatory Bill. Great debates. Motion for bringing in the bill rejected. American Prohibitory Bill brought into the Houſe of Commons by the miniſter. Motion for an amendment. Great debates. Motion rejected. Debates upon the ſecond reading, and in the committee. Various motions made, and amendments propoſed. The bill paſſed in the Houſe of Commons. Mr. Fox's motion for information relative to the ſtate of the forces in North America. Militia Bill paſſed. Indemnity Bill paſſed. Motion for an addreſs, in conformity to the inſtructions from the city of London to its repreſentatives. Mr. Hartley's conciliatory propoſitions. Indemnity Bill rejected by the Lords. Great oppoſition to the Prohibitory Bill. Proteſt. Duke of Mancheſter's motion for deferring the commitment till after the holydays. Marquis of Rockingham's motion for an amendment. Bill paſſed by the Lords.

IT was not difficult to foreſee, that the late unexpected conduct of the Duke of Grafton would occaſion, at leaſt, one remove among the great offices of ſtate. It was, however, accompanied with ſome

ſome which were not publicly thought of. Whether the unhappy ſtate of American affairs had diſguſted the Earl of Dartmouth with the office of conducting them, or that government imagined a more auſtere and inflexible character, with their natural concomitant a determinate conduct, were neceſſary to reſtore peace and order, however it was, that nobleman now quitted the American ſecretaryſhip, and received the privy ſeal which had been held by the Duke of Grafton.

Nov. 10th.

The arduous taſk of conducting the American department was repoſed on Lord George Sackeville Germaine. The principal attachment of that noble Lord had been to Mr. Grenville. After Mr. Grenville's death, indeed, he continued for ſome time firm on his former ground; and did not join in that defection from the minority which immediately followed that event. But he began at length to ſlacken in oppoſition. He fell in with adminiſtration in the proceedings againſt the Eaſt-India Company in 1773; and took a full and decided part in all the coercive meaſures which had been purſued againſt the Americans, during the preſent troubles. His connections with Mr. Grenville probably made him ſupport with more zeal and ſteadineſs the higheſt claims of parliamentary authority; and as he was generally eſteemed a man of buſineſs, and an able debater, he was ſought for at a time, when the extraordinary powers in the ſame line, upon the other ſide, ſeemed, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of numbers, not a little to diſtreſs adminiſtration. It will not be conceived, that this appointment ſtrengthened the hope or increaſed the ſatisfaction of thoſe who held the opinion, that conciliatory meaſures could only bring the preſent troubles to a ſpeedy and happy concluſion.

At the ſame time, the Earl of Rochford having retired from public buſineſs, was ſucceeded as Secretary of State for the Southern department by Lord Weymouth, who had continued out of employment ſince his reſignation on the affair of Falkland iſland. And a few days after, Lord Lyttelton, who had been diſtinguiſhed at the opening of the ſeſſion by the ſeverity of his ſtrictures upon adminiſtration, was called to the Privy Council, and appointed Chief Juſtice in Eyre beyond Trent. Lord Pelham was alſo appointed to the great wardrobe, and Lord Aſhburnham, Keeper of the Stole.

The affair of the petition from the Congreſs, which Mr. Penn had lately preſented to his Majeſty, had frequently been brought up in both houſes by the oppoſition, both as affording a ground of conciliation, and a ſubject of reproach to the miniſters, for their total neglect of that and all other applications of the ſame nature. A copy of the petition being, however, laid before the Lords among other papers on the 7th of November, a noble Duke in oppoſition obſerved, that he ſaw Mr. Penn below the bar, and he moved, that he might be examined, in order to eſtabliſh the authenticity of the petition, before they entered into any debates upon its contents, thereby to obviate the doubts which might otherwiſe probably ariſe upon that head, and be the means

means of interrupting their proceedings.

As the Lords in adminiſtration were well aware, that the views of the noble mover and his friends, went farther than the authenticity of the petition, and extended to the laying before the houſe all the information, with reſpect to America, which they could draw from a perſon ſo thoroughly maſter of the ſubject as Mr. Penn, and not being at all diſpoſed that ſuch matters ſhould now be brought forward, they uſed every means to prevent or defeat the examination. They objected to the motion on the ſubject of order; on its informality; on its want of precedent; being contrary to their eſtabliſhed mode of proceeding; that the bringing in of extraneous matter by ſurprize, and breaking in upon their moſt ſerious and important deliberations, by ſuddenly calling their attention off to the examination of witneſſes, and to new ſubjects of diſcuſſion, would be deſtructive of that order and gravity which had always diſtinguiſhed their proceedings.

They alſo contended, that this meaſure would eſtabliſh a moſt pernicious precedent, as it would neceſſarily follow, that every petition, from whatever quarter of the globe, muſt be accompanied by the evidence to eſtabliſh its authenticity. They obſerved, that improper queſtions might be aſked, and ſuch anſwers drawn from Mr. Penn, as might tend to prejudice him with reſpect to his private fortune and affairs in America; that his evidence might have the ſame effect with reſpect to others, who were alſo friends to government in America, and who by a public expoſure of their private conduct in its favour, would be liable to perſonal danger, and ruin to their fortunes. They alſo inſiſted, that as the evidence, let it turn out as it may, would be only *ex parte*, the houſe could not found any reſolution upon it; nor could it be preſumed, that the ſingle teſtimony of an individual, however reſpectable the character may be, could at all influence their conduct or opinion, in queſtions of ſuch great national and political import. To prevent, however, every pretence for the enquiry, they offered to admit the authenticity of the petition without any proof.

On the other ſide, they ſaid, that the objections as to order were ſo trifling, as to be unworthy of their time and attention; that the propoſed examination was, however, fully ſupportable upon that ground, as well as in point of precedent. They offered to tie themſelves down as to the queſtions to be put, and that the Lords, who oppoſed the meaſure, ſhould object to any which they did not approve. And they lamented, in the moſt pathetic terms, the diſpoſition which they ſaw in the houſe, to ſhut out every ſpecies of information relative to America, to continue to the laſt in darkneſs, and to ruſh headlong themſelves, and plunge the nation along with them, into inevitable ruin and deſtruction. That this was the more ſurprizing, and the more lamentable, as the fatal conſequences which had already proceeded from a ſimilar conduct, were ſo ſenſibly felt at this very inſtant, as to convulſe the empire through all its parts.

The motion being rejected upon a divi-

a diviſion, by a majority of 56 to to 22, the noble mover, who is diſtinguiſhed for his perſeverance, made another, That Mr. Penn ſhould be examined at the bar on the next day. Though the examination of a witneſs in this form, unconnected with any other matter, could not be refuſed, yet ſo diſagreeable was every enquiry of this nature, that a further debate aroſe upon it; but it was at length reluctantly agreed to, that he ſhould be examined on the 10th.

10th. Several curious particulars relative to much controverted ſubjects, came out upon the examination of this gentleman. He was perſonally acquainted with almoſt all the members of the Congreſs, had been Governor of the colony, and reſided in the city, in which they aſſembled and held their deliberations, and had every opportunity, from office, family connection, locality of property, and an extenſive acquaintance, to obtain the fulleſt information of the ſtate of affairs in America, as well as of the temper and diſpoſition of the people. It was alſo evident, that his diſcernment was equal to the forming a juſt eſtimate of things; and there could ſcarcely be a ſuſpicion of partiality, in favour of any meaſure which could tend to American independency, as the great fortune of his family, if not wholly loſt, muſt be much impaired by ſuch an event, and their great powers and prerogatives certainly ſubverted.

Among the remarkable parts of his teſtimony, (which we muſt recollect, conſiſted only of anſwers to ſuch ſpecific queſtions as were propoſed) was an abſolute negative to the ſuppoſition or charge, that any deſigns of independency had been formed by the Congreſs. He declared, that the members compoſing that body had been fairly elected; that they were men of character, capable of conveying the ſenſe of America; and that they had actually conveyed the ſenſe of their conſtituents. That the different provinces would be governed by their deciſions in all events. That the war was levied and carried on by the coloniſts, merely in defence of what they thought their liberties. That the ſpirit of reſiſtance was general, and they believed themſelves able to defend their liberties againſt the arms of Great Britain.

That the colony of Penſylvania contained about 60,000 men able to carry arms. That of theſe, 20,000 had voluntarily enrolled themſelves to ſerve without pay, and were armed and embodied before the Governor's departure. Being queſtioned as to the nature of that volunteer force, he ſaid, that it included the men of beſt fortune and character in the province, and that it was generally compoſed of men who were poſſeſſed of property, either landed or otherwiſe. That an additional body of 4,500 minute men had ſince been raiſed in the province, who were to be paid when called out on ſervice. That they had the means and materials of caſting iron cannon in great plenty. That they caſt braſs cannon in Philadelphia. And that they made ſmall arms in great abundance and perfection.

That the colonies had been diſſatisfied with the reception of their former petitions; but that they had

had founded great hopes upon the ſucceſs of that which he brought over; that it was ſtiled the *Olive Branch*; and that he had been congratulated by his friends upon his being the bearer of it. That it was greatly to be feared, that if conciliatory meaſures were not ſpeedily purſued, they would form connections with foreign powers; and that if ſuch connections were once formed, it would be found a matter of great difficulty to diſſolve them. Being aſked, "whether the people of the different provinces were now in a ſtate of freedom?" he ſaid, that they thought themſelves ſo; whether, "the moſt opulent inhabitants would not prefer freedom under this country to what they now enjoy?" he anſwered, that they would prefer it to any other ſtate of freedom; and that notwithſtanding their determination to ſupport the meaſures of the Congreſs, they wiſhed for a reconciliation with this country. He denied its being an object of the Congreſs to throw off the regulations of their trade; and acknowledged, that the moſt thinking men in Philadelphia were of opinion, that a refuſal of the preſent petition would be a bar to all reconcilement.

The other parts of the evidence related to the Stamp Act, the repeal, and the declaratory law. This gentleman was in America at that period, and declared that the firſt had occaſioned great diſcontent, uneaſineſs, and diſtreſs; that the repeal had given ſuch abundant joy; that its anniverſary was celebrated as a day of mirth and feſtivity. That the Americans were ſatisfied with their condition, notwithſtanding the Declaratory Act; and that if Great Britain had left things in the ſtate they then were, the Americans would have remained content. The queſtions relative to the degree of ſubordination acknowledged by the colonies, having been multiplied and cloſely urged by a noble Lord high in office, the witneſs declared, that he believed the colonies are inclined to acknowledge the imperial authority of Great Britain, but not in taxation.

It was obſerved, with ſome ſeverity of animadverſion, as a ſingular circumſtance in the preſent ſituation of affairs, what appeared upon this examination, that neither the Secretary of State who received the petition, nor any other miniſter or perſon in authority, had, ſince the arrival of the witneſs in England, propoſed a ſingle queſtion to him, or deſired the ſmalleſt information relative to the ſtate of affairs in America, or to the diſpoſition or temper of the people. This circumſtance was uſed to give countenance to the charge ſo often repeated by the oppoſition, that a ſyſtem had been chalked out for adminiſtration, which they were obliged blindly to purſue, and to act in it merely as machines, without being at liberty to form an opinion as to juſtice, eligibility, or conſequence.

After the examination was finiſhed, the Duke of Richmond, who had been its propoſer, made a motion, That the petition from the Continental Congreſs to the King, was ground for a conciliation of the unhappy differences at preſent ſubſiſting between Great Britain and America. The motion was well introduced, and ably ſupported

ported by the noble mover and his friends. They ſtated the neceſſity of an immediate reconciliation in every point of view, whether with with reſpect to ourſelves, the colonies, or our ſituation in reſpect to foreign powers. That nothing but carnage, deſolation, an augmentation of expence, with a decreaſe of revenue, a weakneſs and debility growing in proportion to the urgent neceſſity which would call for ſtrength and exertion, with all the cruel and grievous calamities inſeparable from civil diſcord, would be the fruits obtained by a pertinacious purſuit of the war.

They repreſented the unſurmountable difficulties which would occur, if an abſolute conqueſt of America was intended; the natural ſtrength of that continent, compoſed alternately of ſtrong incloſures, thick foreſts, and deep ſwamps, and every where interſected with vaſt rivers. The immenſe difficulty and expence, if not utter impracticability, of ſupplying ſuch an army as would be adequate to the purpoſe, with ſubſiſtence from England, and the little proſpect, if the obſtinacy or perſeverance of the Americans continued, of providing it on the ſpot. The advantages which the latter would derive from their being at home, and from having their ſubſiſtence at hand; from their perfect knowledge of the country, whereby every ſtrong ground, paſs, and defile, would be to them a fortreſs, and every foreſt afford a ſecure retreat. That the overrunning of a province, the ſeizing, plundering, or deſtroying ſeveral of their towns, though ruinous to them, would afford no eſſential advantage to us, even confining the conſideration merely to the immediate object of the war; in the attainment of general conqueſt. Our dominion would extend no farther than the immediate operation of our arms, and would ceaſe with it. The inſtant we marched to ſubdue another province, that which we quitted, would become at leaſt as hoſtile as that which we entered.

To a ſtrong picture of difficulties, dangers, and diſgrace, they contraſted the numberleſs bleſſings of peace, and ſhewed the happy opportunity which the petition afforded of averting the numerous, and ſome of them fatal evils, which had been deſcribed. They ſaid, that if this opportunity were now loſt, it could never be regained. That providence ſeemed with a peculiar kindneſs to put it in their way to reſcue their country from ruin, without warring directly with their paſſions or prejudices, as they might now deſcend, without diſgrace, or without wounding their pride, from thoſe high ſtilts of authority and dignity on which they were unhappily mounted, and which rendered them blind to its intereſt and ſecurity.

They obſerved, that as the idea of laying taxes on America, for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue, had been, in their diſcourſes at leaſt, repeatedly given up by the miniſters, the queſtion of conciliation was much leſs complex, than when that doctrine had been maintained, both in principle, and in its moſt extenſive conſequences. That the great object now of diſcuſſion, was what Great Britain claimed, and what America was willing to accede to. The great remaining claim of the former, appears to be no more than what it ever was, a general ſupreme and controuling

power over the colonies, with reſpect to their external government, and the regulation of their trade and commerce. That theſe rights were eſtabliſhed and ſecured by the great body of American laws paſſed before the year 1763, and by the act of navigation. That as the Americans were ready and willing to return to their former obedience, and to ſtand in the ſame ſubordinate relation to the legiſlature, which they had done previous to the year 1763, the only remaining object of contention, was the laws paſſed ſince that period.

In this ſtate of things, they contended, that the petition offered the faireſt ground of conciliation. They expreſsly declare, that they deſire no conceſſion derogatory to the honour of the mother country. The delegates of the people of America beſeech his Majeſty to recall his troops; which could only be conſidered as a prayer for a ſuſpenſion of arms. All they deſire as a preliminary, is the repeal of ſundry acts; by which was to be underſtood, thoſe that deprived them of their fiſheries, trade, and charters. The repeal of the laws paſſed ſince 1763, was not now mentioned, nor would it at any time have been inſiſted on. A reviſion of thoſe laws, with a repeal of the grievous and burdenſome parts of them, would be right and neceſſary; and would be as conſiſtent both with our intereſt and juſtice, as it would be conducive to the ſatisfaction and eaſe of the Americans. They, like all others in ſimilar circumſtances, carry their claims much farther in the heat and litigation of conteſt, under the immediate preſſure of great grievances, and the apprehenſion of greater, than they would in a cooler temper, and happier ſituation. Let us only ſhew a diſpoſition to concede, and to redreſs their grievances, and conceſſion will come faſter from them than the warmeſt imagination can conceive. Meet them on the ground of conciliation, which they now propoſe, and you may afterwards preſcribe your own terms.

On the other ſide, it was ſaid, that it was impoſſible to recognize the petition on which the preſent motion was founded, without relinquiſhing in that act the ſovereignty of the Britiſh parliament. That treating with an unlawful aſſembly, who at the very inſtant declared themſelves to be in a ſtate of open reſiſtance and hoſtility, would be, to all intents and purpoſes, legalizing their proceedings, and acknowledging them the conſtitutional repreſentatives of an independent ſovereign ſtate. If they were ſubjects, they could not aſſemble or deliberate, but in a mode, and for the purpoſes preſcribed by the conſtitution. If they were not, it would be in the higheſt degree ridiculous to treat with them in a capacity which they diſclaimed.

It was denied, that the ideas of laying on duties in America, for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue, were totally laid aſide; if the Americans, like dutiful and affectionate ſubjects, had met us in our kind propoſition, of levying an equitable revenue on themſelves in ſuch manner as they liked beſt, there would be no occaſion for realizing ſuch ideas; ſome reſpectable perſons, alſo, in adminiſtration as well as out, might queſtion the immediate practice in point of expediency; but a thought of relinquiſhing the right was never entertained.

entertained. But ſuppoſing, for a moment, that ſuch a conceſſion were made, it would not ſurely be inferred, that becauſe Great Britain had given up the exerciſe of ſupreme dominion in one particular mode, ſhe had alſo given it up in every other. The Americans deny the right of controul, in the moſt effectual manner, for they declare againſt the exerciſe of it, in every inſtance wherein it militates with their intereſts, or with their traiterous views and rebellious deſigns. They refuſe obedience to the declaratory law, the act for quartering ſoldiers, the law for eſtabliſhing vice-admiralty courts, and, in a word, to every law which they do not like, and then tell us, with a moſt conſummate effrontery, that they acknowledge our undoubted right of legiſlative controul, but will not permit us to exerciſe that right.

It was inſiſted by ſome Lords, who were more warm than the generality, that the petition was an inſidious and traiterous attempt to impoſe upon the King and parliament; that while the authors held out ſmooth language and falſe profeſſions for that purpoſe, they were at the very inſtant, in their appeals to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, abuſing the parliament, denying its authority, and endeavouring to involve the whole empire in rebellion and bloodſhed, by inviting their fellow-ſubjects in theſe kingdoms, to make one common cauſe with them in oppoſition to law and government. That no alternative remained with theſe worſt of rebels, who not content with the enjoyment of their own crimes wanted to render them general, but the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for their ſubjugation and puniſhment. Theſe alſo, which were only few, endeavoured to leſſen the weight of the evidence which had been now laid before them, by charging it with partiality and prejudice.

The queſtion being at length put, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, after very conſiderable debates, the motion was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 86, including 26 proxies, to 33, including 6 proxies.

About the ſame time, 13th. the miniſter in the Houſe of Commons, after ſhewing, in the Committee of Supply, the neceſſity of reducing America to obedience, and remarking on the great expence that muſt neceſſarily attend that meaſure, took an opportunity of convincing the landed gentlemen, of the propriety and expediency of applying to them for their ſupport upon ſo great and important a national occaſion, at a time, he acknowledged, when the other reſources of the ſtate were incompetent to the purpoſe. He accordingly moved, that the land-tax for the year 1776, be four ſhillings in the pound.

This motion occaſioned a variety of debates and converſations. Some of the oppoſition congratulated the country gentlemen upon the four ſhillings, as the happy and enviable firſt fruits of their darling coercive American meaſures; whilſt they, at the ſame time, endeavoured to ſhew by calculations on the ſtate of the funds and expenditure, that it would be a perpetual mortgage on their eſtates, which no change of circumſtance, or even favourable turn of fortune, could ever wear off;

for that, let affairs now be ever ſo ſpeedily accommodated, nothing leſs than a land-tax at that rate would be ſufficient for our future peace eſtabliſhment.

The principal leaders of oppoſition did not interfere much upon this occaſion. Some gentlemen ſaid, that as the ſervices were voted, the army and navy muſt not be ſtarved, and as the ſupplies muſt be raiſed in ſome manner, they would vote for this tax, as leſs prejudicial than any other that could be thought of. One of them, however, could not forbear commenting on this method of voting money, for ſervices not known to the houſe, or on which, at leaſt, they had no ſubſtantial controul, as it furniſhed miniſters with opportunities of applying it to purpoſes which were in the laſt degree ruinous and fatal to the conſtitution.

Some of the country gentlemen were out of ſorts about the Indemnity Bill, an object which they ſeemed to conſider, as the only one relative to the conſtitution that demanded attention. This bill had lain dormant ſince the firſt reading, without any notice whatever being taken of it, and they conſidered it ſo ſeriouſly, as partly to make its being brought forward, a condition of their agreeing to the land-tax. Several others of them were, however, much diſſatisfied, upon a ſubject of more ſubſtantial, if not conſtitutional import. Many gentlemen had ſupported government in all the coercive meaſures which it had purſued againſt America, with a view, and in a firm hope and perſuaſion, that the great revenue to be drawn from that part of the world, would in a proportional degree have leſſened their own burthens. Upon this principle, they would have advanced money, as in a law-ſuit, while the object in view was capable of repaying them with great intereſt, beſides an advantageous and ample compenſation for the riſque; but they were not yet keen enough, as litigators too frequently are, to purſue the conteſt to ruin, (when they found the object unproductive) merely for the ſake of the ſport which it afforded. They accordingly finding, by the language held ſince the opening of the ſeſſion by the miniſters, that the idea of taxation was generally given up, either as inexpedient, or as totally impracticable, now declared, that if the original object of diſpute was abandoned, they could not think of expending any more money in a conteſt, which, beſides being unproductive of benefit, was attended with evils that could only be palliated upon that principle; and that therefore they would oppoſe the noble Lord's motion for an increaſe of the land-tax.

The miniſter thought it expedient to ſatisfy both parties, of theſe, ſometimes troubleſome, but always uſeful, friends. This was eaſily done with the firſt, by informing them, that their favourite bill was in perfect ſafety and good condition, and would be immediately brought forward. As to the ſecond, he aſſured them, that the idea of taxation, and of levying a productive revenue from America, was never abandoned; and that when any thing of that ſort dropped from the miniſters, they intended no more, than that it was abandoned for the preſent; that is, that the diſpute at preſent was of a much

much higher nature than it had been originally, and that taxation was but a matter of ſecondary conſideration, when the ſupremacy and legiſlative authority of this country was at ſtake. That he would have them therefore perfectly underſtand, that whatever general terms the miniſters might at any time make uſe of, taxation neither is, nor ever was, out of their view. As a further proof of his ſincerity upon this ſubject he declared, that there was no means by which the legiſlative authority and commercial controul of this country over the colonies could be inſured, but by combining them with taxation.

This explanation gave full content, and after a mixed debate, which laſted till ten o'clock, the queſtion being put upon an amendment which had been early moved, That the land-tax ſhould be three ſhillings inſtead of four, it paſſed in the negative upon a diviſion, by a majority of 182 to 47; the original motion then paſſed of courſe.

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They argued, that the bill, from the very frame of it, was taken up on a temporary idea, and directed to temporary purpoſes, which would ceaſe to be objects of policy, the inſtant that the civil war was terminated. That the avowed object and principle of the bill, was to afford a greater ſcope to our military operations in America, by making ſuch a proviſion for internal defence and ſecurity, as might enable us to employ the ſtanding regular forces upon that ſervice. That however neceſſary it might be in caſes of real and great emergency, to arm the crown, pro tempore, with extraordinary powers for certain purpoſes of ſafety, it was always, not only in the ſpirit, but practice of our government, to recall thoſe powers, as ſoon as the purpoſes were anſwered, or the motives ceaſed, for which they were granted. And that it could not be pretended, that any fair or conſtitutional motive would remain after the concluſion of the preſent troubles, for continuing this power in the crown, as it was already enabled by the old law, to call out the militia in all other caſes of real emergency. And they inſiſted, that the very point meant to be covertly carried by this bill, was what no king of England, even the moſt deſpotic, had ever been able to gain; that it was a power at all times retained, and till now, moſt jealouſly watched and guarded by the people; and that, on this was grounded the leading conteſt between Charles the Firſt and his parliament, long before that aſſembly had been charged with any factious

for that, let affairs now be ever ſo ſpeedily accommodated, nothing leſs than a land-tax at that rate would be ſufficient for our future peace eſtabliſhment.

The principal leaders of oppoſition did not interfere much upon this occaſion. Some gentlemen ſaid, that as the ſervices were voted, the army and navy muſt not be ſtarved, and as the ſupplies muſt be raiſed in ſome manner, they would vote for this tax, as leſs prejudicial than any other that could be thought of. One of them, however, could not forbear commenting on this method of voting money, for ſervices not known to the houſe, or on which, at leaſt, they had no ſubſtantial controul, as it furniſhed miniſters with opportunities of applying it to purpoſes which were in the laſt degree ruinous and fatal to the conſtitution.

Some of the country gentlemen were out of ſorts about the Indemnity Bill, an object which they ſeemed to conſider, as the only one relative to the conſtitution that demanded attention. This bill had lain dormant ſince the firſt reading, without any notice whatever being taken of it, and they conſidered it ſo ſeriouſly, as partly to make its being brought forward, a condition of their agreeing to the land-tax. Several others of them were, however, much diſſatisfied, upon a ſubject of more ſubſtantial, if not conſtitutional import. Many gentlemen had ſupported government in all the coercive meaſures which it had purſued againſt America, with a view, and in a firm hope and perſuaſion, that the great revenue to be drawn from that part of the world, would in a proportional degree have leſſened their own burthens. Upon this principle, they would have advanced money, as in a law-ſuit, while the object in view was capable of repaying them with great intereſt, beſides an advantageous and ample compenſation for the riſque; but they were not yet keen enough, as litigators too frequently are, to purſue the conteſt to ruin, (when they found the object unproductive) merely for the ſake of the ſport which it afforded. They accordingly finding, by the language held ſince the opening of the ſeſſion by the miniſters, that the idea of taxation was generally given up, either as inexpedient, or as totally impracticable, now declared, that if the original object of diſpute was abandoned, they could not think of expending any more money in a conteſt, which, beſides being unproductive of benefit, was attended with evils that could only be palliated upon that principle; and that therefore they would oppoſe the noble Lord's motion for an increaſe of the land-tax.

The miniſter thought it expedient to ſatisfy both parties, of theſe, ſometimes troubleſome, but always uſeful, friends. This was eaſily done with the firſt, by informing them, that their favourite bill was in perfect ſafety and good condition, and would be immediately brought forward. As to the ſecond, he aſſured them, that the idea of taxation, and of levying a productive revenue from America, was never abandoned; and that when any thing of that ſort dropped from the miniſters, they intended no more, than that it was abandoned for the preſent; that is, that the diſpute at preſent was of a much

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views, or had entertained any idea of the troubles which afterwards took place.

On the other ſide, great encomiums were made on the popular and conſtitutional defence of a militia, and much wonder expreſſed, that a meaſure which tended ſo particularly to the ſecurity of the people, and the rendering ſtanding armies unneceſſary, ſhould be oppoſed by thoſe, who pretended a more than ordinary zeal in the care and protection of their liberties. That the apprehended dangers which it was ſuppoſed would ariſe from the powers granted by the bill, and upon which ſuch powers of colouring had been beſtowed to render them frightful and hideous, were purely viſionary, and mere creatures of the imagination. That no ill uſe could be made of the power, without the concurrence of the people themſelves; for though the Prince might aſſemble the militia, they muſt be paid by parliament. That preſuming parliament ſhould become a party in betraying its own rights and thoſe of the people, was ſuppoſing a caſe which could not exiſt, or if it did, which no human prudence or foreſight could poſſibly guard againſt; for ſuch a conſpiracy of the executive and legiſlative powers of the ſtate, ſuppoſed not an abuſe, but an actual ſubverſion and diſſolution of government. That all reaſoning on ſuch an hypotheſis was abſurd; who could the people truſt, if they could not truſt themſelves? if they were ſeized with ſuch a madneſs as to make a ſurrender of their rights and liberties, no power under heaven could prevent them.

This anſwer ſeems perfectly ſatisfactory with regard to the general power of the crown over the militia; but it does not appear of equal force to remove the main objection, and which ſtruck directly at the principle of the bill, viz. the rendering a law perpetual, which was framed only for an immediate and temporary purpoſe, without any apparent motive, or ſufficient cauſe for ſo doing. This was by no means ſatisfactorily anſwered, it being only evaſively ſaid, that if the law was a good one, it ſhould always ſtand, and if otherwiſe, ſhould not paſs at all. This would prove too much; as it would be a reaſon againſt all temporary bills.

The queſtion being put on the amendment, it was rejected on a diviſion in the committee, by a majority of 140 to 55. Another amendment was then propoſed, "That the militia ſhould not be called out of their reſpective counties, unleſs in caſe of actual invaſion." This likewiſe paſſed in the negative. A clauſe was then propoſed, to impower his Majeſty to aſſemble the parliament in fourteen days, whenever the preſent act, in the event of a war or rebellion in any part of the dominions of the Britiſh crown, ſhould be called into operation. This clauſe was agreed to without a diviſion.

Several motions were made on the ſame day by the Duke of Grafton, which produced conſiderable debates in the other houſe. The firſt of theſe was to lay before the houſe, an account of the number of forces ſerving in America, previous to the commencement of hoſtilities, with their ſeveral ſtations and diſtributions, in order to lay a ground- 15th.

ground-work for ſuch advice as that houſe, impelled by a ſenſe of duty, might think fit to ſubmit to his Majeſty's conſideration. The ſecond, for a ſtate of the army now in America, according to the lateſt returns. The third, for laying before them the plans that had been adopted for providing winter quarters for thoſe troops; with an account of the number of forces in the provincial army, according to the beſt eſtimate that could be obtained. The fourth, that an eſtimate of the forces now in Great Britain and Ireland ſhould be laid before them. And the fifth, that an eſtimate of the military force neceſſary to be ſent againſt America, with an account of the number of artillery, ſhould alſo be laid before the houſe.

In ſupport of theſe motions, the ſame ground was taken, which had been repeatedly trodden in both houſes ſince the opening of the ſeſſion, upon the ſame ſubject. Some new obſervations were however added. It was ſaid, that they had heard oblique cenſures thrown out upon the commanders both by ſea and land. What were they to do, amidſt ſuch a chaos of charges, denials, blunders, miſtakes, imputed negligence, and incapacity? Were they ſtill to wander in darkneſs and uncertainty; to grope their way without a ray of light, or the ſmalleſt information for their direction? They profeſſed, that they did not want cabinet, but parliamentary information; they did not want to know the detail, nor the different means intended to give their meaſures ſucceſs; they do not deſire to ſee eſtimates, with any view of comparing them with the returns; nor do they mean to enter into any enquiry, with an intention of having the wrong information, by which miniſters have confeſſed themſelves deceived and miſled, traced to its ſource. They only wanted to know that general ſtate of things, and thoſe facts, which by warning them of the difficulties they had to encounter, would point out the beſt means of obviating or ſurmounting them; and that this could not be ſo well effected in any other manner, as by learning a true ſtate of the force preparing againſt us, and comparing it with our own abilities and immediate reſources. That there were precedents in favour of ſuch motions; and the enemy was ſo ſituated as to come readily at the account of what was ſo anxiouſly concealed from parliament.

On the other ſide, the enquiries propoſed, with thoſe which they were ſuppoſed to lead to, were ſaid to be unprecedented, highly improper and dangerous. That it was contrary to every rule of office, as well as every maxim of war and common ſenſe, to furniſh our enemies with ſuch intelligence, as might be the means of either availing themſelves of our weakneſs, or reſiſting our power. That the rebel leaders themſelves could not wiſh for any thing more in their favour, than a diſcloſure of the plans of our military operations, and an exact ſtate of our ſtrength or weakneſs. That ſecrecy, whether with reſpect to deliberation or action, was the eſſence and life of war, upon which its ſucceſs muſt for ever in a great degree depend. It was aſſerted, that the meaſures determined here, were much ſooner known in the rebel camp, than in the King's army. And it was in-

ſiſted, that the precedent to be eſtabliſhed by a compliance with theſe motions, of the legiſlative forcing itſelf, and breaking in upon the executive power, would be more dangerous even than the other conſequences, as it muſt of courſe, if brought into practice, totally obſtruct the meaſures of government, and render it impracticable to conduct the public affairs.

The debate, as uſual, wandered from the main ſubject, and took in ſeveral branches of the American buſineſs. Much warmth appeared, and ſome ſevere perſonal animadverſion took place, upon different occaſions which occurred in the courſe of the debates. The queſtion being at length put upon each of the motions ſeparately, that only, for an eſtimate of the forces now in Great Britain and Ireland, was agreed to. The reſt were rejected without a diviſion.

The oppoſition were not ſo dejected by their multiplied defeats in both houſes of parliament, as to abandon all hopes of a reconciliation; they daily endeavoured to ſhew it neceſſary in the attempt, and practicable in the execution.

16th. On the day ſucceeding the Duke of Grafton's motions, Mr. Burke, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of his conciliatory propoſitions in the preceding year, brought in a bill to anſwer the ſame purpoſes in the preſent.

The buſineſs was introduced by a petition upon the preſent American differences, from the conſiderable cloathing towns and neighbourhood of Weſtbury, Warminſter, and Trowbridge, in the county of Wilts. This petition was intended to counteract a late addreſs which had been procured in the ſame part of the country, and to prevent, as the petitioners ſay, the dreadful effects which might ariſe, from ſimilar miſrepreſentations being conveyed to parliament. But what brought it directly home to Mr. Burke's object of conciliation, was the earneſt manner in which they deprecated the horrors of a civil war, and conjured the houſe, by every thing ſolemn, ſacred, or dear, to adopt ſuch lenient meaſures, as might reſtore that affectionate intercourſe between this country and the colonies, which, they ſaid, could alone prevent thoſe calamities that they moſt pathetically lamented or deſcribed. He therefore wiſhed (after obſerving that the manufacturing part of the petitioners were all men who carried on buſineſs as principals upon their own account, and that, he was authorized to ſay, were poſſeſſed of more than half a million of Engliſh property,) that the prayer of the petition ſhould be conſidered as an exordium to the buſineſs which he was going to propoſe.

The motion was, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for compoſing the preſent troubles, and for quieting the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects in America." Its object was to procure conciliation and peace by conceſſion; and that great charter from the crown to the people, paſſed in the 35th year of Edward the Firſt, and known by the name of *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, was its avowed model.

The framer introduced his bill with a ſpeech, which he ſupported for upwards of three hours with great ability, and which ſeemed to vie with the magnitude of the ſubject,

ject, in the amazing compaſs of Britiſh and American matter which it included. He complained of the difficulties under which moderate men, who adviſed lenient and healing meaſures, lay, in times of civil commotion; that their moderation was imputed to a want of zeal, and their fears for the public ſafety to a want of ſpirit; but that on the preſent unhappy occaſion, theſe were increaſed in an unuſual degree, as every thing that was propoſed on the ſide of lenity, was unfairly conſtrued, and induſtriouſly repreſented, as intended to give a countenance to rebellion; and that ſuch arts had been practiſed, and menaces thrown out, as would, if they had not been oppoſed with a great ſhare of firmneſs by the friends to the peace of their country, have put an end to all freedom of debate, and indeed to all public deliberation whatever.

He obſerved, that there were three plans afloat for putting an end to the preſent troubles. The firſt, ſimple war, in order to a perfect conqueſt. The ſecond, a mixture of war and treaty. And the third, peace grounded on conceſſion. In the inveſtigation of theſe he obſerved, that the firſt branched into two parts; the one direct by conqueſt, the other indirect by diſtreſs. He then examined the means which had been laid before them, for carrying on the enſuing campaign upon the former principle, and found many reaſons to ſhew that they were inſufficient for the purpoſe. As for the predatory, or war by diſtreſs, he placed its nature and conſequences in various points of view, and endeavoured to ſatisfy his hearers, that it was calculated to produce the higheſt degree of irritation and animoſity, but never had, nor never could, induce any one people to become ſubjects to the government of another. That it was a kind of war adapted to diſtreſs an independent people; but not to coerce diſobedient ſubjects.

He concluded the ſubject of conqueſt by obſerving, that as there appeared no probability of ſucceſs in the detail of any of the arrangements that were propoſed, neither was there any authority to give them a ſanction; not one military or naval officer having given an opinion in their favour, and ſeveral of the firſt, in both departments, having decided directly againſt them. Thus, as no man of military experience would vouch for the ſufficiency of the force, neither would any one in the commiſſariate anſwer for its ſubſiſtence from the moment that it left the ſea coaſt; ſo that its ſubſiſtence and its operation were confeſſedly incompatible.

He next examined the mixed ſyſtem of war and treaty, and expoſed, with his uſual acuteneſs and diſquiſition, its numberleſs defects, ruinous procraſtination, and final inconcluſiveneſs. He ridiculed the abſurdity of ſending out pardons to people who neither applied for, nor would accept of them; as if nothing but an amneſty were wanting to reſtore peace in America; and as if the great objects of diſpute were totally loſt and forgotten. He alſo condemned in the ſtrongeſt terms the arbitrary powers which were to be veſted in the commiſſioners, of granting general or particular pardons, in ſuch manner, and to ſuch perſons only, as they ſhould

ſhould think proper; without any eſtabliſhed line for the government of their conduct on the one ſide, or known meaſure of obedience for the attainment of ſecurity on the other.

Having endeavoured to eſtabliſh the inefficacy and ruinous conſequences of both theſe ſyſtems, he proceeded to an explanation of his own, founded upon the idea of *conceſſion previous to treaty*. He ſtated the neceſſity of conceſſion; that its neceſſity being admitted, it ſhould be immediately adopted, and appear a mere act of *their own free grace*. That this meaſure, beſides preventing the deſtructive conſequences attending the protraction incident to negociation, would ſuſtain their own dignity much better, and have infinitely more efficacy in conciliating the colonies, than any conceſſion upon treaty. That the firſt ground of treaty muſt be confidence. That all confidence in government, on the ſide of the Americans, had been deſtroyed through the meaſures purſued for the laſt ten years. That this confidence could only be reſtored by the interpoſition of parliament; by its coming in as an aid and ſecurity for government, and laying out ſome firm ground as a foundation for concluſive and final peace.

He obſerved, that as taxation had been the origin of the preſent differences, an arrangement of that queſtion, either by enforcement or conceſſion, was a preliminary indiſpenſably eſſential to peace. He entered largely into that ſubject; conſidered it under both heads, and ſaid, that the impracticability of the former was now acknowledged by the miniſters themſelves. He obſerved, that parliament was not the repreſentative, but the ſovereign of America. That ſovereignty was not in its nature an idea of abſtract unity; but was capable of great complexity and infinite modifications, according to the temper of thoſe who are to be governed, and to the circumſtances of things; which being infinitely diverſified, government ought to be adapted to them, and to conform itſelf to their nature, inſtead of vainly endeavouring to force that to a contrary biaſs. That though taxation was inherent in the ſupreme power of ſociety, taken as an aggregate, it did not follow that it muſt reſide in any particular power in that ſociety. Thus, in the ſociety of England, the King is the ſovereign; but the power of the purſe is not in his hands; yet this does not derogate from his authority in thoſe things, in which the conſtitution has attributed power to him.

Having preſſed the neceſſity of giving up the point of taxation to the utmoſt, he, however, expreſſed his regret, at our being obliged to ſurrender any (even that moſt odious and ſcarcely ever to be exerciſed) part of legiſlative authority; but this, he ſaid, was the natural and inevitable conſequence of injudicious exertions of power. That people who quarrel unreaſonably among themſelves, and will not reconcile their differences in due ſeaſon, muſt ſubmit to the conſequences incident to the ſituation in which they have involved themſelves. That there was no diſhonour in any kind of amicable adjuſtment of domeſtic quarrels; that he would rather yield an hundred points, when they

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were Engliſhmen that gave and received, than a ſingle point to a foreign nation; and we were in ſuch circumſtances as would oblige us to yield either to one or the other.

He then ſtated the reaſons which induced him to make the ſtatute de tallagio, 35 Ed. 1. the pattern for his bill. For this purpoſe he ſhewed the ſimilarity of the ancient diſputes that aroſe between the kings and the people of England on the ſubject of taxation, to thoſe now ſubſiſting between the parliament and the natives of America; that the claim of ſovereignty was the ſame in both inſtances, and the evils which were effectually removed by the ſtatute de tallagio, correſponded exactly with thoſe which the preſent bill was intended to remedy. That they had happily a precedent of the firſt authority to afford a clue for their conduct. For however the queſtion of right was, our kings were formerly in the practice of levying taxes upon the people by their own authority; that they juſtified this practice upon the very ſame principles, and with the ſame arguments, which are now uſed to ſupport the right of parliament in taxing the Americans. They contended that the crown, being charged with the public defence, muſt be furniſhed alſo with the means of providing for it. That it would be abſurd to commit a truſt into the hands of one perſon, and to leave the power of executing it to depend upon the will of another. They therefore maintained the king's indefeaſible right to tax the people, and that it was a power ſo eſſential to ſovereignty, as to be inſeparable from the crown. But notwithſtanding the force of theſe arguments, and the allurements of the claim, one of the greateſt and wiſeſt of our monarchs, by an expreſs and poſitive act, cut off from the ſovereign power this right of taxing.

That ſtatute, he obſerved, has been the foundation of the unity and happineſs of England from that time; that it was abſolutely *ſilent about the right*, and confined itſelf to giving ſatisfaction in future; that it laid down no general principles which might tend to affect the royal prerogative in other particulars; and that in all human probability, the preſervation of the other branches of the prerogative, was owing to the clear and abſolute ſurrender of that. He ſhewed that ſtatute conſiſted of three principal parts; viz. a renunciation of taxing,—a repeal of all laws which had been made upon a contrary principle,—and a general pardon. He then ſhewed the conformity of his own bill to the ſpirit of that act, ſuppoſing Great Britain to ſtand in the place of the ſovereign, and America in that of the ſubject; and that though the circumſtances were not in every reſpect parallel, they were ſufficiently ſo to juſtify his following an example, that gave ſatisfaction and ſecurity on the ſubject of *taxes*, and left all other rights and powers whatſoever, exactly upon the bottom on which they had ſtood before that arrangement had taken place.

From the account we have ſeen of the model, it will not be difficult to form ſome judgment of the conſtruction of the copy. The great object of the bill was a renunciation of the exerciſe of taxation, without at all interfering in the queſtion of right. It preſerved the

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power of levying duties for the regulation of commerce, but the money ſo raiſed, was to be at the diſpoſal of the ſeveral general aſſemblies. The crown was empowered, when neceſſary, to convene general meetings of deputies from the ſeveral colonies, and their acts were to be binding upon all. The duty act of the year 1767, with the late coercive and penal laws, were to be repealed. And a general amneſty was granted, upon the Americans laying down their arms within a given time. All future revenues, were to be free aids from the ſubjects there, as well as here.

The principal objections made to the bill were, that it conceded too much for us, and not near enough to ſatisfy the Americans. That their claims reached, not only to the declaratory act, and to all the others paſſed ſince 1763, but included in their ſweep all the revenue laws from the act of trade down to the preſent time. They complain of all laws laying duties for the expreſs purpoſe of revenue, and the bill goes no farther back than the year 1767; but to render the remedy real and efficient, it ſhould be carried back to the year 1672. The Americans likewiſe complain of the admiralty juriſdiction, which, though it has undergone ſome change in its form, is as old as the act of navigation; this bill, which means to redreſs their grievances, and recover their confidence, ſhould give them ſatisfaction on that, and every other head of grievance or complaint, or it did nothing.

As the bill did not reach far enough to anſwer its purpoſes on the one hand, ſo they ſaid it gave up rights on the other, which had never been called in queſtion till the preſent diſputes began. For the veſting all duties which ſhould be collected under any future laws for the regulation of commerce in the diſpoſal of the aſſemblies, as if they had been levied immediately under their authority, was an acknowledgement, and eſtabliſhing it as a principle, that parliament never had any right to the diſpoſal of ſuch revenues, and amounted in fact, to a virtual repeal of all the ſtatutes from the act of trade downwards, in which any ſuch ſpecific appropriations had been made.

They alſo contended, that as a plan of accommodation had been already chalked out in the ſpeech from the throne, it would be indecent and diſreſpectful to majeſty, and withdrawing the confidence of parliament from thoſe miniſters who adviſed the meaſure, to adopt any other plan of conciliation, until that was either firſt diſpoſed of, or that adminiſtration had declined the undertaking. A great part of the houſe were as uſual of opinion, that nothing leſs than coercion, in its full extent, could anſwer any uſeful purpoſe, and ſaid, that the greater diſpoſition Great Britain ſhewed towards conciliation, the more obſtinate, rebellious, and inſolent, America would become.

The bill was ably ſupported, and the debates long and intereſting. Moſt of the leaders and able ſpeakers in oppoſition having taken a diſtinguiſhed part in them. They were alſo powerfully oppoſed, and the moſt celebrated orators on both ſides, were ſaid, to have merited on that day, a more than common ſhare of applauſe. The previous queſtion,

queſtion, which had been early moved for, being at length put, was carried upon a diviſion, at near four o'clock in the morning, by a majority of juſt two to one, the numbers being 210, to 105 who ſupported the motion. This was the higheſt proportion in numbers which the oppoſition had hitherto borne to the majority.

20th. In a few days after, the miniſter brought in the famous Prohibitory bill, totally interdicting all trade and intercourſe with the thirteen united colonies. All property of Americans whether of ſhips or goods, on the high ſeas or in harbour, are declared forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his majeſty's ſhips of war; and ſeveral clauſes of the bill were inſerted to facilitate and to leſſen the expence of the condemnation of prizes, and the recovery of prize money. This bill, beſides its primary object, repealed the Boſton Port, with the fiſhery, and reſtraining acts, their proviſions in ſome inſtances being deemed inſufficient in the preſent ſtate of warfare, and their operation in others, being liable to interfere with that of the intended law. It alſo enabled the crown to appoint commiſſioners, who beſides the power of ſimply granting pardons to individuals, were authorized to enquire into general and particular grievances, and empowered to determine, whether any part, or the whole of a colony, were returned to that ſtate of obedience, which might entitle them to be received within the king's peace and protection, in which caſe, upon a declaration from the commiſſioners, the reſtrictions in the preſent bill were to ceaſe in their favour.

The fire of oppoſition was rekindled by this bill, and it was encountered with great vigour in both houſes. Is this, ſaid they, the conciliatory propoſition by which the houſe and the nation have been flattered. Are we to find peace in a cruel, indiſcriminate, and perpetual declaration of war, againſt all the people in our own colonies? they ſaid, that it was cutting off at the root all hopes of future accommodation; that it drove England and America to the fatal extremity, of abſolute conqueſt on the one ſide, or abſolute independency on the other. That it was as formal an act of abdication as could be penned, of our government over the colonies. That it would precipitate the Americans headlong into the arms of ſome foreign power; that it would compell them of neceſſity, to convert their merchant ſhips into privateers, whereby our Weſt India iſlands would be totally ruined, and our foreign commerce in general ſuffer greater injury, than in any war in which we had ever been involved. That our preſent wiſe and happy councils were not ſatisfied with the loſs of America; but they muſt throw Africa and the Weſt Indies after it, and hazard the ſecurity of every remaining part of the empire, in whatever quarter of the globe it was ſituated.

The ſuppoſed abſurdity, and contradictory nature of the bill were ridiculed. It begins, ſaid they, with a declaration of war, and a confiſcation of the effects of 13 colonies, and after 35 of the moſt violent, cruel, and impolitic clauſes,

clauſes, it concludes with ſome fallacious nugatory proviſions, rather talking about, than propoſing the attainment of peace. Can it be ſeriouſly ſaid or expected, that offers of pardon will ſatisfy men who acknowledge no crime, and who are conſcious, not of *doing* but of *ſuffering* wrong? Or will the proſpect of exemption from commercial ſeizures, without the redreſs of any grievance, diſarm thoſe who have deliberately refuſed all commerce until their grievances ſhall be redreſſed. It was alſo contended, that as the Americans would inevitably open their ports to foreigners in conſequence of this bill, ſo it would of courſe involve the miniſters in that evil, which, notwithſtanding their domeſtic ſanguinary diſpoſition, they of all others dreaded the moſt; it would involve them in a foreign war, which they had ſo repeatedly ſacrificed the national honour to avoid.

It was ſaid in ſupport of the bill, that the Americans were already in a ſtate of warfare with us, and while that war continued, it muſt neceſſarily be carried on by ſea and land, and conducted in every manner and reſpect, as it would have been againſt alien enemies. That the nature, ſituation, and diſtance of that continent, rendered the operations by ſea indiſpenſable, as thoſe by land, without that auxiliary, if not inſufficient, would at leaſt prove dilatory, and the attainment of their object diſtant. That the ſtronger, more urgent, and immediate, the coercion was, the fewer would be the miſchiefs, the leſs the expence, and the ſooner would peace and order be reſtored. That an ill-judged appearance of lenity, by ſtaying, or rendering languid, the hand of coercion, would be cruelty in the extremeſt degree, and prove equally ruinous to England and America.

That whatever real or apparent hardſhips or ſeverities were contained in the bill, they were unavoidable in the preſent ſtate of things, and it was in the power of the Americans, either collectively or individually, to prevent their operation. That the commiſſioners went out with the ſword in one hand, and terms of conciliation in the other. America had the choice. Every colony had it in its power to take the benefit of the latter. It had only to acknowledge the legiſlative ſupremacy of Great Britain, or if unwilling to accede to ſuch a general declaration, to contribute of its own accord towards the ſupport of government, and thereby, as one of the parts of the empire, entitle itſelf to the protection of the whole, and the work was done, no ſeverity or hardſhip would be known by that colony.

As to the loſſes which our merchants and the Weſt India iſlands might ſuſtain, theſe, if real, could only be lamented among the many other evils incident to war. But theſe evils, they ſaid, were purely imaginary, and only held out to diſtreſs government, and impede its operations, by alarming the minds of the people, and exciting a domeſtic ferment. Would any one venture to aſſert, that America, deſtitute of reſources, without a ſhip of war in her poſſeſſion, and all her ports and docks open to our fleets, could encounter the naval power of Great Britain, or that the latter was not ſufficient to

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protect our islands and commerce from loss and insult? With respect to foreign powers, their dispositions were said to be friendly towards us; but were it otherwise, none of them who held possessions in America, could be so blind to their own interest and security, as to encourage or support the rebellion of colonies; much less to suffer the establishment of an independent state in the new world.

The bringing in of this bill was attended with an unusual circumstance. Mr. Fox moved an amendment, to leave out the whole title and body of the bill, excepting only the parts, which related to the repeal of the Boston Port, the fishery, and the restraining acts. This motion occasioned very warm debates, and much animadversion, which continued till after midnight, when the question being put, the amendment was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 192 to 64 only.

The bill was not less debated on the 1st of December, when it was brought up for the second reading. In this stage, it was moved to commit it for the 5th, upon which several gentlemen requested the minister to postpone it for a few days, as the West India merchants and planters had advertised for a meeting of their body, upon that subject, on the 6th, thereby to give them an opportunity of laying any evidence or information they should think necessary before the house. This, though asked as a favour, was also represented as a matter of fairness and justice, where property was in any degree concerned, much more when so immense a share of it was at stake as in the present instance. The request, however, not being complied with, it was moved to amend the former motion, by putting off the commitment of the bill to the 12th. This amendment was lost upon a division, of 207 to 55; and the main question being put, after some further debate, was carried.

On the 5th, it again caused much debate. Several gentlemen, who wished to vote for the conciliatory part, but not for any other, complained that in its present form, it was an heterogeneous irreconcilable mixture of war and conciliation; that this mixture of hostility and conciliation in the same bill, must be intended, either to confound the attention by the variety of the objects, and divert it from observing the incongruity of the various parts, or to preclude debate, by carrying on the subject-matter of two bills in one. Lord Folkestone therefore moved, that the bill might be divided into two separate ones, that each might be separately considered and debated.

On the other hand it was supported by arguing, that nothing was so natural as what had been called so contradictory; war or peace in the same proposition. That they were the proper alternative in all such contests; war or resistance; peace or submission. What would the opposition have said if no powers of peace had been left? Though the motion was rejected by a majority of 76 to 34, the debates were continued in the committee, and carried on to the ensuing day, with great warmth and severity of observation. Another motion was made, that the chairman should leave the chair, in order to give time to the West India

India merchants to prepare and preſent their petition, which was overruled by a majority of 126 to 34. Other motions were made and received a negative without a diviſion. Some amendments were however propoſed and adopted. The clauſe for veſting the property of the ſeizures in the captors, was ſtrongly combated. It was ſaid that it would be a diſgrace to the honour of the navy, which would be degraded by it into the rank of pirates; that it would taint the principles and corrupt the hearts of our brave ſeamen, who would thereby acquire habits of cruelty, of piracy, and of robbery, with reſpect to their fellow-ſubjects, which could never be worn off; that it would extinguiſh in their breaſts, all patriotiſm, all national pride and glory, and all generous ardour againſt our natural enemies, and ſubſtitute in their place a baſe indiſcriminate ſpirit of rapine, which would equally affect friends and foes.

The extraordinary diſcretionary powers granted to the commiſſioners were much condemned, and ſaid to be of ſuch a nature, as ſhould not be entruſted to any ſet of men in a free government; that they were veſted in the ſovereign upon certain occaſions, but his miniſters were conſidered as reſponſible for the due exerciſe of them; ſo that this bill granted a deſpotic and uncontroulable power to the commiſſioners, which the crown itſelf did not poſſeſs. One gentleman obſerved, that as this bill anſwered all the purpoſes, which the moſt ſanguine and violent of the Americans could wiſh, in order to oblige their people to coaleſce as one man in ſhaking off our government, its title ſhould be altered and fitted to its purpoſe, and then it would be entitled, "A bill for carrying more effectually into execution the reſolves of the Congreſs."

Upon receiving the report from the committee on the 8th, the petition from the Weſt India merchants was read, and counſel heard in its ſupport, after which it was moved, to poſtpone the further conſideration of the report until the 23d, of the following January. This was ſupported upon the thinneſs of the houſe, moſt of the country gentlemen having quitted town. It was ſaid, to offend againſt every rule of decency, to be equally diſgraceful to parliament, and injurious to the nation, to hurry on national buſineſs of the greateſt magnitude and importance, at ſuch a ſeaſon, and in ſo ſhameful and unprecedented a manner.

To theſe and numberleſs other ſtrictures it was replied, that early notice had been given of the intention of the bill; that a fortnight had elapſed between the motion for bringing it in and the ſecond reading, which was the time for debating the principle of a bill; that as it purſued the ideas thrown out in the ſpeech from the throne, in the moſt exact conformity, it could conſequently contain nothing novel; and that no matter or circumſtance could poſſibly ariſe during the receſs of parliament, which could alter their ſentiments with reſpect to America, except its ſubmiſſion, in which event the bill would ceaſe to operate. The whole of the American buſineſs was this day as fully debated, and as eagerly diſcuſſed, as if this had been the firſt time of

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its coming before them. The queſtion being at length put, the motion for poſtponing the report was rejected.

A motion being then made by Mr. Burke, that Mr. Delancey, a gentleman of great conſideration at New York, and now obliged to come to England on account of his diſſent from the proceedings of the Congreſs, ſhould attend the houſe, it was rejected. Upon which, with a deſign to expoſe the neglect of all evidence, and refuſal of information, which now prevailed, the following motion was made, "that it is neceſſary and proper to come to a reſolution, that evidence relative to the ſtate of America, the temper of the people there, and the probable operations of an act now depending, is unneceſſary to this houſe; this houſe being already ſufficiently acquainted with thoſe matters."

On the 11th, previous to the third reading of the Prohibitory Bill, a motion was made by governor Johnſton, that no evidence had been laid before the houſe of the delinquency of the province of Georgia, which was notwithſtanding included in the ſame common puniſhment with the other colonies. This motion alſo tended to ſhew, the abſurdity of proceeding without information, and the injuſtice of condemning without proof. Though this motion paſſed in the negative it occaſioned a warm debate, in which the miniſters were hard put to ſupport the charge of delinquency.

As the minority now declared that they ſaw, that all attempts to withſtand the force which was carrying the bill through, were utterly futile, and that the country gentlemen had (as they ſaid) ſhamefully deſerted their duty, and abandoned the public buſineſs, moſt of them grew weary of ſo fruitleſs a conteſt, and the houſe was thinly attended on that ſide, at the time of paſſing the bill. An attempt was however made to leſſen the rigour of forfeitures, with reſpect to the trade between our Weſt India iſlands and the continent of America, the ſhips in which were liable to confiſcation, before they could poſſibly know that they had incurred any penalty, or that any ſuch law was in exiſtence. Another was alſo made, to defer the laſt reading till after the holidays; but they both proved equally fruitleſs, and the bill was paſſed upon a diviſion, by a majority of 112 to 16 only.

We muſt now recur to ſeveral tranſactions which paſſed during the progreſs of this bill. We have already ſeen that ſeveral fruitleſs attempts had been made by oppoſition, to obtain information as to the ſtate of the forces in North America, as well as of the expences hitherto incurred on the different parts of that ſervice, ſo far as they could be made out. Notwithſtanding the conſtant diſappointment that attended theſe enquiries, Mr. Fox moved, to lay before the houſe, an account of the expences of the ſtaff, hoſpitals, extraordinaries, and all military contingencies whatſoever, of the army in America, from Auguſt 1773, to Auguſt 1775, incluſive. He ſaid that he had drawn up the motion in thoſe words, in order that it might comprehend and lay open an aſtoniſhing ſcene of miniſterial deluſion to the houſe. That it would bring

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the ſtaff, which had been artfully held back, into the full glare of day; it would ſhew that the expence of ordnance in the year 1775, had exceeded that in any of the duke of Marlborough's glorious campaigns; and it would give ſufficient ground for prediction, that it would in the preſent year be conſiderably greater, than in any of the moſt victorious ones of the laſt war, when we were engaged in a conteſt, either directly or indirectly, with almoſt all the great powers in Europe, and retained a military force of 338,000 men in actual pay; it would ſhew how they were impoſed upon in all other eſtimates as well as in that of the ordnance, in which the miniſter had the temerity to incur a debt of 240,000l. though every branch of the military ſervice had been amply provided for by his own acknowledgement, and according to his own arrangements.

The miniſters paid little attention to the reaſons urged in ſupport of this enquiry. They ſaid, that ſome of the accounts were on the table, and they would all be regularly laid there, in their proper ſeaſon; that they appertained to different heads of ſervice or proviſion, and came properly under examination, when thoſe ſeveral heads were to be conſidered; that it was unuſual, irregular, and troubleſome, to demand ſuch accounts, when there was no queſtion or buſineſs before the houſe to authorize ſuch demands; and that however adminiſtration might be diſpoſed to comply with ſuch a requiſition, it was not in their power to do it, as ſeveral of the accounts were not yet received.

This refuſal, and the indifference with which it was accompanied, brought on ſome ſevere ſtrictures. It was inſiſted, that the motion was ſtrictly parliamentary; that it could convey no ſecret to the enemy; that no inſtance could be produced of the refuſal of ſuch information, except in caſes where the want of the neceſſary materials rendered the compliance impoſſible; that this was obviated by the mover, who required no accounts nor information but what were in their cuſtody or power. That their ſitting any longer there was a mere farce, and could anſwer no purpoſe of their inſtitution, if accounts of that nature could be refuſed. The queſtion paſſed in the negative without a diviſion.

On the ſame day the militia bill was read the third time, when a rider was propoſed by Sir George Saville, and received, by which its duration was limited to ſeven years. The bill was then paſſed.

The third reading of the indemnity bill, brought on a very warm and animated debate. A motion was made for leaving out of the preamble thoſe words, "doubts having been entertained of the legality of the meaſure;" and to inſert in their place the following amendment, "that the meaſure of ſending the Hanoverian troops to the garriſons of Gibraltar and Minorca was not warranted by law, and was againſt the ſpirit of the conſtitution." It was contended in ſupport of the motion, that the bill in its preſent ſtate carried an abſurdity glaring on its very face; its body contained an indemnity for an offence, while the preamble declared that none had been committed; that it was an inſult upon the houſe to propoſe the remittal of 24th.

of a puniſhment, and to make it acknowledge at the ſame time that none had been incurred; the mockery, they ſaid, was too groſs to be endured. That however dangerous the meaſure of introducing foreign troops was, the precedent to be eſtabliſhed by the bill was infinitely more ſo, as it was obtaining the ſanction of parliament for that violation of the laws, and dangerous infraction of the conſtitution. That the miniſter came before the houſe in a ſituation, no other had ever ventured; he firſt violated the laws of his country, and then had the effrontery to come to parliament, not to claim its indulgence, but to make it teſtify, that what he had done was perfectly right and unexceptionable.

It can ſcarcely paſs obſervation, that the miniſter found himſelf frequently obliged to vary his ground in the courſe of this buſineſs. In its beginning, to prevent the defection of the court part of the country gentlemen, after an appearance of firmneſs which bordered upon obſtinacy, he ſuddenly ſeemed to conform to their ideas, in agreeing to the bringing in of the indemnity bill. When the great point of the addreſs was gained, he ſeemed totally to forget the matter, and did not wiſh to be reminded of it. Their importunity at length growing troubleſome, and many great points ſtill remaining to be obtained, he ſeemed to coincide in their opinion, and accordingly brought in the bill; but took care to conſtruct it in ſuch a manner, as that it ſhould anſwer purpoſes extremely differing from thoſe which they intended. Since that time, he had continually varied his tone, from firmneſs to conceſſion, and from conceſſion to firmneſs, in proportion to the objects he had in view, and to the apparent complexion and preſent temper of the houſe. Having now nearly carried all the great points of the ſeſſion through, and moſt of the country gentlemen being abſent, he returned to his original doctrine, from which he would not recede in the ſmalleſt degree, and declared, that as far as his vote went, he would not ſuffer the alteration of a tittle in the bill;—he wanted no indemnity, and let thoſe who were in love with the meaſure, take the bill as it was, or not at all. However innocent the motives were, it certainly afforded matter of uneaſineſs to the friends of government, and to thoſe who were the moſt remote from party views and prejudices, to ſee the court ſo eager at this critical time, to eſtabliſh a precedent for the introduction of foreign troops without the conſent of parliament, and ſo anxious, to prevent any thing like a cenſure which might in future be a clog to ſuch a meaſure.

The amendment was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 130 to 58; and the bill accordingly paſſed in its original ſtate.

In purſuance of the inſtructions from the city of London to its repreſentatives, Mr. Alderman Oliver made a motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, to impart to the houſe, the original authors and adviſers of ſeveral of the late meaſures (which were paſſed into laws, and were now ſpecified), relative to America, before thoſe meaſures were propoſed in parliament. This 27th.

buſineſs was undertaken without the approbation of, or any concert with, oppoſition in general, who diſliked it upon many accounts, particularly, as being ineffective in its nature, very unparliamentary in its form and ſpirit; as not being founded upon any fact, and as offering a juſtification to miniſters, by taking away their reſponſibility, and ſuppoſing their obnoxious meaſures to be the acts of other, or of unknown, perſons. The miniſter turned it into ridicule, with much wit and ſpirit; and the oppoſition, in order to get rid of it without a flat negative, called for the order of the day, and failing in that, they moved the previous queſtion; but the miniſters being determined that the motion ſhould not paſs without reprobation, prevented that eſcape by a majority of 156 to 16; and the main queſtion being then put, the motion was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 163 to 10 only.

The diſcouragement ariſing from the diſappointment which he experienced in the preceding ſeſſion, was not ſufficient to deter Mr. Hartley from a ſimilar attempt in the preſent, with a view of bringing about a reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies. His plan of accommodation, which, in its ground and principle was much the ſame with his former, was principally formed on the general language of adminiſtration and that of the Congreſs, which, he was of opinion, did not ſo much diſagree as was commonly imagined; the former growing every day more apparently indifferent about taxation, and the latter admitting a general ſuperintendency in parliament.

Dec. 7th.

The object of his propoſitions, were, firſt, an addreſs to his majeſty for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; a bill to enable the province of Maſſachuſets bay to elect an aſſembly and council, according to their late charter; a teſt bill, eſtabliſhing a right of trial by jury in all criminal caſes, to all ſlaves in north America, for annulling all laws in any province repugnant thereto, and to be regiſtered by the reſpective aſſemblies of all the colonies. Upon a compliance with this teſt of obedience, the operation of the two following bills was to commence, viz. a bill for a permanent reconciliation, by repealing all the laws ſince the year 1763, and thereby placing the colonies in the exact ſituation in which they ſtood at that time; and a general indemnity bill. The whole was concluded with a motion for an addreſs to the throne, that when quiet was reſtored, it might be proper to ſend letters of requiſition, as uſual, to the ſeveral colonies, for ſuch ſupplies as were neceſſary for government and defence. This propoſition ſeems to have been carried on nearly as little in concert with the generality of the oppoſition as the former.

The miniſters treated theſe conciliatory propoſitions with ſome degree of inattention and indifference. They ſaid, in general, that the main ſubject of theſe motions had been already frequently and fully diſcuſſed; that until the plan propoſed from the throne was tried, and its effects known, it was nugatory, and waſting the time of the houſe, to break in upon them with freſh propoſals; that the

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ſenſe of a great majority of the houſe had been frequently declared againſt the principles of theſe reſolutions; that they held out no ſecurity, and were accompanied with no ſolemn ſanction, that if they were acceded to on our part, they would be accepted by the Americans; that the claim of taxation virtually included the claim of ſovereignty, it being impoſſible to relinquiſh the one without ſurrendering the other; and that the idea of obtaining a productive revenue from America had never been abandoned.

The debate was of courſe ſhort, and the queſtion being put upon the firſt reſolution, it was rejected upon a diviſion by a majority of 123 to 21; the other reſolutions received a negative without a diviſion.

The Indemnity Bill, after all the trouble it had given to the miniſter and to the country gentlemen in the Houſe of Commons, was thrown out by the Lords. It was oppoſed in that houſe by the Marquis of Rockingham, who condemned it in very ſtrong terms, upon the direct variance between the preamble and the enacting clauſes; he ſaid, that the holding out of an indemnity, while it aſſerted that the perſons indemnified were guilty of no offence, would render it a diſgrace to our laws and legiſlation; and that it beſides, under that colour of indemnity, gave a ſanction to a glaring violation both of the law and conſtitution, in placing foreign troops in our garriſons. As the Lords in adminiſtration agreed with the noble Marquis upon the point of impropriety or abſurdity in its ſtructure, and did not think an indemnity at all neceſſary, they readily coincided in rejecting the bill, ſo that it was thrown out without either defence or diviſion.

The Prohibitory Bill met with great oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, almoſt every part of it undergoing a ſpecific diſcuſſion. Upon the motion for its commitment after the ſecond reading, the debates were long, able, and animated; and ſome very warm and pointed perſonal altercation and animadverſion took place. The Lords in oppoſition combated the bill upon every ground of policy, juſtice, and expediency. On the former they obſerved, that by conſidering the Americans as a foreign nation, and declaring war on them in that character, this bill drew the line of ſeparation, chalked out the way, and prepared their minds, for that independency which they were charged with affecting; that the Engliſh on both ſides of the ocean, were now to be taught by act of parliament, to conſider themſelves as ſeparate and diſtinct nations; as nations ſuſceptible of general hoſtility, and proper parties for mutual declarations of war, and treaties of peace. That by the promiſcuous and indiſcriminate rapine of the property of friends and foes, authorized by the bill, it muſt compleat what yet remained to be compleated, of union in North America againſt the authority of parliament; and that the friends of government in that country, whoſe numbers and power have been ſo much boaſted of by adminiſtration, will now plainly ſee, that parliament is much more inclined to diſtreſs, than able or willing to protect. 15th.

Its impolicy and injuſtice with reſpect to the Weſt Indies, was repreſented to be ſtill more glaring. Here it inflicts a much more certain and ſevere puniſhment upon a people not even ſuſpected of crime or offence, than it is capable of extending to the moſt refractory of the Americans. An act of the Britiſh parliament, is called in as a ſupplementary aid, and an extenſion of the authority of the Congreſs, in that meaſure, which of all others adopted by that body, was the moſt reprehenſible and unjuſtifiable on their ſide, and the moſt pernicious to us, the cutting off their uſual ſupplies of proviſions and neceſſaries from thoſe unhappy iſlands. The meaſure of confiſcating thoſe veſſels, which, to avoid all breach of the laws, and all illicit commerce, were laid up by the owners in their own docks and harbours, there waiting to be brought into uſe upon a return of peace and better times, was equally reprobated.

But of all the parts of this law, none was treated with ſo much ſeverity in that houſe, or excited ſuch apparent indignation, as that clauſe, by which all thoſe who were taken on board the American veſſels, were indiſcriminately compelled, without diſtinction of perſons, to ſerve as common ſailors in our ſhips of war. This clauſe was marked with every poſſible ſtigma, and was deſcribed by the Lords in their proteſt, as "a refinement in tyranny," which, "in a ſentence worſe than death, obliges the unhappy men who ſhall be made captives in this predatory war, to bear arms againſt their families, kindred, friends, and country; and after being plundered themſelves, to become accomplices in plundering their brethren." The injuſtice and cruelty of this clauſe, they ſaid, was ſtill heightened, by rendering the unhappy perſons who were thus compelled, ſubject to the articles of war, and liable to be ſhot for deſertion. They pathetically repreſented the miſeries to which perſons in this melancholy ſituation, particularly thoſe of the better ſort, would be ſubject, from the inſolence and outrage of thoſe with whom they were obliged to ſerve, who being themſelves deſtitute of liberal principles and education, would ſtill continue to conſider and treat them as rebels; nor did they conſider it as the ſmalleſt part of the calamity, that they would be frequently obliged to be lookers on, when the ſpoils of their honeſt induſtry, and the natural ſupport of their ſober families, was ſquandered in riot and debauchery, by thoſe profligate comrades, with whom they were at the ſame time obliged to live, and to ſerve. Upon the whole, this ſituation, was ſaid, to be the laſt degree of wretchedneſs and indignity, to which human nature could be ſubjected; and that a cruelty, unknown to the moſt ſavage nations, was thus to be practiſed by Engliſhmen on Engliſhmen. They inſiſted, that no man could be deſpoiled of his goods as a foreign enemy, and at the ſame time obliged to ſerve the ſtate as a citizen, upon any principle of law or right, known among civilized nations. That ſuch a compulſion upon priſoners as the preſent, is unknown in any caſe of war or rebellion; and the only examples of the ſort that can be produced, muſt be found among pirates;—the out-

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laws and enemies of human ſociety.

To theſe and many other charges againſt the nature and principles of the bill, the cruelty, the daring rebellion, and the ultimate treaſonable views of the Americans, were brought in juſtification. They were not even content with rebellion ſimply, they had commenced an offenſive war againſt us, and invaded our dominions with numerous armies. The principle of the bill was, to make a naval war upon America; and as in ſuch caſes it would be impoſſible to make diſtinctions in favour of the innocent, the bill was framed according to the general ideas of carrying on war againſt a foreign enemy, where it is always taken for granted, that every individual is concerned in and abetting every act of public hoſtility. That nothing could be more right or expedient, than the encouragement given to that moſt uſeful and deſerving body of our people, the ſeamen, by veſting in them the effects which they ſhould take from the enemy; that it would induce them to act with double vigour, and be at the ſame time a means of manning the navy; and that it had been practiſed in the two laſt wars, when its good effects were too well and too generally known to require any illuſtration. That this bill was indiſpenſably neceſſary, as no exiſting law had foreſeen, or provided for the caſe, of carrying on a ſea war againſt rebels.

As to the cruelty and injuſtice ſo much complained of, in compelling the crews of the American veſſels to ſerve in the navy, theſe charges were ſo far from being acknowledged, that this meaſure was ſaid to be an act of grace and favour to them; inſtead of confining them in a cloſe priſon during the continuance of the war, which muſt be the caſe if they were conſidered as alien enemies, or puniſhing them as traitors, if conſidered as rebels, they were immediately rated upon the King's books, and put upon the ſame footing with a great body of his moſt uſeful and faithful ſubjects; ſuffering no inconvenience but that which they were always liable to, of being preſſed into his Majeſty's ſervice; as to the ſuppoſed violation of their principles, which was ſo much lamented, their pay and emoluments were ſaid to be a full compenſation for all ſcruples and delicacies of that nature.

The ſuppoſed miſchiefs ariſing to our Weſt-India iſlands, were ſaid to be greatly aggravated; but at any rate, as well as the loſſes which the well-diſpoſed in North America might ſuſtain, were to be conſidered as a part of thoſe unavoidable evils which are incident to war. A great law Lord declared, in the further progreſs of the bill, that we were not now to conſider the queſtions of original right or wrong, juſtice or injuſtice; we were engaged in a war, and we muſt uſe our utmoſt efforts to obtain the ends propoſed by it; we muſt fight or be purſued; and the juſtice of the cauſe muſt give way to our preſent ſituation. To this he applied the laconic ſpeech of a brave Scotch officer in the ſervice of Guſtavus Adolphus, who, pointing to the enemy, ſaid to his men, "See you thoſe, lads; kill them, or they will kill you."

After long debates, which were ably ſupported till near eleven at

night, the queſtion for commitment being put, was carried upon a diviſion, by a majority of 78, including 30 proxies, to 19, including ſeven proxies.

In this ſtate of the bill, a proteſt of uncommon length, and ſtill greater energy, was entered againſt it, in which ſeveral of its parts underwent the ſevereſt ſcrutiny, and the ſeaſon of carrying a bill through, ſo unprecedented in its nature, and important in its conſequences, at a time when, they ſay, moſt of the independent members of both houſes were called away by their domeſtic affairs, and when few but thoſe in the immediate pay of the court, and attending on their employments, remained in town, was particularly condemned.

In three days after, upon going into a committee on the bill, the Duke of Mancheſter moved for deferring the commitment till after the holidays. He founded his motion, beſides the importance and novelty of the bill, upon the reports which were then arrived of our loſſes in Canada. The motion was ſupported by the Marquis of Rockingham, upon the farther ground, of the alarm which the bill had excited among the trading and commercial part of the nation. The motion paſſed in the negative without a diviſion.

The noble Duke then offered to preſent a petition from the merchants of Briſtol, ſtating the ruinous conſequences of the bill, to themſelves in particular, as well as to the mercantile intereſt in general. But as the order of the day had been already moved for, it was ſaid, that the petition could not now be received. Some clauſes in favour of the Britiſh traders, and of the Weſt-India iſlands, were, however, propoſed by the Lords in adminiſtration, and received by the committee, which, it was ſuppoſed, would in ſome degree remedy the grievances ſtated in the petition.

On the third reading of the bill, an amendment, 20th. in favour of the merchants, to one of the clauſes, was propoſed by the Marquis of Rockingham, intending to prolong the commencement of the operation of the bill, from the 1ſt of January to the 1ſt of March, and thereby to preſerve from confiſcation the property of thoſe merchants, who under the faith of parliament in the two reſtrictive laws, had loaded veſſels with lumber in North America for the Weſt-India iſlands. This was oppoſed on two grounds; firſt, that it was contrary to eſtabliſhed practice, to oppoſe any particular clauſe in a bill at the third reading, the objection muſt go to the whole, and not to any particular part; and ſecondly, that the delay required in the operation, would overthrow the principle of the bill, and render it totally inefficacious. The motion was loſt without a diviſion, and the bill paſſed of courſe.

The bill being returned on the next day to the Commons, the amendments were agreed to, after an ineffectual attempt to defer the conſideration of them for ſix months. Thus was a receſs at length obtained, after puſhing forward a multiplicity of matter and buſineſs, ſcarcely ever known before Chriſtmas.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Petition from the colony of Nova Scotia. Reſolutions paſſed, but no bill brought in. Motion and debates relative to a meſſage ſent to the parliament of Ireland. Motion for an enquiry into the cauſes of the ill ſucceſs in North America. Great debates. German treaties laid before the Houſe of Commons, and produce long debates. Duke of Richmond's motion for an addreſs relative to the German treaties. Great debates. Motion rejected. Proteſt. Conſiderable debates in the Committee of Supply. Motion for extraordinary expences carried by a great majority. Duke of Grafton's motion for an addreſs relative to the colonies. Debates. Motion rejected. Progreſs of the bill for a militia in Scotland. Bill at length rejected. Enquiry into licences granted to ſhips bound to North America. Speech from the throne.

THE rapidity with which a continued ſucceſſion of buſineſs was carried through, and the earneſtneſs with which matters of great concern were agitated before the receſs of parliament, occaſioned our paſſing over a petition from the aſſembly of Nova Scotia, which was preſented to each Houſe at the opening of the ſeſſion. It was ſent from that aſſembly in conſequence of Lord North's conciliatory propoſition; and was intended, by thoſe who promoted it in that colony, as a pattern and precedent for the reſt. It was a ſeparate propoſal, and in that light coincided with the general policy, which dictated the conciliatory propoſition. It ſeemed to propoſe ſome revenue originating in the colonies, and to be enacted by parliament; and though the probable amount would be inconſiderable, yet the eſtabliſhment of the doctrine being at that time of more conſideration, than the amount of the revenue immediately to be obtained, the petition was more favourably received by adminiſtration; and on the very firſt day of the ſeſſion, when the Speaker laid it before the Houſe of Commons, a ſhort day was appointed for taking it into conſideration, though not without ſome animadverſion on the part of oppoſition, who treated the whole as one of thoſe mean contrivances, by which miniſtry, as they ſaid, were in the practice of mocking the credulity and implicit confidence of parliament; and they predicted, that it would come to the end which was to be expected from its futility, and the impracticable nature of the ſcheme which it was intended to execute.

The mode of granting a revenue propoſed by this aſſembly, was the payment of ſome ſpecific duty per cent. upon the importation of all foreign commodities, bay ſalt only excepted, by which means the amount of the revenue would at all times bear a due relation and proportion to the opulence and conſumption of the province. It was intended, that the rate of this duty ſhould in the firſt inſtance be fixed by parliament, and afterwards be perpetual and unchangeable, excepting only, that at certain ſtated

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times it was to undergo ſuch regulation, as would preſerve the comparative value of money and commodities in its original ſtate.

When the propoſition came to be debated in the committee, the objections which had been only hinted the firſt day, were more largely and ſtrongly enforced. Againſt thoſe the miniſters contended, that the faith of the houſe and nation obliged them to give effect to a plan laid before them in conſequence of their own reſolution, to which the offer was ſubſtantially agreeable. That the ſmallneſs of the revenue offered could be no objection; that if it was a poor proviſion, it came from a poor province; but it would grow with the circumſtances of the country; and under this plan we ſhould find an advantage from the proſperity of our colonies very different from our former experience, when we found only an increaſe of inſolence, and not of ſupport and ſupply, from their increaſe of ſtrength. That the fidelity of parliament to its engagements, and the moderation of its demands, would engage the other colonies to ſubmiſſion, and would diſabuſe them with regard to the violent prejudices inſtilled into them by their factious leaders. That more favourable times and good management would improve this moderate beginning into a beneficial revenue.

On the other hand, the minority treated it with the greateſt ſcorn. They ſaid it was a thing not fit to be ſeriouſly debated. That if the miniſters had bound the public faith to this abſurd and ridiculous project, it was a great aggravation of their offence ſo to trifle with the national honour. That the old revenue which they were to give up, every part of which (except the tea tax) had been quietly paid in all the colonies, was of more value than the new duties which were propoſed to be granted; and this was the ſort of relief to the public burthens ſought by our war, and by the conciliatory propoſition which was framed to end it. They ſaid, that the principle of the tea tax continued to haunt them in every thing they did; for as that tax drew back a duty which ought to be paid here, in order to impoſe a ſmaller duty in America, this was exactly of the ſame nature, but of a much wider, and of a more miſchievous extent, as it laid eight per cent. not on one article, but on all the certificate goods ſent from England, from which, to facilitate the trade to the colonies, we had drawn back all the duties payable at home. Theſe, and very many other objections, drew the debates into length in the committee; but the miniſtry, though evidently embarraſſed, were reſolved to carry reſolutions conformable to the petition.

Many cauſes concurred to leſſen the effect of this petition from Nova Scotia. That province had coſt government immenſe ſums of money, without its growth or value in any degree correſponding with the expence. It was ſtill unequal to the ſupport of its own civil government, the expence of which was annually granted by parliament; ſo that the offer of a revenue in ſuch circumſtances, however laudable the motives and intention, carried in ſome degree a ludicrous appearance. As it was

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alſo under the influence of a military power, its acts could not be ſuppoſed to carry any great weight as an example, with thoſe colonies who abhorred ſuch an appearance, and whoſe preſent troubles aroſe from a defence of their civil immunities and conſtitution.

The petition beſides contained a long catalogue of grievances, the redreſs of which was as earneſtly preſſed, though in more ſupplicant language, as a ſimilar redreſs had been by the other provinces, and ſeemed in ſome degree to be conſidered as conditional and neceſſary, towards the eſtabliſhment of a permanent connexion, and for retaining the affection and obedience of the people. The aſſembly alſo preſſed moſt earneſtly, that when at any time future exigencies ſhould require further ſupplies, the requiſition ſhould be made in the uſual manner formerly practiſed, whereby they might have an opportunity of ſhewing their duty and attachment, their ſenſe of the cauſe for which it was made, and by that means, and that only, of rendering the ſovereign acquainted with the true ſenſe of his people in that diſtant part of his dominions. So that upon the whole, excepting the profeſſion of ſubmiſſion to the ſupreme legiſlature, which had only of late been a queſtion any where, and the propoſal of a duty, which ſeemed little more than a commercial regulation, this petition did not contain any thing eſſentially different from the former applications of other colonies.

Nov. 23d. Reſolutions to the following purpoſe were however propoſed by the miniſter, and paſſed in a committee, as foundations for an intended bill; viz. That the propoſal of a poundage duty, ad valorem, upon all commodities imported, (bay ſalt excepted) not being the produce of the Britiſh dominions in Europe or America, to be diſpoſed of by parliament, ſhould be accepted, and the duty fixed at 8l. per cent. upon all ſuch commodities. That as ſoon as the neceſſary acts for that purpoſe were paſſed by the aſſembly of Nova Scotia, and had received the royal approbation, all other taxes and duties in that province ſhould ceaſe and be diſcontinued, and no others laid on, while thoſe acts continued in force, excepting only ſuch duties as were found neceſſary for the regulation of commerce, the nett produce of which were to be carried to the account of the province. And to admit an importation into that province of wines, oranges, lemons, currants, and raiſins, directly from the place of their growth and produce.

This relaxation of the Act of Navigation, though not very conſiderable, was intended to ſhew the favourable diſpoſition of parliament towards this province, which had ſet ſo laudable an example of obedience; and ſeemed to hold out to the colonies in general, an enlargement of commerce, as a compenſation for their acceding to the conciliatory reſolution. Indeed much attention was paid to this petition, as forming a model for future taxation, and proving, what had been denied, that the ſyſtem of the conciliatory propoſition was not impracticable. Serious hopes were entertained of its effect until it had paſſed the committee. But it ſeemed as if the pacific ſyſtem, in which this

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was conſidered as a leading part, was about that time laid aſide. Whatever the cauſe might have been, to the ſurprize of many, the whole matter was ſuffered to die away; no bill was brought in, and the petition was heard no more of after the holidays.

The firſt public matter of any conſequence that was brought forward after the receſs, related to a late meaſure of government in Ireland. To explain this matter, it will be neceſſary to take notice, that the Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom, had in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament there, ſent a written meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, containing a requiſition in the King's name, of 4000 additional troops from that kingdom for the American ſervice, and a promiſe under the ſame authority, that they ſhould not continue a charge upon that eſtabliſhment during their abſence; with a propoſal, that for the ſecurity and protection of that kingdom, it was his Majeſty's intention, if deſired by them, to replace thoſe forces with an equal number of foreign proteſtant troops; and a further promiſe, that the charge of thoſe troops ſhould be alſo defrayed without any expence to that country.

We ſhall juſt obſerve, that the Commons of Ireland granted the 4000 troops which were demanded; but that notwithſtanding the naked and defenceleſs ſtate in which that kingdom was left expoſed, and the irreſiſtible force, with which adminiſtration carried all other queſtions through that aſſembly, the meaſure of accepting the foreign troops, was, however, deemed ſo dangerous, and was ſo generally odious, as, after great debates, and the moſt vigorous exertions in its ſupport, to be rejected by a conſiderable majority. And that to remedy the weakneſs occaſioned by the preſent, as well as former, great and continual drain of their ſtanding forces, an attempt was made, by thoſe who are called the patriotic party in that country, to embody the militia; a meaſure much more diſagreeable to government, than even the rejection of the Heſſian or Hanoverian forces, and which was accordingly counteracted with effect.

It is ſufficiently obvious, that the engagement for the diſpoſal of the public money, included in the foregoing meſſage, without the conſent or knowledge of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, was what rendered this ſubject a matter of diſcuſſion in that body. Mr. Thomas Townſhend introduced it as a breach of privilege, and ſtated his complaint in the following words; "That the Earl of Harcourt, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, did, on the 23d day of November laſt, in breach of the privilege, and in derogation of the honour and authority of this Houſe, ſend a written meſſage to the Houſe of Commons of the parliament of Ireland, ſigned with his own hand, to the following effect;" having then recited the meſſage, he moved, that a committee be appointed to enquire into the matter of the ſaid complaint, and to report the ſame, as it ſhall appear to them, to the Houſe. Feb. 15th, 1776.

This gentleman ſupported his motion with great ability, and was equally well ſeconded by his friends.

They

They maintained, that the privileges of that houſe, though applied to themſelves individually or collectively in a more confined ſenſe, were the indubitable right of all the Commons of England, who had one general intereſt in them. That though each of theſe was an object of conſideration, they all ſunk to a very inferior degree of importance, when at all placed in oppoſition to, or compared with, that ineſtimable privilege, the power of granting money, of holding the purſe of their conſtituents, and of guarding it from the hands of violence, art, or fraud. This was a truſt of the firſt magnitude, which, in fact, included every other; for while that was preſerved inviolate, the crown would remain under the conſtitutional controul of parliament; but whenever that was wreſted by open force, defeated by indirect means, or done away by fraud, the liberties and privileges of the people would be for ever annihilated. They ſhewed the wiſe, commendable, and well-founded jealouſy ſhewn by the Commons, when at any time, even the other houſe had interfered in the ſmalleſt degree with that great privilege; but that when any attempts of the ſort were made by the crown, or by its miniſterial agents, they immediately caught the alarm; and however they were before divided, had, at all times, uniformly united, as if actuated by one ſoul, in reſiſting the ſmalleſt encroachment upon their power of granting or refuſing their own money, and that of their conſtituents.

They ſaid, that the meſſage in queſtion preſented ſeveral faces, and contained matters of the moſt ſuſpicious and alarming nature. That if the conditions it held out had been accepted, the parliament of England would have been pledged to that of Ireland for the payment of 8000 men, only to have the uſe of 4000; ſo that Ireland was to be bribed into an acceptance of this inſidious bargain, by retaining her uſual eſtabliſhment as to number, while ſhe was to be eaſed of one third of the burthen. That ſuch a propoſition could only have originated from the worſt deſigns, as the abſurdity, they ſaid, was too glaring to be charged to any degree of folly. But that the nature of the bargain was a matter of little conſequence, when put in competition with that double violation of the conſtitution, that daring temerity, of engaging for the payment of great ſums of money, and venturing to propoſe the introduction of foreign forces, without the conſent of parliament.

Some gentlemen went ſo far as to ſay, that no doubt could be entertained of the deſigns from whence theſe propoſitions originated. One was an experiment on the Iriſh parliament, to try if it could be induced to conſent to the reception of foreign troops, thereby to eſtabliſh a precedent which might be afterwards applied to other purpoſes. The other alſo had its fixed object. It was a ſcheme, they ſaid, however deep, formed on very ſimple principles, and went directly to veſt in the crown the virtual power of taxing, as opportunity might ſerve, both Great Britain and Ireland. In Ireland, the miniſter was to be taught to aſk ſome favour; then England was to be pledged. In England again, when ſuch circumſtances

cumſtances occurred, as rendered the attempt impracticable, Ireland was to be taxed, to maintain the ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature. In the mean time, it prepared the minds of the people, and habituated them to ſuch notions, as would by degrees be the means of reducing the parliament of each to be the mere inſtrumental agents of the crown, without the leaſt degree of will or independence whatever.

Adminiſtration ſeemed in an odd ſituation upon this attack. The matter was ſerious; the offer of introducing foreign troops without the previous conſent of parliament, indeed to introduce them at all as a permanent part of our military eſtabliſhment, could not be a matter of indifference to the conſtitution and ſafety of theſe kingdoms. On this occaſion, no ſmall marks of want of concert and ſyſtem appeared, in the grounds upon which this meaſure was explained or defended in the debate. The miniſter diſavowed thoſe ſpecific inſtructions, upon which it was ſuppoſed the meſſage muſt have been founded; but acknowledged his general co-operation, in matters relative to the government of Ireland. Both he, and another Lord, lately come into adminiſtration, diſclaimed all reſponſibility whatever, for the conduct of his Majeſty's ſervants in that kingdom. They ſaid in general, or ſeparately, that the Viceroy might have miſtaken, or exceeded his inſtructions; that he might not have conveyed his meaning in the cleareſt terms; but that there was no relation between the Britiſh miniſtry and the King's ſervants in that country, which rendered the former in any degree accountable for theſe matters, and conſequently they could not be affected by any cenſure grounded upon them. They, however, juſtified the firſt propoſition in the meſſage, as referring to the promiſe which the King had made to the parliament of Ireland, that 12000 of the forces on that eſtabliſhment, ſhould always be left for the defence of the kingdom. In that ſenſe, they ſaid, the propoſal was ſtrictly defenſible, and came clearly and legally within the conſtitutional exerciſe of the regal power. As to the ſecond propoſition, it was allowed, that the paying for 8000 men, when 4000 only were obtained, appeared to be extremely uncœconomical; that however, if the men could not be obtained upon better terms, the meaſure was defenſible on the ground of neceſſity; and if there were alſo ſufficient reaſons for thinking it better to employ natives than foreigners in North America, they would be a juſtification of the latter part of the ſame propoſition.

Whilſt the official miniſters ſtood on this ground, a totally different mode of defence was adopted by ſeveral of thoſe who are vulgarly known under the denomination of King's friends. Some of theſe maintained the high prerogative right, of introducing foreign forces into any part of the dominions, whenever the exigencies of ſtate rendered it expedient or neceſſary. They alſo inſiſted, that the meſſage was worded in a manner perfectly agreeable to official uſage; that the King had a right to bind himſelf by promiſe to his Iriſh parliament, and to make the preſent application for a releaſe from that promiſe. That the meaſure was in exact conformity with, or more properly

properly a part, of thoſe undoubted branches of the prerogative, by which the crown raiſed troops of its own will, and then applied to parliament for their payment, or entered into treaties, for the ſame purpoſe, with foreign princes, and pledged it for a due performance of the articles.

Some others on the ſame ſide, not ſatisfied with endeavouring by explanation to weaken what was ſaid by the mover to be the obvious ſenſe of the words, attempted boldly to prove, that the meſſage meant the direct reverſe. Theſe contended, rather ludicrouſly enough, that the whole parliament of Ireland, had not only totally miſunderſtood the meaning of the meſſage, and miſconceived the Lord Lieutenant's intentions, but that they had gone through a ſeries of public buſineſs founded upon that deception and error, without the ſmalleſt light being offered by the nobleman in queſtion, though the Speaker had, at the head of the Houſe of Commons, made a public declaration of his and their blindneſs in his preſence. It is very difficult to reconcile the grounds of theſe ſeveral arguments; and this laſt, of ſuppoſing that the Lord Lieutenant and the whole Iriſh legiſlature were miſtaken in the ſubject of a meſſage ſent by the one, and received and anſwered by the other, was ſcarcely ſuitable to ſo important a matter.

Some of the gentlemen in oppoſition conſidered the buſineſs as of ſomewhat a leſs dangerous nature, from the ſcheme's not being carried into execution. They held, that the ſpirit and magnanimity of Ireland, in rejecting the foreign troops, and in refuſing to accept the offer for leſſening her own burthen by throwing a part of it upon Great Britain, had already obviated the miſchievous tendency of that meaſure; ſo that the only object of cenſure now remaining, was the evil intention from which it originated. They alſo held, that the whole weight of the cenſure would fall upon the Lord Lieutenant, who was merely miniſterial in the buſineſs, while thoſe who were really culpable, would not only paſs untouched, but very poſſibly, from ſome crooked motive of policy, might rejoice in the ill-placed effect. After very conſiderable debates, the queſtion being put near twelve at night, the motion for a committee was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 224 to 106.

A motion was then made for laying the votes of the Iriſh Commons, of ſome ſpecified dates, and relative to this buſineſs, before the houſe, which paſſed in the negative without a diviſion This was ſucceeded by the following motion, "That it is highly derogatory to the honour, and a violent breach of the privileges of this houſe, and a dangerous infringement of the conſtitution, for any perſon whatever to preſume to pledge his Majeſty's royal word to the Houſe of Commons of the parliament of Ireland, "That any part of the troops upon the eſtabliſhment of that kingdom ſhall, upon being ſent out of that kingdom, become a charge upon Great Britain," without the conſent of this houſe; or for any perſon to preſume to offer to the Houſe of Commons of the parliament of Ireland, without the conſent of this houſe, "That ſuch national troops, ſo ſent out of Ireland,

Ireland, ſhall be replaced by foreign troops, at the expence of Great Britain." The motion for this reſolution was loſt, by putting the previous queſtion, without a diviſion.

20th. In a few days after Mr. Fox made a motion, That it be referred to a committee to enquire into the cauſes of the ill ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms in North America, as alſo, into the cauſes of the defection of the people of the province of Quebec. This gentleman introduced and ſupported his motion with his uſual great ability. He declined, he ſaid, for the preſent, to enter into any recapitulation of the cauſes of the unhappy diſpute with America. He ſhould not develope that ſyſtem, from whence the meaſures now carrying on were ſuppoſed to originate. He ſhould forbear to animadvert upon a ſyſtem, that in its principles, complexion, and every conſtituent part, gave the fulleſt and moſt unequivocal proofs, that its ultimate deſign was the total deſtruction of the conſtitution of this free form of government. Theſe were aſſertions that might be diſputed. He wiſhed to draw their attention to certain well-known, indiſputable, uncontrovertible facts. Upon the ſame principle he declined entering into any of the queſtions of right or claims on either ſide. He did not mean to controvert the expediency, practicability, nor a ſingle miniſterial ground, on which the preſent meaſures reſpecting America were taken up, purſued, or defended. He would even, for argument ſake, allow for the preſent, that adminiſtration had acted perfectly right. But all theſe matters being admitted in their favour, and the ground cleared in all other reſpects, he would examine, from the time that coercive meaſures had been adopted, the means that had been uſed for giving them effect.

He intended to commence his propoſed enquiry at the time, when the miniſter, in the month of February, 1774, propoſed to the houſe certain reſolutions, as a ground of complaint, which he followed with the Boſton Port Bill. This he fixed as the æra, when coercive meaſures were undeniably determined upon. He grounded his motion on the clear and poſitive aſſertion, and repeatedly acknowledged fact, that there had been miſmanagement, miſconduct, incapacity, or neglect, ſomewhere; and ſupported its propriety and neceſſity, upon the ſimple alternative, that theſe faults, and their conſequent evils, muſt be imputed either to our miniſters at home, or to our military commanders abroad; either the former had planned meaſures which were impracticable, or if practicable, had not afforded them the neceſſary ſupport, or elſe the latter had failed in carrying them into execution, and were incapable of doing their duty; in either caſe, it was fit to know where the fault lay; or if it was ſhared between them, it was abſolutely neceſſary, before it was too late, and the nation fell a victim to miſconduct and incapacity, that the houſe ſhould be fully informed on the ſubject, and enabled to remedy the evil, by being rendered ſenſible, that the one were as unfit to deliberate and determine, as the other to perform or carry into execution.

He

He hoped, that as he had made such conceſſions, in dropping all other ſubjects of diſpute, in order to ſimplify the immediate queſtion, and lay its objects nakedly, and abſtracted from all other matter before them, as he had drawn a line between, and intended totally to ſeparate meaſures from men, that no independent gentleman would refuſe to concur in the enquiry. Indeed, he did not ſee upon what principle any gentleman in that character could oppoſe it; and inſiſted, that if the miniſters were not conſcious of being culpable in the higheſt degree, they would rejoice at ſuch an opportunity of vindicating their conduct to the public, and of letting them ſee, that our preſent national diſgraces and misfortunes, and the miſapplication of that ſupport which they had ſo liberally given, were not owing to their ignorance, incapacity, or want of integrity. Public juſtice demanded ſuch an enquiry. The individuals on whom the obloquy reſted, were entitled to be heard in their own defence. To withhold the information neceſſary to their juſtification, would be an inſult to the nation, as well as an act of private injuſtice. None but the guilty could wiſh to evade it. None of our commanders by ſea or land, could be ſure of preſerving their honour for a ſingle moment, if they were to be buried under public diſgrace, in order to hide, protect, or palliate, the ignorance, blunders, and incapacity of others.

He entered into a ſhort but comprehenſive detail of the meaſures which had hitherto been purſued in ſupporting the plan of coercion, in which he drew in the moſt glowing colours, and placed in the ſtrongeſt lights, ſuch repreſentations of what, he ſtiled, folly in the cabinet, ignorance in office, inability in framing, and miſconduct in executing, with ſuch a ſhameful and ſervile acquieſcence in parliament, as, he ſaid, had never before diſgraced the councils of this, or perhaps any other country. Upon the whole, he was exceedingly pointed and ſevere upon the miniſters, and little leſs ſo, with reſpect to the body which he was addreſſing.

Adminiſtration ſeemed exceedingly embarraſſed in this debate, and as little united as in the former. The weight of defence, or of evading the enquiry, fell principally upon the gentlemen in inferior and leſs reſponſible office; the miniſter himſelf not riſing until the cloſe of the debate. A noble Lord, under the deſcription we have mentioned, moved the previous queſtion early in the debate, which did not, however, leſſen its extent, or ſhorten its duration. The topics uſed in the ſpeech from the throne, furniſhed the principal arguments againſt the motion. The court party admitted that little had been done, great loſſes had been ſuſtained, and errors apparently of no ſmall magnitude committed. But the fault lay, where the puniſhment would finally fall, not in the miniſters, but in the rebels. The Americans had taken an unworthy and baſe advantage of the clemency, and deſire of conciliation, by which Great Britain was actuated; whilſt we, unwilling to proceed to the rigours of puniſhment, were propoſing terms of mutual advantage, and endeavouring to eſtabliſh a laſting

harmony, they were ſtrengthening themſelves in rebellion, and making every preparation for war. Thus was a ſeaſon for effectual coercion unfortunately loſt; but in a manner that will ever do honour to our national character, and convince all mankind of the lenity, forbearance, and temperate juſtice of our government; whilſt it equally ſhews the incorrigible turpitude of our rebellious coloniſts.

Others ſaid, that as affairs in America were totally changed, ſo was likewiſe, and with propriety, the conduct of government. Till the ſword was drawn, conciliatory meaſures were purſued; as ſoon as that event took place, we adopted the moſt effectual means of coercion, which would be ſteadily perſevered in till the end was accompliſhed. That it was unfair, to ſtate objections againſt the conduct of adminiſtration in the early ſtages of this buſineſs, which were only applicable to a ſtate of hoſtility and open rebellion; that what was wiſdom in the former ſituation, would be treachery or madneſs in the latter. And that government was already taking the moſt effectual and deciſive meaſures, to remedy thoſe very evils which were the propoſed objects of cenſure.

It was beſides ſaid, that if ſuch an enquiry were at all neceſſary, this was not the proper ſeaſon. It ſhould be deferred till the end of the war, when there would be leiſure and opportunity for ſuch an inveſtigation. Several of thoſe who were the objects of enquiry, or whoſe teſtimony would be neceſſary, were not in the kingdom; they were now fulfilling their duty in America; ſtrenuouſly endeavouring to remedy all evils, to remove all cauſes of complaint, and to atone for paſt errors, if any had been committed. It was alſo contended, that as a change of meaſures had been announced from the throne, it would be highly diſreſpectful and improper to enter into ſuch an examination, untill thoſe meaſures were tried and the event known.

Several, however, on the ſame ſide, joined the minority in ſeverely cenſuring the conduct hitherto purſued; but congratulated themſelves on the preſent change of ſyſtem, and the happy conſequences which they expected from ſo vigorous a ſcheme of coercion. The previous queſtion being at length put, at near three in the morning, the motion was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 240, to 104.

The treaties lately entered into between his Majeſty, the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, the Duke of Brunſwick, and the hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, for the hiring of different bodies of their troops for the American ſervice, amounting in the whole to about 17000 men, having been laid before the houſe, and a motion being made by Feb. 29th. the miniſter for referring them to the Committee of Supply, this matter became a ſubject of very conſiderable debate.

The meaſure in general of procuring foreign troops was ſupported, on the neceſſity of reducing America, and the total impracticability, which had already been fully experienced, of raiſing by any means, and in any degree, a ſufficient number of levies within theſe kingdoms for that purpoſe. It was, however, further contend-

ed,

ed, that if ſuch forces could have been raiſed at home, and even to the amount ſuppoſed neceſſary in point of number, it could not be expected, that raw and undiſciplined troops, who had never ſeen any ſervice, and who were not yet hardened to any change of food, climate, or habits of life, could anſwer the purpoſe ſo well, as tried experienced veterans, whoſe conſtitutional habits were already formed, as well as their military. To theſe was added, the great loſs which the withdrawing ſo many hands from huſbandry and manufactures would be to the nation. And it was alſo remembered, that the expence in that caſe would not end with the war; but that the nation would be ſaddled with the heavy and laſting incumbrance, of the half-pay eſtabliſhment of near thirty battalions. So that in every point of view, whether conſidered with reſpect to general policy, or national expediency, the preſent treaties would be found equally prudent and neceſſary.

It then only remained to be conſidered, whether theſe treaties were conducted with all the judgment, and managed with all the frugality, that the nature of the caſe would admit. With reſpect to this point, if the neceſſity was admitted, which it was preſumed no body would attempt to controvert, it would of courſe be acknowledged, that the troops muſt be obtained at any price, and upon any terms, which did not exceed in extent or value the urgency of the demand. This, however, they ſaid, was not the caſe, and the terms were ſo far from being proportioned to the neceſſity, that they were ſubſtantially the ſame with thoſe of former treaties, by which we obtained troops for purpoſes of infinitely leſs national importance than the preſent. But, even ſuppoſing that the caſe had been otherwiſe, and that the preſent terms had not been ſo advantageous as thoſe upon ſome former occaſions, but bore ſome relation to the neceſſity; ſtill, they inſiſted, that the meaſure would have been highly prudent and œconomical, and that, conſidering merely the point of expence, it would be found that the foreign troops were obtained much cheaper than home levies, ſuppoſing they could be procured as uſual. They cloſed theſe arguments by obſerving, that this meaſure was no matter of ſurprize or novelty, as we had at all times been under a neceſſity of employing foreigners in our wars.

On the other ſide, this meaſure was reprobated in all its parts. The neceſſity abſolutely denied. We forced on, ſaid they, a civil war moſt wantonly, and this was one of the firſt of its alarming and ruinous conſequences. Great Britain, they ſaid, was now diſgraced in the eyes of all Europe, to anſwer purpoſes apparently of her power and dominion, but in reality of her ſubjection and ſervitude. She was to be impoveriſhed, and what was ſtill perhaps worſe, ſhe was compelled to degrade herſelf, by applying in the moſt mortifying and humiliating manner to the petty Princes of Germany for ſuccours againſt her own ſubjects, and ſubmitting to indignities never before preſcribed to a crowned head, preſiding over ſo great and powerful a nation. In ſupport of theſe poſitions, they took the treaties to pieces, and pointed out, as objec-

tionable, the following parts;— That the troops were to enter into pay before they began to march; a thing never known before. That levy-money was to be paid at the rate of near 7l. 10s. a man. That, not ſatisfied with this extortion, thoſe princes were alſo to be ſubſidized. That they had the modeſty to inſiſt on a double ſubſidy. That the ſubſidy is in one inſtance to be continued for two years, and for one year in another, after the troops have returned to their reſpective countries. And that a body of 12000 foreigners are to be introduced into the Britiſh dominions, under no controul of either King or parliament; for the expreſs words of the treaty are, "that this body of troops" (being the Heſſians) "ſhall remain under the command of their General, to whom his moſt ſerene Highneſs has entruſted the command."

The debates were long and warm, and were of courſe productive of a very late night. The bad terms upon which theſe forces were obtained was much laboured by the oppoſition, and they entered into various calculations to ſhew, that beſides the extraordinary expences in the point of exportation, every thouſand Germans, upon this ſyſtem, would coſt the nation more than 1500 of its own levies. A point merely ſpeculative was alſo much agitated, the miniſters endeavouring to render the preſent great expences more eligible, by repreſenting that they would not be laſting, and that this German addition to the forces already voted, would be fully ſufficient for the ſubjugation of the Americans, and the bringing of the war to a final and happy concluſion in the enſuing campaign. It was, indeed, held out, that this great force would in all likelihood have little more to do, than to ſhew itſelf and return. A great body of the very beſt ſoldiery in Europe; inſpired only with military maxims and ideas, too well diſciplined to be diſorderly and cruel, and too martial to be kept back by any falſe lenity, could not fail of bringing matters to a ſpeedy concluſion. This meaſure would prove to be true œconomy as well as true policy. If a little more levy-money was paid than for Britiſh, the men we had were trained, not raw troops; and as for the continuance of the payment for ſome time after the war, this was but reaſonable, as the Landgrave, and the other Princes, could not have their troops returned to them as ſoon as we might accept the ſubmiſſion of the rebels.

In anſwer to this it was confidently aſſerted on the ſide of oppoſition, that neither the preſent, nor any other force we were able to ſend out, would be equal to an abſolute conqueſt of America, either in one, or in two campaigns, and that this was only the beginning, even without the interference of any foreign power, of the moſt ruinous and fatal war we were ever engaged in. The queſtion upon the miniſter's motion being put after two o'clock, it was carried upon a diviſion, by a majority of 242, to 88.

This matter was again much agitated on March 4th. receiving the report from the Committee of Enquiry; ſeveral objections were made to different parts of the treaties, and ſeveral explanations demanded relative to

others, which were either ſaid to be obſcure in themſelves, or to leave ſome eſſential matter unprovided for. The firſt reſolution of the committee being carried, the following motion was then made by Colonel Barré, and agreed to, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to humbly deſire him to uſe his intereſt, that the German troops in Britiſh pay, now or hereafter, may be cloathed with the manufactures of this country."

5th. Nor was the affair of the German treaties leſs agitated in the Houſe of Lords, where the Duke of Richmond moved for an addreſs, of conſiderable length, to his Majeſty, which, beſides ſeveral pointed obſervations relative to the treaties in particular, took in a comprehenſive view of the ſituation of American affairs in general, and the probable conſequences of a perſeverance in the preſent meaſures, all tending to give weight and efficacy to a requeſt, that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to countermand the march of the troops of Heſſe, Hanau, and Brunſwick; and likewiſe give directions for an immediate ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities in America, in order to lay a foundation for a happy and permanent reconciliation between the divided parts of this diſtracted empire.

The noble mover took a moſt comprehenſive view of the ſubject. He entered into an hiſtorical detail of the ſeveral treaties which had been concluded with the Landgrave's of Heſſe from the year 1702 to the preſent, and ſhewed, that in every ſucceeding treaty from the firſt they had riſen in their demands, and eſtabliſhed every freſh extortion as a precedent not to be departed from in the future. That the preſent treaty, however, outſtripped all others, not only in point of impoſition, but of the unaccountable and unprecedented conditions which it included. As to the firſt, he ſhewed from various laborious and accurate calculations, that the uſe of 17,300 mercenaries for the preſent year, would not, taking in all contingencies, coſt the nation leſs than one million and a half ſterling; an expence, he maintained, not to be paralleled in the hiſtory of mankind, for the ſervice of an equal number of men.

Theſe matters, however ſerious in the preſent miſerable ſtate of our finances, and the enormous weight of public burthens we groan under, were not, he ſaid, what preſſed moſt forcibly on his mind. It was the tenor of the treaties, the ambiguous terms in which they were conceived, and the dangerous precedents they eſtabliſhed or ſlid into, that principally called forth his attention, and gave riſe to his fears. He obſerved, he ſaid, with grief, and the beſt founded jealouſy, that an overruling influence had for ſome years paſt pervaded our councils; that this influence had been exerciſed in effecting meaſures of a moſt dangerous and dark complexion; that it ſometimes made its approaches by ſtealth, at other times rendered itſelf viſible in open day, and proceeded to acts of violence. Hanoverians had been brought into the Britiſh dominions without the conſent of parliament. An attempt had been made to place Ireland in the hands of foreigners. And if

any doubt remained of the tendency of thoſe meaſures, it was removed by theſe treaties, which afforded the moſt ample matter for great and ſerious alarm.

He obſerved, that though the treaties expreſſed the contrary in words, they were not in reality founded upon any ſound principle of alliance or reciprocal ſupport. They contained a mere mercenary Smithfield bargain, for the price of a certain number of hirelings, who were bought and ſold like ſo many beaſts for ſlaughter. There was no common intereſt which mutually bound the parties; and if there were, both our conduct, and that of thoſe Princes, was the moſt ſingular ever known. They were to be ſubſidized. They were to have levy-money. They were to have a double ſubſidy. Their corps were to be kept up compleat. They were to be paid till the troops returned to their reſpective countries; and the ſubſidies were to be continued after the ſervice.

Yet in this downright mercenary bargain of ſale and purchaſe, we were bound, that if any of thoſe Princes were attacked, or ſhould wantonly begin, or provoke an attack, for the engagement was left general and unconditional, we ſhould aſſiſt them with our utmoſt force. Thus, we were not only to pay double for the aſſiſtance of a few thouſands of foreign mercenaries, but we were beſides bound in the moſt ſolemn engagements to ſupport the quarrels and intereſts of their maſters; a kind of contract, which might, not improbably, involve us in a continental war.

He then reminded the Lords who had ſupported the late peace of Paris, of the language which they, and all others on the ſame ſide, held towards the cloſe of the late war. A noble Earl, who then preſided at the head of public affairs, and a late Duke, who concluded that treaty, with all their friends and partizans, diſclaimed in words and in writing, both within doors and without, all continental connections of whatever nature; and all employment of foreigners, whatever the ſervice or neceſſity. They admitted themſelves, that the enemy were at our feet, and the conqueſt of the Spaniſh ſettlements in a manner certain, yet they ſubmitted to a peace certainly inadequate, on no other ground but our inability to raiſe taxes; they ſaid, that the national debt was too enormous, to accept, even this advantage, at any price; that we were already ruined by ſucceſs; and that even to proſecute certain conqueſt, would be the height of political phrenzy. He aſked, what extraordinary change of circumſtances had ſince taken place, that now renders a doubtful, and in any caſe ruinous civil war, a war equally incapable of fame and advantage, to be not only thought eligible, but to be proſecuted with a degree of eagerneſs, with an acrimony and malignity, unknown upon any other occaſion? How comes the reprobated policy of employing foreign forces to be now revived? Will the paying off ſeven millions of the national debt in thirteen years peace, juſtify this change of ſyſtem, when the extraordinary expences of the enſuing campaign will amount to a greater ſum? Or will it hereafter be credited, that they are the ſame men who held

thoſe doctrines, who reduced them into practice, who broke off all continental connections, and who ſurrendered the fruits of a moſt glorious and ſucceſsful war, to obtain a tranſient and inadequate peace, who are the framers of all the preſent meaſures?

That clauſe in the 9th article of the Heſſian treaty, which provides that the crown ſhall employ thoſe troops as it thinks proper by land in Europe, was much commented on by the noble mover, and other lords on the ſame ſide, and repreſented as bearing a moſt dark and dangerous complexion. It was aſked, what country in Europe, except theſe kingdoms, they could be employed in? what military operations were intended for them here? Were ſuch meaſures propoſed, as it was foreſeen would render a foreign force neceſſary in this country? And was a civil war here alſo intended, to round the preſent ſyſtem?

All the American queſtions were of courſe brought up in the further ſupport of the motion, and all the old ground of the injuſtice, inexpediency, impracticability, the ruinous effects, and fatal tendency of the war, again gone over. It was alſo ſtrongly urged, that as the Americans had hitherto abſtained from applying for aſſiſtance to foreign powers, and had ventured to commit themſelves ſingly in this arduous conteſt, rather than have recourſe to ſo odious and dangerous a refuge, it was the height of political folly and madneſs in us, to induce them to depart from that temperate ground, by ſetting them an example of ſo fatal a tendency. For it cannot be doubted, if this dangerous meaſure is carried into execution, that they will immediately retaliate, and think themſelves fully juſtified by the example, in forming alliances with foreign powers, and hiring foreign forces, (if they do not procure them upon terms more advantageous to themſelves and ruinous to us,) to oppoſe thoſe mercenaries whom we ſend for their deſtruction. Nor is it any more to be doubted, that other powers in Europe, of a very different caſt and order, from thoſe of Heſſe, Brunſwick, and Hanau, will conſider themſelves, to be fully as well entitled to interfere in our domeſtic quarrels. And thus, whilſt in the rage and madneſs of civil contention, the ſtrength and flower of the nation is exhauſted on the other ſide of the Atlantic, we ſhall lie open and defenceleſs to the attacks of our moſt formidable and vindictive enemies.

It was contended, that theſe, and numberleſs other evils which were ſtated, would be prevented or remedied, by a compliance with the motion; and that parliament would thereby have time and opportunity to propoſe ſuch conditions as the ultimatum of its demands, as it would be fitting for Great Britain to offer, and for America, as a great conſtituent part of the empire, to accept.

The miniſters defended the treaties upon the ſame ground in general, on which they had been ſupported in the houſe of commons. The principal ſtreſs was laid upon the ſtrong plea of neceſſity, which covered the meaſure at large. As to particular objections, they contended, that upon the whole, the terms were more reaſonable than could have been expected. That

the ſuddenneſs of the requiſition, the known neceſſity from which it proceeded, together with the novelty, diſtance, length of ſea voyage, and other diſagreeable circumſtances particularly attending this ſervice, would have warranted much higher demands. That the treaties were framed in conformity to eſtabliſhed uſage and precedent. That the undertaking the defence of the German ſtates from whom we hired troops, could not be ſuppoſed to operate towards bringing on a war in Germany; that the pompous high ſounding phraſes of alliance, were mere ſounds, a form of words which conveyed no meaning, and which conſequently could not be ſuppoſed, or intended, to be binding. That the ſuppoſed articles of expence were overrated in the calculations held out by the noble duke; but ſuppoſing it otherwiſe, and that they had even been ſtill greater, the neceſſity which induced the meaſure, would of courſe have compelled our acquieſcence in the terms. That if the war was finiſhed in one campaign, an event which there was every reaſon to expect, or even in two, the terms would be found not only reaſonable, but highly favourable on our ſide. It was indeed acknowledged, that if the war was prolonged to a more diſtant period, they muſt from their nature become diſadvantageous; but this was ſo totally improbable as not to merit conſideration.

On the whole what were they to do? Were they to ſit ſtill, and to ſuffer an independent hoſtile empire to ariſe out of an unprovoked rebellion? Were they tamely to ſuffer the trade of the American colonies, the object of ſo much care, attention, and expence, of ſo many laws and ſo many wars, to be given away to foreigners, merely from a ſcruple of employing foreign forces, to preſerve to ourſelves the benefits ſo truly our own and ſo dearly purchaſed? If we have nothing to complain of becauſe Britiſh blood is ſhed in a Britiſh quarrel, what can the Americans reaſonably object to it? They in effect, by refuſing to contribute to its ſupport, deny themſelves to be a part of the Britiſh empire, and therefore making themſelves foreigners, they cannot complain that foreigners are employed againſt them. They ſaid, that we had nothing to fear from their retaliating upon us. That the other powers who have colonies in America, know too well the danger and miſchief of a rebellion on the preſent principles, to give it any ſort of countenance. That princes indeed are governed more by policy than equity; but in this inſtance their policy is *our* ſecurity. But if they ſhould be, contrary to all appearance and probability, willing to countenance this rebellion from a deſire of partaking in an open trade, and lowering the importance of this country, the terrible conſequences which would ariſe from ſuch an event, leave no room for deliberation; but require that we ſhould cruſh this infant rebellion with every force of every kind before foreigners can take advantage of it.

It was obſervable in this, and ſome late debates, that as melancholy pictures were drawn of the ſituation to which this country would be reduced by the loſs of the colonies, in order therefrom to induce the moſt vigorous coercion, as had heretofore, in the earlier

ſtages of this buſineſs, been exhibited by the oppoſition, for the very different purpoſe, of preventing thoſe coercive meaſures, which they apprehended, or ſaid, would lead to the preſent unhappy criſis.

The debates were long and intereſting, and contained a great deal of curious, though much of it was extraneous matter. Among other ſubjects which lay out of the direct line of debate, the cruelty and impolicy with which the war was carried on in America, by ruining the country, and burning commercial and defenceleſs towns, was much inſiſted on by the oppoſition. The recent deſtruction of Norfolk in Virginia, which, they ſaid, was principally inhabited by people violently attached to the king's government, with the new and particular circumſtance of its being tranſacted under the governor's orders, was commented upon with the greateſt ſeverity, and reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms.

His royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, took an active part upon this occaſion in ſupport of the motion; declaring his entire diſapprobation of the conduct of the miniſters, and of the preſent American ſyſtem. He alſo pathetically lamented, that "Brunſwickers, who once, to their great honour, were employed in the defence of the liberties of the ſubject, ſhould now be ſent to ſubjugate his liberties, in another part of this vaſt empire." The motion was rejected by the uſual majority, the numbers upon a diviſion being 100, including 21 proxies, to 32, including 3 proxies, who ſupported the queſtion. It was, however, attended with an unuſual proteſt, which only reciting the terms of the propoſed addreſs, concluded with the ſignatures of the reſpective proteſting peers to a ſilent diſſent.

The ſecretary at war gave notice about this time, that he would move, at a ſhort ſpecified day, for a ſupply, to the amount of 845,165l. towards defraying the extraordinary expences of the land forces, and other ſervices incurred, between the 9th of March 1775, and 31ſt of January 1776. This vaſt demand for extraordinaries, incurred in ſo ſhort a time, and in ſo confined and inefficacious a ſervice, rouzed all the vigour, and wakened all the fire of oppoſition; which ſeemed upon this occaſion to blaze out in ſuch a manner, as for a time to dazzle and confound adminiſtration.

They examined the journals to ſhew, that neither the glorious campaign of 1704, which ſaved the German empire, and broke and ruined that military force which had been for half a century the ſcourge and terror of Europe, nor that of 1760, which gave us the vaſt continent of North America, had in any degree equalled in expence, the ſhameful campaign of Boſton in 1775. They endeavoured to prove by various calculations, that the maintenance of 8,500, wretched, diſgraced, and half-ſtarved forces in Boſton, had not coſt the nation much leſs, in a period ſhort of a year, than an hundred pounds each man. They called upon the miniſters to anſwer, and examined the ſtate of national finance to enquire, in what manner we were capable of ſupporting in the preſent and future campaigns, 50,000 men in America at a proportional expence, excluſive of the naval,

naval, ordnance, and other charges, of our ſtanding expences, and of the hazard of a foreign war.

All the powers of eloquence were diſplayed, in deſcribing in the moſt glowing colours, the ſucceſſes and glories of queen Anne's, and of the laſt war. The names of Godolphin and Pitt were re-echoed; whilſt all the force of wit and ridicule was exhauſted, in contraſting the ſituation and circumſtances of thoſe ſeaſons, with the preſent. Blenheim and Schellenburgh, were oppoſed to Lexington and Bunkers Hill; and to compleat the group, the river Myſtic was for once placed in the ſame view with the Danube.

The miniſters ſeemed for a conſiderable time nearly overwhelmed by the torrent. But finding its vehemence rather to increaſe than leſſen, they at length reſted for ſupport upon the ſtrong ſanction of parliament. They ſaid, that they had acted in this buſineſs from the beginning, not only with the concurrence, but the approbation of parliament; that they had not ſought it, nor taken it up wantonly; they had found it; it was a legacy left by their predeceſſors, and of which they found parliament in poſſeſſion. That whenever that body ſhould think it neceſſary to alter its conduct or opinions; to abandon, or to modify the preſent meaſures, they would readily give up their own opinions, and acquieſce in either; but whilſt they found themſelves in poſſeſſion of the full confidence and approbation of a great majority of that houſe, they never would deſert the truſt repoſed in them, but would continue to fulfil their duty at all events. And that there only were two ſimple queſtions ariſing on this matter, whether the money had been properly applied? and whether the meaſures that induced the expenditure were neceſſary? that the firſt would in due time be authenticated by the proper vouchers, and parliament had already repeatedly given its ſanction to the ſecond. That, as to the inglorious appearance of the campaign, they ſaid that it had the ſame origin with all the reſt of our misfortunes, too good an opinion of the Americans. That it was never believed, that they could be wicked enough to unite with the Maſſachuſets Bay in rebellion, nor conſequently able to ſhut up his majeſty's forces in Boſton, and prevent the ſupply which the abundance of that country yielded. That now our eyes are opened; and the meaſures taken in conſequence, muſt open the way to abundance; and it was then to be hoped, that it would not be neceſſary to ſend all their proviſion from Europe. At preſent indeed it was unhappily neceſſary; and whatever the expence might be, they could not juſtify themſelves in ſtarving either the army or the cauſe. That the vigour and generoſity of this ſeſſion would give repoſe and œconomy to the next.

On the ſecond day's debate, when the motion was regularly made, after a very warm diſcuſſion, the queſtion was carried on a diviſion by a majority of 180, to 57. It was, however, ſcarcely leſs debated on the following day, upon receiving the report from the committee. 11th.

That vaſt and invincible majority, which had hitherto overruled every propoſal of the ſame nature, was not ſufficient to deter the duke of

of Grafton from ſtill trying, whether an attempt towards a reconciliation with the colonies might not be received in ſome new form, or in ſome manner rendered palatable. He accordingly moved for an addreſs, that in order to prevent the further effuſion of blood, and to manifeſt how deſirous the king and parliament are to reſtore peace to all the dominions of the crown, and how earneſtly they wiſh to redreſs any real grievances of his majeſty's ſubjects, a proclamation might be iſſued, declaring, that if the colonies, within a reaſonable time before or after the arrival of the troops deſtined for America, ſhall preſent a petition to the commander in chief, or to the commiſſioners to be appointed under the late act; ſetting forth in ſuch petition, which is to be tranſmitted to his majeſty, what they conſider to be their juſt rights and real grievances; that in ſuch caſe, his majeſty will conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms; and that he has authority from his parliament to aſſure them, that their petition ſhall be received, conſidered, and anſwered.

14th.

The great object of this motion, ſeems to have been to remedy the defects of the late prohibitory, or capture act; which, as the oppoſition had all along contended, held out a deluſive ſhew of peace, without furniſhing any means, or containing any powers, by which that object could poſſibly be attained. Beſides the general arguments which the ſubject afforded, the noble mover ſpecified two particular circumſtances, which rendered a compliance with the motion, or the adoption of ſome equivalent ſubſtitute, at this time abſolutely neceſſary. The firſt of theſe was the new doctrine of *unconditional ſubmiſſion* on the ſide of America, which had been held out in the other houſe by the noble lord at the head of the American department;—The ſecond, was the intelligence, which the noble duke had himſelf received, that two French gentlemen had ſome time before gone to North America, where they had held a conference with Gen. Waſhington at his camp, and were by him referred to the Continental Congreſs, to which they immediately repaired. To prevent or remedy the ill effects which a knowlege of the former, and the conſequent opinion that it was the eſtabliſhed political doctrine of Great Britain, muſt neceſſarily produce upon the Americans, and the extremities to which it would naturally drive them, he inferred the neceſſity of ſome ſpecific declaration from parliament, the laying of ſome ground open for accommodation, and throwing ſo much light upon it, as would enable them in ſome degree to judge, what conditions we were willing to grant, or what conceſſion to accept; and would at leaſt relieve them from the horrors, and diſarm them of the rage, which the bare idea of unconditional ſubmiſſion muſt neceſſarily excite. The latter circumſtance, not only ſhewed the immediate danger of the interference of foreigners in our civil contention; but what was ſtill more alarming, gave too much reaſon to apprehend, that the interference was already commenced, and that from a moſt dangerous, and naturally hoſtile quarter.

This day will perhaps hereafter be conſidered as one of the moſt important in the Engliſh Hiſtory.

It

It deeply fixed a new colour upon our public affairs. It was deciſive, on this ſide of the Atlantic, with reſpect to America; and may poſſibly hereafter be compared with, and conſidered as preliminary to that, on which, unhappily, in a few months after, the independence of that continent, was declared on the other. Adminiſtration now, and their numerous friends, totally changed their ſtile and language upon that ſubject. All modifications were laid aſide; all former opinions and declarations done away; conciliation, they ſaid, was little leſs than impracticable; and that if any thing could be added to the difficulties of ſuch a ſcheme, it would be by conceſſion. The tone of the houſe of lords was much higher than that of the houſe of commons had ever been, although the language was grown much more firm and determined there alſo than it had been at the beginning of the ſeſſion. No alternative now ſeemed to be left between abſolute conqueſt and unconditional ſubmiſſion.

The debates were long and various, and notwithſtanding the beaten ground which was travelled over, would at another ſeaſon have been intereſting. Moſt of the conſiderable ſpeakers on both ſides took a large ſhare in them. Much altercation and contradiction took place, between ſeveral lords who were of the cabinet in the years 1767, and 1769, relative to the American meaſures which were at thoſe times adopted. Much pointed and direct animadverſion took place between two great law lords, one of whom has long been out of office. The queſtion being put after 11 o'clock at night, the motion was rejected by a majority of 91, including 20 proxies, to 31, including three proxies.

A bill for the eſtabliſhment of a militia in Scotland, had been brought in before the holidays by lord Mountſtewart; but from the very remarkable neglect of attendance which prevailed, and the deſire of having a matter which included a claſhing of intereſts between both parts of the kingdom diſcuſſed in full houſes, it hung over during the greater part of the ſeſſion. Beſides the apparent weight and ſanction of adminiſtration, this bill was eagerly patronized by the gentlemen of North Britain; but notwithſtanding theſe powerful ſupports, it met with a ſtrong, and at length effectual oppoſition. Many of the country gentlemen, were extremely jealous of this novel attempt. In this conteſt, it was ably controverted in all its ſtages; and though the views of the oppoſition avowedly extended from the beginning to the rejection of the whole, yet frequent amendments were propoſed, and new clauſes continually offered; ſo that it afforded a very conſiderable fund of debate; the diviſions run very cloſe, and the utmoſt candour and fairneſs was practiſed on both ſides. Dec. 8th.

It was in general ſupported, upon the utility of a militia as a national defence. That as England found it at preſent neceſſary to ſtrengthen and render more effectual that mode of defence, the cauſes which operate here muſt hold equally good with reſpect to the other part of the united kingdom. That the conſtant loyalty, and

and invariable attachment to government, which the Scotch have ſhewn for many years paſt, had entirely removed thoſe objections, which might have formerly operated in oppoſing ſuch a meaſure. And that the retaining of ſuch an invidious diſtinction, ſerved only to keep alive ancient jealouſies, and to nouriſh odious prejudices and malignities.

On the other ſide, it was objected to, on the general ground of expence, there being no neceſſity nor occaſion for a militia in Scotland. That it was increaſing the dangerous and unconſtitutional power of the crown, which was already greater, than had ever hitherto been deemed conſiſtent with public liberty. That a militia was local, and immediately paid by the land owners for their protection and defence. That Scotland paid only one-fortieth to the land tax, the very ſpecific tax, out of which all the expences of a militia were to be drawn, and yet ſhe would hold one fifth in the proportion of numbers to be embodied in both kingdoms. That the diſproportion in point of repreſentation, was equally to be conſidered, though not ſo great, being on her ſide one-eleventh to the whole. That it was highly unreaſonable in the people of that country, and carried the moſt glaring abſurdity in the very face of the propoſition, to apply to parliament for a Scotch militia, when five-ſixths of the expence to be incurred by that eſtabliſhment, muſt be paid by Engliſh land owners. If ſhe is in love with a militia, and wants to be put on a footing with England in reſpect to conſtitutional defence, let her take the inſtitution with all its conſequences of pay as well as of eſtabliſhment; let the expence be raiſed by a ceſs upon the lands there, which can well afford it, from their being at preſent ſo much underrated to the land tax. However exceptionable the meaſure is in other reſpects, in point of expence, this will be ſubſtantial juſtice. But ſurely, the Engliſh muſt expect to become objects of the contempt or pity of all mankind, if they ſubmitted to be the dupes to ſo abſurd and monſtrous a propoſition as the preſent.

To theſe objections it was replied, that Scotland was taxed according to her ability as well as England. That though the land tax was underrated, other taxes were not ſo. That a great, if not the greater part of the rents of Scotland were ſpent in England. That the people of that country conſumed vaſt quantities of Engliſh manufactures, beſides Eaſt India good, and other foreign commodities, purchaſed here, by which means they were virtually taxed, and bore a great ſhare of our expences. That the arguments now brought only proved, that Scotland was not ſo fully repreſented in the Britiſh parliament as ſhe ought to be, nor ſo opulent as England; two matters which had nothing to do with the preſent queſtion. And that it could not have been expected, that a propoſal for general and national defence, ſhould have been conſidered in the narrow view of provincial jealouſy.

Both parties having muſtered their forces as well as the preſent ſtate of attendance would admit, upon the day March 20th.

day appointed for receiving the report from the committee after the ſecond reading, the bill was thrown out upon a diviſion, by a majority of 112 to 95. The miniſter found himſelf in an unuſual ſituation upon this occaſion, having divided in the minority.

It may be neceſſary to take ſome notice of an affair which about this time made a great noiſe in the city, occaſioned much diſcontent amongſt the merchants, and was at length, though without effect, brought into both houſes of parliament. A clauſe in the late prohibitory act, which enabled the admiralty to grant licences to veſſels for conveying ſtores and proviſions to the forces upon the American ſervice, had been made uſe of to countenance a trade in individuals who were favoured, by which, it was ſaid, that a monopoly was formed, and the American trade was transferred from the ancient merchants, and known traders, to a few obſcure perſons of no account or condition; and an illicit commerce eſtabliſhed under the ſanction of that bill, which was utterly ſubverſive of one of its principal apparent objects.

It appears that theſe licences were very looſely compoſed, and very careleſsly granted; that the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms did not chuſe to interfere much in the buſineſs; that though the licences were recalled and ſome alterations made in them, this meaſure produced little effect; and that even, when the noiſe grew loud, and ſomething like a parliamentary enquiry was announced or begun, though ſome of the goods were unſhipped, yet in general the ſcheme ſucceeded; the ſhips which had cleared out for Boſton, only altering the deſtination of their voyage, and taking a new clearance for Halifax and Canada, with liberty to go to any other port in America. It appeared in evidence before the houſe of commons, that by theſe and other means, a greater quantity of all manner of goods calculated for the North American market, had been ſhipped within a few weeks, than was done in any of the uſual ſeaſons of exportation.

A great clamour was raiſed in the city. It was ſaid that it was exceedingly grievous to the great body of American merchants, who had already ſuffered ſo ſeverely in conſequence of theſe troubles, and who in obedience to the late act of parliament, were at this very time ſinking under the incumbrance of a vaſt quantity of goods, which they had purchaſed for that, and for which they could find no other market, to ſee the trade, which for a number of years they had conducted with the greateſt reputation and fairneſs, ſmuggled out of their hands, by a ſet of nominal merchants and unknown adventurers. The injury was rendered ſtill the more grievous, by being committed under the colour of law, and under the licence of authority.

The firſt public notice that was taken of this buſineſs was in the houſe of lords, where the earl of Effingham, a little before the receſs at eaſter, made a motion which was agreed to, that liſts of thoſe ſhips and of their cargoes, as well as the licences which were granted by the admiralty, ſhould be laid before the houſe.

We ſuppoſe, that the holidays, together with the dutcheſs of Kingſton's trial, prevented the matter from

from being more immediately purſued in that houſe. However that was, it was taken up in the houſe of commons by the lord mayor, who moved for a committee to enquire into the whole tranſaction. Adminiſtration ſeemed very ſore and very angry upon this occaſion; and, as the oppoſition ſaid, uſed every poſſible means to baffle or defeat the enquiry. They ſaid it proceeded from ill temper and malignity, and was only intended to embarraſs and diſtreſs government; and foretold truly, that it would come to nothing. Some ſaid that the matters complained of were too trifling for notice, and were only intended for the eaſe, benefit, and comfort of the troops; others went ſo far as to inſiſt, that the act was not violated, and that proviſions and ſtores included every thing that could adminiſter to the wants or luxuries of man or woman. The miniſter, however, at length acknowledged, that the powers given in the act had been miſunderſtood, and the licenſes abuſed; but that as theſe matters were already rectified, and a ſtop put to the miſchief, their loſing time at this late ſeaſon in ſuch an enquiry could anſwer no purpoſe. He afterwards practiſed a manœuvre, which he knew would effectually check its progreſs, by agreeing in part with the motion, but changing the mode of enquiry, from an open or ſelect committee up ſtairs, to a committee of the whole houſe within doors.

May 2d.

8th. In this committee, ſeveral witneſſes were examined, and among other matter that appeared it came out, that one of thoſe nominal merchants, and a principal actor in this buſineſs, who had freighted five large ſhips with the moſt valuable commodities, was ſo totally unqualified for ſuch an undertaking, that he hawked about a letter in the city, from a very conſiderable officer belonging to the treaſury, in order to obtain goods upon that credit. It was ſaid by the oppoſition, that ſome of the principal witneſſes were ſent purpoſely out of the way; that the papers which the houſe demanded, and which were abſolutely neceſſary for the purpoſes of the enquiry, were deſignedly held back at ſome of the public offices; they were therefore deſirous to poſtpone it for a few days, until the proper information could be obtained, and accordingly moved the queſtion of adjournment at three ſeveral times, but were conſtantly overpowered by a majority. At length, after being kept up till five o'clock in the morning, the miniſter diſſolved the committee (without its coming to any reſolution whatever) by the previous queſtion, "That the chairman do now leave the chair," which was carried by a majority of 105 to 31.

On the 13th the earl of Effingham revived the matter in the houſe of lords, by moving that the neceſſary papers ſhould be laid before the houſe, in order to proſecute the enquiry in the enſuing ſeſſion. This brought on very warm debates, and ſome farther extraordinary matter, than what had appeared in the other houſe, was laid before the lords. The niceneſs of ſituation at length prevailed, and the miniſters conſented to the motion.

The buſineſs being all carried through, and a vote of credit obtained

tained for a million to anſwer any intermediate ſervice, an end was at length put to the ſeſſion. The ſpeech from the throne contained nothing very ſtriking. The uſual ſatisfaction in their conduct was expreſſed. Information was given, that no alteration had taken place in the ſtate of foreign affairs, and that the aſſurances received of the diſpoſition of the ſeveral European powers, promiſed a continuance of the general tranquillity. A regret was expreſſed for the extraordinary ſupplies which it had been neceſſary to demand; and thanks given to the commons for the readineſs and diſpatch with which they were granted; as well as an acknowledgment, that they had ſhewn an equal regard to the exigencies of the ſervice, and the eaſe of the people, in the manner of raiſing them. A proper frugality was promiſed. It was obſerved, that they were engaged in a great national cauſe, the proſecution of which muſt be attended with many difficulties, and much expence; but when they conſider that the eſſential rights and intereſts of the whole empire are deeply concerned in the iſſue of it, and can have no ſafety or ſecurity but in that conſtitutional ſubordination for which they are contending, it affords a conviction that they will not think any price too high for ſuch objects. A hope was ſtill entertained, that his rebellious ſubjects would be awakened to a ſenſe of their errors, and by a voluntary return to their duty, juſtify the reſtoration of harmony; but if a due ſubmiſſion, ſhould not be obtained from ſuch motives and diſpoſitions on their part, it was truſted, that it ſhould be effectuated by a full exertion of the great force with which they had entruſted his majeſty.

May 23d.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Diſtreſſes of the army at Boſton during the winter. New batteries opened, and the town bombarded. Embarkation. Gen. Howe departs with the army to Halifax. Siege of Quebec raiſed. Rebels repulſed at Three Rivers. Montreal, Chamblee, and St. John's retaken; all Canada recovered. Regulators and Emigrants totally defeated and diſperſed in North Carolina. Hopkins ſtrips the Bahama Iſlands of ſtores and artillery. Lord Dunmore abandons the coaſts of Virginia; Fugitives diſperſed. Sir Peter Parker's ſquadron, with Lord Cornwallis and troops, arrive at Cape Fear, where they meet Gen. Clinton; proceed to Charleſtown. Attack on Sullivan's Iſland. Circular letter from the Congreſs for the eſtabliſhment of new governments in the colonies. Declaration of Independency. Lord, and Gen. Howe appointed Commiſſioners for reſtoring Peace in the Colonies. Gen. Howe, with the army, land at Staten Iſland. Circular Letter, ſent by Lord Howe to the Continent, and publiſhed by the Congreſs. Letter to Gen. Waſhington, refuſed. Conference between Adjutant Gen. Paterſon, and Gen. Waſhington. Plots at New York, and Albany. Army landed at Long Iſland. Americans defeated with great loſs. Retire ſilently from their Camp, and quit the Iſland. Gen. Sullivan ſent upon parole with a meſſage from Lord Howe to the Congreſs. Fruitleſs conference between his Lordſhip and a Committee of the Congreſs. Deſcent on York Iſland; City of New York taken; ſet on fire, and a great part burnt. Army paſs through the dangerous navigation called Hell Gate; land at Frogs Neck; Skirmiſh at the White Plains. Forts Waſhington and Lee taken, and the whole of York Iſland reduced. Jerſeys overrun. Rhode Iſland reduced.

THE delays and misfortunes which the tranſports and victuallers from England and Ireland had experienced, reduced our forces at Boſton to great diſtreſs. To their diſtreſs was added the mortification of ſeeing ſeveral veſſels which were laden with the neceſſaries and comforts of life, taken in the very entrance of the harbour; whilſt different circumſtances of tide, wind, or ſituation, diſabled the ſhips of war from preventing the miſchief. The loſs of moſt of the coal ſhips was particularly felt, as fuel could not be procured, and the climate rendered that article indiſpenſable. The wretched inhabitants were in a ſtate ſtill more deplorable. Detained againſt their will, cut off from all intercourſe with their friends, expoſed to all the conſequences of that contempt and averſion with which a great part of them were regarded by the ſoldiery, and at the ſame time in want of almoſt every neceſſary of life. Calamitous however as that ſituation was, it ſerved as a ſort of refuge to thoſe, who were either zealous in favour of the king's government, or ſo diſſatisfied with the new ſtate of things, that they could no longer

live with comfort, ſome of them hardly with ſafety, in their own homes.

It was even feared, that the military ſtores would fail, and ſalt proviſions at length grew ſcarce. The troops at Bunker's Hill underwent great hardſhips, being obliged to lie in tents all the winter, under the driving ſnows, and expoſed to the almoſt intolerably cutting winds of the climate in that ſeaſon, which, with the ſtrict and conſtant duty occaſioned by the ſtrength and vicinity of the enemy, rendered that ſervice exceedingly ſevere both to the private men and officers. Various attempts were made, to remedy, or to leſſen ſome of the wants which now prevailed in the army. That of firing, which was the moſt immediately and intolerably preſſing, was in ſome meaſure relieved by the deſtruction of houſes.

The attempts made to procure proviſions were not attended with any great ſucceſs. Some veſſels which were ſent to Barbadoes, obtained, through the aſſiſtance of the governor, and before the matter was fully known, a quantity ſo moderate, that it would not at other times have been more taken notice of than any common occurrence in trade; but being now cut off from their uſual reſources, and having, as they ſaid, a famine ſtaring them in the face, with 80,000 Blacks, and 20,000 Whites to feed, and no ſufficient ſtock in hand, nor no certain ſupply in proſpect, the meaſure was deemed ſo dangerous, that it occaſioned a direct addreſs from the aſſembly to the king, including, along with the detail of their own melancholy ſituation, ſtrong complaints againſt the conduct of the governor.

A detachment of marines, with an armed ſhip and ſome tranſports, were ſent to Savanna in Georgia, with a view, as it would ſeem by the event, of obtaining cargoes of rice and other proviſions, whether by force or otherwiſe. The militia, however, took to their arms, and would not permit the marines to land, nor the ſhips to hold any correſpondence with the ſhore. In the courſe of the debate which aroſe upon this occaſion, ſome officers belonging to the colony were ſeized and detained on board the ſhips, and their releaſe being refuſed with a high hand, and other circumſtances of aggravation occurring on both ſides, ſome batteries were ſpeedily erected by the militia on the banks of the river, and an engagement with cannon and ſmall arms took place, in which ſome blood was ſpilt, and ſeven loaded veſſels belonging to the colony, which the commanders of the king's armed veſſels, ſeemingly by colluſion with the Captains or owners, had got poſſeſſion of, and whoſe cargoes would effectually have anſwered their purpoſe, were deſignedly burnt in the conflict.

In this ſtate of things on our ſide, the provincials before Boſton, were well covered, and well ſupplied in their lines. They expected with the moſt earneſt ſolicitude the ſetting in of the froſt, which uſually takes place there about Chriſtmas, and generally covers the harbour, and all the adjoining rivers and creeks, with a ſurface of ſolid ice. They founded great hopes upon this, as upon a moſt powerful auxiliary, by whoſe aid

aid they not only extended their views to the recovery of the town, but to the ſeizure or deſtruction of the fleet, as well as of the land forces.

In theſe they were diſappointed. The winter was uncommonly mild, and the froſts had none of the effects they expected. The expectation, however, probably influenced their operations, and occaſioned their continuing more quiet than they otherwiſe would have done. The arrival of a copy of the king's ſpeech, with an account of the fate of the petition from the continental congreſs, is ſaid to have excited the greateſt degree of rage and indignation amongſt them; as a proof of which, the former was publicly burnt in the camp; and they are ſaid upon this occaſion to have changed their colours, from a plain red ground, which they had hitherto uſed, to a flag with thirteen ſtripes, as a ſymbol of the number and union of the colonies.

In the mean time, the arrival by degrees of ſeveral of thoſe ſcattered veſſels which had ſailed from theſe kingdoms with proviſions and neceſſaries, alleviated in a conſiderable degree the diſtreſſes of the forces at Boſton; and though the winter was not ſevere enough to anſwer all the purpoſes of their enemies, the climate prevailed ſo far, as to render both parties fond of their quarters; to check the ſpirit of enterprize, and to prevent the effuſion of blood; ſo that for two or three months, an unexampled quiet prevailed on both ſides.

During this ſtate of things, the American cruizers and privateers, though yet poor and contemptible, being for the greater part no better than whale boats, grew daily more numerous, and ſucceſsful againſt the tranſports and ſtoreſhips; and among a multitude of other prizes, had the fortune of taking one, which gave a new colour to their military operations. This was an ordnance ſhip from Woolwich, which had unfortunately ſeparated from her convoy, and being herſelf of no force, was taken without defence by a ſmall privateer. This veſſel contained, beſides a large mortar upon a new conſtruction, ſeveral pieces of fine braſs cannon, a large quantity of ſmall arms and ammunition, with all manner of tools, utenſils, and machines, neceſſary for camps and artillery, in the greateſt abundance. The loſs of this ſhip was much reſented in England, and occaſioned ſome very ſevere animadverſion upon the admiralty, both within doors and without, for hazarding a cargo of ſuch value and importance in a defenceleſs veſſel.

The tranquillity at Boſton, was in the beginning of March unexpectedly broken in upon, by ſome ſudden and unexpected movements on the ſide of the rebels. It is ſaid, that as ſoon as the Congreſs had received intelligence of the prohibitory act, and of the hiring of foreign troops, they immediately diſpatched inſtructions to Gen. Waſhington, totally to change the mode of carrying on the war, and to bring affairs at Boſton to the ſpeedieſt deciſion that was poſſible, in order that the army might be diſengaged, and at liberty to oppoſe the new dangers with which they were threatened.

However this was, a battery was opened near the water ſide, at a place called Phipp's Farm, on the

night of the 2d of March, from whence a ſevere cannonade and bombardment was carried on againſt the town, and repeated on the enſuing nights. Whilſt the attention of the army was occupied by the firing of houſes and other miſchiefs incident to this new attack, they beheld with inexpreſſible ſurprize, on the morning of the 5th, ſome conſiderable works appear on the other ſide of the town, upon the heigths of Dorcheſter Point, which had been erected in the preceding night, and from whence a 24 pound, and a bomb battery, were ſoon after opened. Some of our officers have acknowledged, that the expedition with which theſe works were thrown up, with their ſudden and unexpected appearance, recalled to their minds thoſe wonderful ſtories of enchantment and inviſible agency, which are ſo frequent in the Eaſtern Romances.

The ſituation of the army was now very critical. The new works, along with thoſe others which it was evident would now be ſpeedily conſtructed on ſome of the neighbouring hills, would command the town, a conſiderable part of the harbour, of the beach, from whence an embarkation muſt take place in the event of a retreat, and render the communication between the troops in the works at Boſton Neck, and the main body, difficult and dangerous.

In theſe circumſtances no alternative remained, but to abandon the town, or diſlodge the enemy and deſtroy the new works. Gen. Howe, with his uſual ſpirit and reſolution, adopted the latter, and took the neceſſary meaſures for the embarkation on that very evening of five regiments, with the light infantry and grenadiers, upon a ſervice, which the whole army muſt of courſe have been ultimately engaged in. This deſign was fruſtrated by the intervention of a dreadful ſtorm at night, which rendered the embarkation impracticable, and thereby probably prevented the loſs of a great number of brave men, if not of the whole army.

It is not, however, to be wondered at, that with a high ſenſe of the Britiſh military honour, as well as of his own, the general ſhould hazard much, rather than ſubmit to the indignity of abandoning the town. He commanded a force, which he knew had been conſidered and repreſented here, as ſufficient to look down all oppoſition in America; and which, in reality, with reſpect to the number of regiments, if not of men, the excellency of the troops, the character of the Officers, and the powerful artillery which they poſſeſſed, would have been deemed reſpectable in any country, and dangerous by any enemy. With ſuch troops, to give up that town which had been the original cauſe of the war, and the conſtant object of contention ſince its commencement, to a raw and deſpiſed militia, ſeemed, excluſive of all other ill conſequences, a diſgrace not to be borne. But theſe brave men had, by a variety of events, and perhaps it will be thought, through original error and miſconduct in the arrangement of the war, been reduced to ſuch circumſtances, and hedged in, in ſuch a manner, that no means were left for an exertion of their force and courage, that were not ſubject to

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the greateſt danger, without affording a proſpect of ſucceſs.

Fortune prevented this perilous trial in the firſt inſtance. On the day that ſucceeded the tempeſt, the deſign was reaſſumed; but upon a nearer inſpection it was diſcovered, that a new work had been thrown up, which was ſtronger than any of the former, and that the whole were now ſo completely fortified, that all hope of forcing them was at an end. It became clear alſo, that Boſton was not a ſituation very happily choſen for the improvement of any advantage which might be obtained towards the reduction of the colonies.

Nothing now remained but to abandon the town, and to convey the troops, artillery, and ſtores, on board the ſhips. Nor was this laſt reſort free from difficulty and danger. The enemy, however, continued quiet in their works, and made not the ſmalleſt attempt to obſtruct the embarkation, or even to moleſt the rear. It is ſaid, and, though it was poſitively denied by the miniſters in both houſes, ſeems to be generally believed, that ſome kind of convention or agreement, whether verbal, or only underſtood by ſecondary means, was eſtabliſhed between the commanders in chief on each ſide, and that the abſtaining from hoſtility on the one, was the condition of ſaving the town on the other. In proof of this it is affirmed, that conbuſtibles were ready laid for firing the town, and that the ſelectmen were permitted to go out, and to hold a conference with Gen. Waſhington upon the ſubject.

Notwithſtanding this ſecurity, the embarkation could not be regulated in ſuch a manner, though ten days were ſpent in carrying it into execution, as to prevent ſome degree of precipitation, diſorder, and loſs. It reſembled more the emigration of a nation, than the breaking up of a camp. 1500 of the inhabitants, whoſe attachment to the royal cauſe had rendered them obnoxious to their countrymen, incumbered the tranſports with their families and effects. The Officers had laid out their money in furniture, and ſuch other conveniencies, as were neceſſary to render their ſituation tolerable; no purchaſers could be procured for theſe effects; and it would have been cruelty in the extreme to many of them, to have been under a neceſſity of leaving their whole ſubſtance behind. The ſoldiers were embarraſſed by their continual duty, and all carriages and labour that could be procured in the town, were of courſe monopolized by the emigrant inhabitants. Every perſon had ſome private concern, which was ſufficient to occupy his time and thoughts. The ſick, wounded, women, and children, called for every care and attention, and of courſe increaſed the embarraſſment and diſtreſs. It will not be difficult to ſuppoſe ſome part of the confuſion incident to ſuch circumſtances.

The General's ſituation was truly pitiable. But he bore it with great fortitude; and conducted the whole with admirable temper. Some diſcontents appeared, which were to be endured and allayed. Scarcity of proviſions, and ill ſucceſs, always breed diſcontent in camps. This was in ſome meaſure the caſe at preſent. The General having received no advices from England ſince the preceding

month of October, they conſidered themſelves in a great meaſure as abandoned, and left to extricate themſelves as they might out of the unfortunate ſituation in which they had been involved. Diſcontents are exceedingly fruitful; one generating a number of others in a very ſmall ſpace of time. Mutual jealouſies prevailed between the army and navy; each attributing to the other, the cauſe of ſome part of that uneaſineſs which itſelf felt. The intended voyage to Halifax, was ſubject to circumſtances of a very alarming nature. The coaſt, at all times dangerous, was dreadfully ſo at this tempeſtuous equinoctial ſeaſon, and the multitude of ſhips, which amounted to about 150, increaſed the difficulty and apprehenſion. As the high north-eaſt winds now prevailed, they were alſo liable to be blown off to the Weſt Indies, without a ſtock of proviſions in any degree ſufficient to ſubſiſt them in ſuch a paſſage. And, to render matters ſtill more irkſome, they were going to a ſterile miſerable country, which was incapable of affording thoſe reliefs which they ſo much wanted. It could not paſs the obſervation, and was highly vexatious to the military, that all this dangerous voyage, if completed, was directly ſo much out of their way. They were going to the northern extremity of the continent, when their buſineſs lay in the ſouthern, or at leaſt about the center.

The neceſſity of the ſituation left no choice of meaſures, and regret was uſeleſs. As the rear embarked, Gen. Waſhington marched into the town, with drums beating, colours flying, and in all the triumph of victory. He was received by the remaining inhabitants, and acknowledged by the refugees, who now recovered their ancient poſſeſſions, with every mark of reſpect and gratitude, that could poſſibly be ſhewn to a deliverer. The aſſembly of the province were not leſs zealous in their public acknowledgements. His anſwer was proper, moderate, and becoming his ſituation. The king's forces were under a neceſſity of leaving a conſiderable quantity of artillery and ſome ſtores behind. The cannon upon Bunker's Hill, and at Boſton Neck, could not be carried off. Attempts were made to render them unſerviceable; but the hurry which then prevailed, prevented their having any great effect. Some mortars and pieces of cannon which were thrown into the water, were afterwards weighed up by the town's people.

March 17, 1776.

Thus was the long conteſted town of Boſton at length given up, the colony of Maſſachuſett's Bay, for the preſent, freed from war, and left at liberty to adopt every meaſure which could tend to its future ſtrength and ſecurity. It was above a week before the weather permitted the fleet to get entirely clear of the harbour and road; but they had ample amends made them in the paſſage, the voyage to Halifax being ſhorter and happier than could have been hoped for. Several ſhips of war were left behind to protect the veſſels which ſhould arrive from England; in which, however, they were not perfectly ſucceſsful, the great extent of the Bay, with its numerous iſlands and creeks, and the number of ſmall ports that ſurround it, affording ſuch opportunities to the provincial armed boats,

boats, and ſmall privateers, that they took a number of theſe ſhips, which were ſtill in ignorance that the town had changed maſters.

As ſeveral movements made by the rebels, and particularly their taking ſtations on the neighbouring iſlands, indicated a deſign of attacking Caſtle William, the poſſeſſion of which would be the means of locking up the ſhips of war in the harbour, and of rendering all future attempts upon the town by ſea impracticable, General Howe thought it neceſſary to blow up and demoliſh the fortifications on that iſland before his departure.

General Waſhington was now in poſſeſſion of the capital of Maſſachuſett's Bay; but being ignorant of the deſtination of the fleet, and apprehenſive of an attempt upon New York, he detached ſeveral regiments for the protection of that city, on the very day upon which he took poſſeſſion of Boſton. The royal army were not, however, at that time, in circumſtances that admitted of their undertaking any expedition. They did not exceed, it is ſaid, nine thouſand healthy and effective men, and were in other reſpects by no means ſufficiently provided.

The eſtates and effects of thoſe emigrants who had accompanied Gen. How to Halifax, were ordered to be ſold, and the produce applied to the public ſervice. Some who ventured to ſtay behind, though they knew themſelves to be obnoxious to the preſent government, were brought to trial, as public enemies, and betrayers of their country; and the eſtates of ſuch as were found guilty, were confiſcated in the ſame manner. But nothing occupied ſo much at preſent the minds of the people of Boſton, or had ſo much attention paid to it by the province in general, as the putting of that town in ſuch a ſtate of defence, as might prevent a repetition of thoſe evils which it had lately undergone. For this purpoſe, the greateſt diligence was uſed in fortifying the town and harbour; ſome foreign engineers were procured to ſuperintend the works, and every inhabitant dedicated two days in the week to their conſtruction. Great doubts may, however, be entertained, whether Boſton can be rendered tenable againſt an army, though theſe works may preſerve it from inſult.

During theſe tranſactions at Boſton, the blockade of Quebec, was continued under great difficulties by Arnold. Reinforcements arrived ſlowly, and the Canadians, who are not by any means remarkable for conſtancy, were diſheartened and wavering. It ſeems, as if the Congreſs was unequal in conduct, as well as reſources, to the management of ſo many operations at the ſame time. The ſuccours that were ſent, ſuffered incredible hardſhips in their march; which they endured with that fortitude which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed the Provincials in this war. On the other hand, General Carleton guarded, with his uſual vigilance, againſt every effort of fraud, force, and ſurprize; but as all ſupplies were cut off from the country, the inhabitants and garriſon experienced many diſtreſſes.

As the ſeaſon approached, in which ſupplies from England were inevitable, the Americans grew more active in their operations. They again renewed the ſiege;

and erected batteries, and made ſeveral attempts by fire-ſhips, and otherwiſe, to burn the veſſels in the harbour. They failed in theſe attempts, though ſome of them were very boldly conducted; and their troops were at one time drawn up, and ſcaling ladders, with every other preparation, in readineſs for ſtorming the town, during the confuſion which they expected the fire would have produced. Though they had not all the ſucceſs they wiſhed, they however burnt a great part of the ſuburbs, and the remaining houſes being pulled down to prevent the ſpreading of the conflagration, afforded a moſt ſeaſonable relief of fuel to the town, which had for ſome time been exceedingly diſtreſſed through the want of that neceſſary. During this ſtate of things, a party of Canadians which had been embodied by Mr. Beaujeu, with a deſign of raiſing the ſiege, were encountered on their march, and eaſily diſperſed by a detachment of the rebels.

Mar. 25th.

This ſmall ſucceſs was not long ſufficient to ſupport the ſpirits of the provincials. Having failed in all their attempts with ſhells, fire-ſhips, and red hot balls, to cauſe a conflagration in the city, their hope of taking it by ſtorm ceaſed, whilſt that of ſucceeding by a regular ſiege was daily leſſened; indeed their artillery was far enough from being equal to any great ſervice. Although conſiderable reinforcements arrived in the remote parts of the province, the various impediments of bad roads, bad weather, and the want of neceſſaries ſuitable to the ſervice, prevented their being able to join them. In the ſtate of deſpondency conſequent of theſe circumſtances, that ſcourge and terror of the weſtern continent and of its numerous nations, the ſmall pox, broke out, and made its uſual cruel ravages amongſt them. Nor was the immediate effect with reſpect to life or health the worſt conſequence of the calamity; for that diſorder being conſidered as the American plague, and regarded with all the horror incident to that name, the dread of infection broke in upon every other conſideration, and rendered it difficult, if not impracticable, to ſuſtain diſcipline, or preſerve order.

In this ſituation, the provincial accounts inform us, that they intended to raiſe the ſiege before the arrival of the ſuccours from England, and that Gen. Wooſter, who at that time held the command, with ſome other of the principal officers, had already gone to Montreal to make ſome preparations neceſſary for the facilitating of that purpoſe. If ſuch a deſign was formed, it was prevented from being carried ſucceſsfully into execution, by the zeal and activity of the officers and crews of the Iſis man of war, and of two frigates, which were the firſt that had ſailed from England with ſuccours, and who with great labour, conduct, and reſolution, having forced their way through the ice, arrived at Quebec before the paſſage was deemed practicable. The unexpected ſight of the ſhips, threw the beſiegers into the greateſt conſternation, which was not leſſened by the immediate effect, of their cutting off all communication between their forces on the different ſides of the river.

General Carleton was too well verſed

verſed in military affairs, to loſe any time in ſeizing the advantages which the preſent ſituation afforded. A ſmall detachment of land forces which arrived in the ſhips of war, together with their marines, being landed with the utmoſt expedition, and joined to the garriſon, the Governor immediately marched out at their head to attack the rebel camp. There he found every thing in the utmoſt confuſion; they had not even covered themſelves with an intrenchment, and having already begun a retreat, upon the appearance of our troops they fled on all ſides, abandoning their artillery, military ſtores, ſcaling ladders, and other matters of incumbrance. The flight was ſo precipitate as ſcarcely to admit of any execution; nor were the King's forces in any condition for a purſuit, if prudence could even have juſtified the meaſure. Some of the ſick became priſoners. During this tranſaction, our ſmaller ſhips of war made their way up the river with ſuch expedition and ſucceſs, that they took ſeveral ſmall veſſels belonging to the enemy, and retook the Gaſpee ſloop of war, which they had ſeized in the beginning of the preceding winter.

May 6th.

Thus was the mixed ſiege and blockade of Quebec raiſed, after a continuance of about five months. And thus was Canada preſerved by a fortitude and conſtancy, which muſt ever be remembered with honour to the Governor and garriſon. From this time, the provincials experienced a continued ſeries of loſſes and misfortunes in that province. The Governor ſhewed he was worthy of his ſucceſs, by an act which immediately ſucceeded it, and which does great honour to his humanity. A number of the ſick and wounded provincials lay ſcattered about and hid in the neighbouring woods and villages, where they were in the greateſt danger of periſhing under the complicated preſſure of want, fear, and diſeaſe. To prevent this melancholy conſequence, he iſſued a proclamation, commanding the proper officers to find out theſe unhappy perſons, and to afford them all neceſſary relief and aſſiſtance at the public expence; whilſt, to render the benefit complete, and to prevent obſtinacy or apprehenſion from marring its effect, he aſſured them, that as ſoon as they were recovered, they ſhould have free liberty to return to their reſpective provinces.

Towards the end of May, ſeveral regiments from Ireland, one from England, another from General Howe, together with the Brunſwick troops, arrived ſucceſſively in Canada; ſo that the whole force in that province, when completed, was eſtimated at about 13,000 men. The general rendezvouz was at Three Rivers, which lies half way between Quebec and Montreal; and at the computed diſtance of about ninety miles from each. This place lies on the north ſide of the St. Lawrence, and takes its name from the vicinity of one of the branches of a large river, whoſe waters are diſcharged thro' three mouths into that great reſervoir.

The provincials continued their retreat till they arrived in the borders of the river Sorel, which falls into the St. Lawrence at the diſtance of about 140 miles from Quebec, where they joined ſome of thoſe reinforce-

reinforcements that had not been able to proceed farther to their aſſiſtance; but the whole were now ſunk in ſpirit, and debilitated in act. To complete their misfortunes, the ſmall-pox had ſpread through all their quarters.

Theſe diſcouraging circumſtances were not ſufficient to damp the ſpirit of enterprize in their leaders. A very daring, and not ill laid plan, was formed for the ſurprize of the King's forces at the Three Rivers; which, if it had been attended with all the ſucceſs it was capable of, might have been ranked among the moſt conſiderable military atchievements of that nature.

The Britiſh and Brunſwick forces were at this time much ſeparated. A conſiderable body were ſtationed at Three Rivers, under the command of Brigadier General Frazer. Another, under that of Brigadier General Neſbit, lay near them on board the tranſports. A greater than either, along with the Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips, and the German General, Reideſel, were in ſeveral diviſions by land and water, on the way from Quebec. The diſtance from Sorel was about fifty miles, and ſeveral armed veſſels, and tranſports full of troops, which had got higher up than Three Rivers, lay full in the way.

In the face of all theſe difficulties, a body of above 2000 men, under the command of a Major General Thompſon, embarked at Sorel in fifty boats, and coaſting the ſouth ſide of what is called the Lake of St. Peter, where the St. Lawrence ſpreads to a great extent, arrived at Nicolet, from whence they fell down the river by night, and paſſed to the other ſide, with an intention of ſurprizing the forces under General Frazer. Three Rivers is rather to be conſidered as a long village, than a regular town; and the deſign was, that it ſhould be attacked, a little before break of day, and, at the ſame inſtant, by a ſtrong detachment at each end, while two ſmaller were drawn up in readineſs to cover or ſupport them. If the ſucceſs ſhould have proved complete, the deſign was extended to the deſtruction of all thoſe veſſels which lay near the ſhore.

The concurrent circumſtances neceſſary to give effect to this deſign were too numerous, to afford any ſtrong confidence of ſucceſs. It was one of thoſe bold undertakings which might have been productive of great advantage; but which was of too perilous a nature for any thing leſs than the moſt deſperate ſituation of affairs to juſtify. They miſſed their time by about an hour, which, though they paſſed the armed ſhips without obſervation, occaſioned their being diſcovered, and the alarm given at their landing. They afterwards got into bad grounds, and were involved in many other difficulties, which threw them into diſorder and confuſion. In this ſtate, June 8th. they found General Frazer's corps in preparation to receive them, having landed ſeveral light ſix pounders, which were played upon them with great effect. While they were thus engaged in front, Brigadier Neſbit, whoſe tranſports lay higher up the river, landed his forces full in their way back.

Nothing was left but a retreat, the accompliſhment of which was more to be wiſhed for than hoped.

Neſbit's

Neſbit's corps kept the river ſide to prevent their eſcape to the boats, while Frazer's, in purſuit, galled them ſeverely with their light artillery. Between both, they were driven for ſome miles through a deep ſwamp, which they traverſed with inconceivable toil, expoſed to conſtant danger, and enduring every degree of diſtreſs. The Britiſh troops at length grew tired of the purſuit, and the woods afforded them a wiſhed-for ſhelter. The firſt and ſecond in command, with about 200 others, were taken priſoners. It will be eaſily conceived that our loſs was trifling.

This was the laſt appearance of vigour ſhewn by the provincials in Canada. The whole army having joined at Three Rivers, puſhed forwards by land and water with great expedition. When the fleet arrived at Sorel, they found the enemy had abandoned that place ſome hours before, diſmantled the batteries which they had erected to defend the entrance into that river, and had carried off their artillery and ſtores. A ſtrong column was here landed under the command of General Burgoyne, with orders to advance along the Sorel to St. John's, while the remainder of the fleet and army ſailed up the river to Longueil, the place of paſſage from the iſland of Montreal to La Prairie on the continent. Here they diſcovered that the rebels had abandoned the city and iſland of Montreal on the preceding evening, and that if the wind had been favourable, they might have met at this place. The army was immediately landed on the continent, and marching by La Prairie, croſſed the peninſula formed by the St. Lawrence and the Sorel, in order to join General Burgoyne at St. John's, where they expected a ſtand, and a ſtrong reſiſtance would have been made.

14th.

That General purſued his march along the Sorel without intermiſſion; but with that caution neceſſary in a country not wholly cleared of the enemy, and where their laſt and moſt deſperate efforts were to be expected. He arrived at St. John's on the evening of the 18th, where he found the buildings in flames, and nearly every thing deſtroyed that could not be carried off. The provincials acted in the ſame manner at Chamblee, and burned ſuch veſſels as they were not able to drag up the rapids in their way to Lake Champlain, where they immediately embarked for Crown Point. Though their flight was precipitate, they ſuſtained no loſs, and a General Sullivan, who commanded in the retreat, received public thanks for the prudence with which he conducted it, by which he ſaved their ruined army, at a time, they ſay, when it was encumbered with a vaſt multitude of ſick, moſt of whom were ill of the ſmall-pox.

Thus was an end happily put to the war in Canada. The pleaſure of which was, however, conſiderably checked, by the reſtraint which was now laid upon the further operation of the army in that quarter. For as the enemy were maſters of Lake Champlain, it was impoſſible for the forces to proceed to the ſouthward, until ſuch a number of veſſels were conſtructed or obtained, as would afford a ſuperiority, and enable them to traverſe that lake with ſafety. The doing this, was a work of labour and time; for though ſix armed veſſels were

were ſent from England for that purpoſe, the falls of Chamblee rendered the means of conveying them to the lake highly difficult, and a matter which required much ingenuity and induſtry. A vaſt number of other veſſels were alſo neceſſarily to be conſtructed both for conveyance and protection.

The neceſſity under which we have ſeen Governor Martin obliged to ſeek refuge on board a ſhip of war in Cape Fear river, did not damp his ardour in the public ſervice, nor reſtrain his attempts to reduce the province of North Carolina to obedience. His confidence of ſucceſs was increaſed, by the knowledge he had, that a ſquadron of men of war with ſeven regiments, under the conduct of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis, were to depart from Ireland on an expedition to the ſouthern provinces in the beginning of the year, and that North Carolina was their firſt, if not principal object. He alſo knew that General Clinton, with a ſmall detachment, was on his way from Boſton to meet them at Cape Fear.

The connection he had formed with a body of deſperate people, lately conſidered as rebels to the King's government, now equally enemies to the provincial eſtabliſhment, whom we have frequently had occaſion to take notice of under the name of *Regulators*, as well as with the Highland emigrants, ſeemed to inſure the reduction of the inſurgents, even independent of the expected force. That colony was deemed the weakeſt in America, except Georgia; and the two parties we have mentioned were numerous, active, daring, and the former were at this time, as well as the latter, zealouſly attached to the royal cauſe. The Highlanders were conſidered as naturally warlike, and the Regulators, from ſituation, habits, and manner of living, to be much bolder, hardier, and better markſmen, than thoſe who had been bred to other courſes, and in more civilized parts of the country.

The Governor ſent ſeveral commiſſions to theſe people for the raiſing and commanding of regiments, and granted another to a Mr. M'Donald to act as their General. He alſo ſent them a proclamation, commanding all perſons, on their allegiance, to repair to the royal ſtandard, which was erected by General M'Donald about the middle of February.

Upon the firſt advice of their aſſembling at a place called Croſs Creek, Brigadier General Moore immediately marched at the head of the provincial regiment which he commanded, with ſuch militia as he could ſuddenly collect, and ſome pieces of cannon, within a few miles of them, and took poſſeſſion of an important poſt called Rockfiſh Bridge, which, as he was much inferior in ſtrength, he immediately intrenched and rendered defenſible. He had not been many days in this poſition, where he was receiving and expecting ſuccours, when General M'Donald approached at the head of his army, and ſent a letter to Moore, incloſing the Governor's proclamation, and recommending to him and his party to join the King's ſtandard by a given hour the next day, or that he muſt be under a neceſſity of conſidering them as enemies. Feb. 15th.

As Moore knew that the provincial

cial forces were marching from all quarters, he protracted the negociation, in hopes that the Tory army, as they called it, might have been ſurrounded. In his final anſwer he declared, that he and his officers conſidered themſelves as engaged in a cauſe the moſt glorious and honourable in the world, the defence of the liberties of mankind; he reminded the emigrants of the ungrateful return they made to the kind reception they met in the colony; and the General, with ſome of his officers, of an oath they had taken a little before, and upon which they were permitted to come into the country, that they only came to ſee their friends and relations, without any concern whatever in public affairs. In return to the proclamation, he ſent them the teſt propoſed by the Congreſs, with a proffer, that if they ſubſcribed it, and laid down their arms, they ſhould be received as friends; but if they refuſed to comply, they muſt expect conſequences ſimilar to thoſe which they had held out to his people.

In the mean time, M'Donald perceived the danger he was in of being encloſed, and abruptly quitting his ground, endeavoured, with conſiderable dexterity, by forced marches, the unexpected paſſing of rivers, and the greateſt celerity of movement, to diſengage himſelf. It ſeems, the great and immediate object in view with this party, was to bring Governor Martin, with Lord William Campbell, and General Clinton, who had by this time joined them, into the interior country, which they judged would be a means of uniting all the back ſettlers of the ſouthern colonies in the royal cauſe, of bringing forward the Indians, and of encouraging the well affected to ſhew themſelves in all places.

The provincial parties were, however, ſo cloſe in the purſuit, and ſo alert in cutting the country, and ſeizing the paſſes, that M'Donald at length found himſelf under a neceſſity of engaging a Colonel Caſwell, who, with about a thouſand militia and minute men, had taken poſſeſſion of a place called Moore's Creek Bridge, where they had thrown up an intrenchment. The royaliſts were by all accounts much ſuperior in number, having been rated from 3000 to 1500, which laſt number, M'Donald, after the action, acknowledged them to be. The emigrants began the attack with great fury; but M'Cleod, the ſecond in command, and a few more of their braveſt officers and men being killed at the firſt onſet, they ſuddenly loſt all ſpirit, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and, as the provincials ſay, deſerted their General, who was taken priſoner, as were nearly all their leaders, and the reſt totally broken and diſperſed. Feb. 27th.

This victory was a matter of great exultation and triumph to the Carolinians. They had ſhewn that their province was not ſo weak as was imagined; for though their force actually in the engagement was not conſiderable, they had raiſed 10,000 men in about ten days. But what was ſtill more flattering, and, perhaps, not of leſs real importance, they had encountered Europeans (who were ſuppoſed to hold them in the moſt ſovereign contempt, both as men and as ſoldiers) in the field, and defeated them with an inferior force.

If

If the zeal of theſe people could have been kept dormant until the arrival of the force from Ireland, it ſeems more than probable that the ſouthern colonies would have conſiderably felt the impreſſion of ſuch an inſurrection. But now, their force and ſpirits were ſo entirely broken, their leaders being ſent to different priſons, and the reſt ſtripped of their arms, and watched with all the eyes of diſtruſt, that no future effort could be reaſonably expected from them. Perhaps too great a dependence was laid on their power and proweſs, while thoſe of the oppoſite ſide were meaſured with a ſcale equally deceitful. It is, however, extremely difficult to regulate or reſtrain the caprice or violence of thoſe leaders who aſſume authority in ſuch ſeaſons.

A ſquadron of five frigates were ſent out by the Congreſs early in the year, under the command of one Hopkins, who ſailed with them to the Bahama iſlands; where they ſtripped that of Providence, which is the principal, of a conſiderable quantity of artillery and ſtores; but were diſappointed in the powder, which they moſt wanted, through the prudence of the Governor, who ſent 150 barrels of it away in a ſmall veſſel, the night before they landed. They brought off the Governor, and ſome other public officers, as priſoners; and after taking ſeveral prizes in their return, fell in at length with the Glaſgow frigate of war, accompanied with a tender, the latter of which they took, and the former eſcaped with difficulty after a very ſharp engagement.

March 3d.

Lord Dunmore, with his fleet of fugitives, continued on the coaſts and in the rivers of Virginia for a great part of the year; and as every place was now ſtrictly guarded, theſe unhappy people, who had put themſelves under his protection, underwent great diſtreſſes. The heat of the weather, the badneſs and ſcarcity of water and proviſions, with the cloſeneſs and filth of the ſmall veſſels in which they were crowded, by degrees produced that malignant and infectious diſtemper, which is known by the name of the Jail or Peſtilential Fever. This dreadful diſorder made great havock among them, but particularly affected the negroes, moſt of whom it ſwept away. After various adventures, in which they were driven from place to place, and from iſland to iſland, by the Virginians, ſeveral of the veſſels were driven on ſhore in a gale of wind, and the wretched fugitives became captives to their own countrymen. At length, every place being ſhut againſt, and hoſtile to the remainder, and neither water or proviſions to be obtained, even at the expence of blood, it was found neceſſary, towards the beginning of Auguſt, to burn the ſmaller and leaſt valuable veſſels, and to ſend the remainder, amounting to between 40 and 50 ſail, with the exiles, to ſeek ſhelter and retreat in Florida, Bermudas, and the Weſt-Indies. In this manner ended the hopes entertained by the employment of the negroes to ſuppreſs the rebellion in the ſouthern colonies. This meaſure, rather invidious than powerful, tended infinitely to inflame the diſcontents in thoſe colonies, without adding any thing to the ſtrength of the royal arms. The unhappy

creatures

creatures who engaged in it, are ſaid to have periſhed almoſt to a man.

It had, for ſome time paſt been the fortune of the fleets, tranſports, and victuallers, which had been ſent to America, to meet with ſuch exceedingly bad weather on their paſſage, ſuch delays, and ſo many untoward circumſtances of different ſorts, as in a great degree fruſtrated the end of their deſtination. Sir Peter Parker's ſquadron, which ſailed from Portſmouth at the cloſe of the year, from an unexpected delay in Ireland, and bad weather afterwards, did not arrive at Cape Fear till the beginning of May, where they were detained by various cauſes till the end of the month. There they found General Clinton, who had already been at New-York, and from thence proceeded to Virginia, where he had ſeen Lord Dunmore, and finding that no ſervice could be effected at either place with his ſmall force, came thither to wait for them.

The ſeaſon of the year was much againſt the operations of the troops at this time in the ſouthern colonies, the exceſſive heat having rendered them ſickly even at Cape Fear, notwithſtanding the plenty of refreſhments they procured, and the little labour they had upon their hands. Something, however, muſt be done, and Charleſtown, the capital of South Carolina, was within the line of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis's inſtructions. They had but little knowledge of General Howe's ſituation; the only information that General Clinton received of his evacuating Boſton, being from the American newspapers. And it happened unluckily, that a veſſel, which General Howe had diſpatched from Halifax with orders for their proceeding to the northward, met with ſuch delays in her paſſage, that ſhe did not arrive at Cape Fear till after their departure.

The fleet anchored off Charleſtown Bar in the beginning of June. They were joined before they proceeded to action by the Experiment man of war; and the naval force then conſiſted of the Commodore Sir Peter Parker's ſhip, the Briſtol, of 50 guns; the Experiment, of the ſame force; the Active, Solebay, Acteon, and Syren frigates, of 28 guns each; the Sphynx of 20, a hired armed ſhip of 22, a ſmall ſloop of war, an armed ſchooner, and the Thunder bomb-ketch. The paſſing of the bar was a matter of time, difficulty, and danger, eſpecially to the two large ſhips, which, notwithſtanding the taking out of their guns, and the uſing of every other means to lighten them as much as poſſible, both touched the ground and ſtuck ſeveral times.

The land forces were commanded by General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and Brigadier General Vaughan. It was remarkable, that at the time General Clinton ſailed from Boſton, General Lee, at the head of a ſtrong detachment from the army before that place, immediately ſet out to ſecure New-York from the attempt which it was ſuppoſed the former would have made upon that city. Having ſucceeded in that object, General Clinton could not but be ſurprized at his arrival in Virginia, to find Lee in poſſeſſion, and in the ſame ſtate of preparation, in which he had left him at New-York. Upon his departure for Cape Fear, Lee again traverſed

traverſed the continent with the utmoſt expedition to ſecure North-Carolina. And at length, upon the further progreſs of the fleet and army to the ſouthward, Lee again proceeded with equal celerity to the defence of Charleſtown.

The firſt object of our forces, after paſſing the bar, was the attack of a fort which had been lately erected, though not made altogether complete, upon the ſouth-weſt point of Sullivan's iſland. This fort commanded the paſſage to Charleſtown; which lay farther weſt, at about ſix miles diſtance; and notwithſtanding the lateneſs of its conſtruction, was with propriety conſidered as the key of that harbour. It is ſaid to have been repreſented to our commanders as in even a more imperfect ſtate than it was found in; but if the deſcription had been otherwiſe, it is not probable they would have expected that a raw militia could have been able, for any length of time, to have ſupported the great weight of fire from our ſhips, even excluding the co-operation of the land forces.

The troops were landed on Long Iſland, which lies nearer, and to the eaſtward of Sullivan's; being ſeparated only by ſome ſhoals, and a creek called the Breach, which are deemed paſſable at low water, the ford being repreſented to our officers as only eighteen inches in depth in that ſtate. The Carolinians had poſted ſome forces with a few pieces of cannon near the north-eaſtern extremity of Sullivan's Iſland, at the diſtance of near two miles from the fort, where they threw up works to prevent the paſſage of the royal army over the breach. General Lee was encamped with a conſiderable body of forces on the continent, at the back and to the northward of the iſland, with which he held a communication open by a bridge of boats, and could by that means, at any time, march the whole, or any part of his force, to ſupport that poſt which was oppoſed to our paſſage from Long Iſland. The latter is a naked burning ſand, where the troops ſuffered greatly from their expoſure to the intenſe heat of the ſun. Both the fleet and army were greatly diſtreſſed through the badneſs of the water; that which is found upon the ſea coaſts of South Carolina being every where brackiſh. Nor were they in a much better condition, with reſpect either to the quantity or quality of proviſions.

Notwithſtanding the diſpatch which theſe inconveniences rendered neceſſary, ſuch delays occurred in carrying the deſign into execution, that it was near the end of the month before the attack upon Sullivan's Iſland took place; a ſeaſon which was applied by the enemy with great aſſiduity to the completion of their works. Every thing being at length ſettled between the commanders by ſea and land, the Thunder bomb, covered by the armed ſhip, took her ſtation in June 28th. the morning, and began the attack, by throwing ſhells at the fort as the fleet advanced. About eleven o'clock, the Briſtol, Experiment, Active, and Solebay, brought up directly againſt the fort, and began a moſt furious and inceſſant cannonade. The Sphynx, Acteon, and Syren, were ordered to the weſtward, to take their ſtation between the end of the iſland and Charleſtown, partly thereby to enfilade

enfilade the works of the fort, partly, if poſſible, to cut off the communication between the iſland and the continent, which would, of courſe, cut off the retreat of the garriſon, as well as all ſuccours from the latter; and partly to prevent any attempts that might be made by fire-ſhips, or otherwiſe, to interrupt the grand attack. This part of the deſign was rendered unfortunate by the ſtrange unſkilfulneſs of the pilot, who entangled the frigates in the ſhoals called the Middle Grounds, where they all ſtuck faſt; and though two of them were in ſome time with damage and difficulty got off, it was then too late, and they were beſides in no condition, to execute the intended ſervice. The Acteon could not be got off, and was burnt by the officers and crew the next morning, to prevent her materials and ſtores from becoming a prey to the enemy.

Whilſt the continued thunder from the ſhips ſeemed ſufficient to ſhake the firmneſs of the braveſt enemy, and daunt the courage of the moſt veteran ſoldier, the return made by the fort, could not fail of calling for the reſpect, as well as of highly incommoding the brave ſeamen of Britain. In the midſt of that dreadful roar of artillery, they ſtuck with the greateſt conſtancy and firmneſs to their guns; fired deliberately and ſlowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ſhips ſuffered accordingly; they were torn almoſt to pieces, and the ſlaughter was dreadful. Never did Britiſh valour ſhine more conſpicuous, nor never did our marine, in an engagement of the ſame nature with any foreign enemy, experience ſo rude an encounter. The ſprings of the Briſtol's cable being cut by the ſhot, ſhe lay for ſome time expoſed in ſuch a manner to the enemy's fire, as to be moſt dreadfully raked. The brave Captain Morris, after receiving a number of wounds, which would have ſufficiently juſtified a gallant man in retiring from his ſtation, ſtill with a noble obſtinacy diſdained to quit his duty, until his arm being at length ſhot off, he was carried away in a condition which did not afford a poſſibility of recovery. It is ſaid, that the quarter deck of the Briſtol was at one time cleared of every perſon but the Commodore, who ſtood alone, a ſpectacle of intrepidity and firmneſs, which have ſeldom been equalled, never exceeded. The others on that deck were either killed, or carried down to have their wounds dreſſed. Nor did Captain Scott, of the Experiment, miſs his ſhare of the danger or glory, who, beſides the loſs of an arm, received ſo many other wounds that his life was at firſt deſpaired of.

The fire from the Britiſh ſhips was not thrown away; though it did not produce all the effect which was hoped and expected. But the fortifications were much firmer than they had been thought, and their lowneſs preſerved them in a great degree from the weight of our ſhot. They were compoſed of palm-trees and earth, and the merlons were of an unuſual thickneſs. The guns were at one time ſo long ſilenced, that it was thought the fort had been abandoned. It ſeems extraordinary, that a detachment of the land forces were not in readineſs on board the tranſports or boats, to profit of ſuch an occaſion. But theſe are only a part of the circumſtances relative to this en-

gagement which have never been ſufficiently cleared up. The praiſe beſtowed upon the garriſon for the conſtancy and bravery of their defence, by the Americans in general, as well as by General Lee, ſhew that they neither abandoned their guns, nor were changed; however they might be, and undoubtedly were reinforced. It appears, by their accounts, that the ſilence of the fort proceeded from the expenditure of all their powder, and their waiting for a ſupply from the continent; which, probably, did not arrive the ſooner, from the neceſſity of its being conveyed through the line of fire from the men of war.

During this long, hot, and obſtinate conflict, the ſeamen looked frequently and impatiently to the eaſtward, ſtill expecting to ſee the land forces advance from Long Iſland, drive the rebels from their intrenchment, and march up to ſecond the attack upon the fort. In theſe hopes they were grievouſly diſappointed. Such various accounts have been given of the cauſe of this inaction of the land forces, that it is difficult to form any decided opinion upon the ſubject. The Gazette, from whence a ſatisfactory ſolution of all difficulties might be expected, is ſo totally defective and diſſatisfactory, that it ſeems to have laid a foundation for every other error and contradiction relative to this buſineſs. That account ſays, that the King's forces were ſtopped by an impracticable depth of water, where they expected to have paſſed nearly dry-ſhod. To ſuppoſe that the Generals, and the officers under their command, ſhould have been nineteen days in that ſmall iſland, without ever examining, until the very inſtant of action, the nature of the only paſſage, by which they could render ſervice to their friends and fellows, fulfil the purpoſe of their landing, and anſwer the ends for which they were embarked in the expedition, would ſeem a great defect in military prudence and circumſpection. But there might be reaſons for concealing a true ſtate of the affair. Until that ſtate appears, it would be unjuſt to lay any imputation on the officers concerned in ſo critical a ſervice. The only rational ſolution of the fact, muſt, for the preſent, be drawn from the different American accounts. From theſe it is to be inferred, that the poſt which the rebels poſſeſſed at the end of Sullivan's iſland, was in ſo ſtrong a ſtate of defence, the approaches on our ſide ſo diſadvantageous, and Lee's force in ſuch preparation and capability of cruſhing us in the conflict, that General Clinton would have run the moſt manifeſt and inexcuſable riſque, of the ruin, if not total loſs, of his forces, if he had ventured upon an attack. To this it may be added, that it was only upon a near approach, that our people acquired any certain knowledge of the force of the enemy.

The action continued, until the darkneſs of the night compelled that ceſſation, which the eagerneſs of the aſſailants, worn down as they were with fatigue, and weakened with loſs, was ſtill unwilling to accept. Sir Peter Parker, after every effort of which a brave man is capable, finding that all hope of ſucceſs was at an end, and the tide of ebb nearly ſpent, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, withdrew his ſhattered veſſels from the ſcene of action, after an engage-

ment which had been ſupported with uncommon courage and vigour for above ten hours. The Briſtol had 111, and the Experiment 79, men killed and wounded; and both ſhips had received ſo much damage, that the provincials conceived ſtrong hopes, that they could never be got over the bar. The frigates, though not leſs emulous in the performance of their duty, being leſs pointed at than the great ſhips, did not ſuffer a proportional loſs. The bomb veſſel did not do all the ſervice upon this occaſion which was expected; whether it was from overcharging, in conſequence of having originally taken too great a diſtance, which has been ſaid, or whether it proceeded from ſome fault in the conſtruction, which ſeems more probable; however, it was, the beds of the mortars were in ſome time ſo looſened and ſhattered as to become utterly unſerviceable.

Colonel Moultrie, who commanded in the fort, received great and deſerved applauſe from his countrymen, for the courage and conduct by which he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed in its defence. The garriſon alſo received a great ſhare of praiſe, and a ſerjeant was publicly diſtinguiſhed by a preſent of a ſword from the Preſident of the colony, for a particular act of great bravery.

During theſe tranſactions, the Congreſs took an opportunity of feeling the general pulſe of the people, and of preparing them for the declaration of independency which was to follow, by a kind of circular manifeſto to the ſeveral colonies, ſtating the cauſes which rendered it, as they ſaid, neceſſary, that all authority under the crown ſhould be totally ſuppreſſed, and all the powers of government taken reſpectively into their own hands. In ſupport of this poſition, they inſtanced the Prohibitory Act, by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown; the rejection of their petition for redreſs of grievances and reconciliation; and the intended exertion of all the force of Great-Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries, for their deſtruction. They concluded with a recommendation to thoſe colonies, whoſe government was not already ſufficient, to proceed to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a form, as was neceſſary to the preſervation of internal peace, and ſuited to the preſent exigency of their affairs, for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, againſt the hoſtile invaſions, and cruel depredations of their enemies.

May 15th.

Penſylvania and Maryland were the only colonies, that in part oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of a new government, and the declaration of independency. A majority in the aſſembly of the former, though eager for a redreſs of grievances, regarded with horror every idea of a total ſeparation from the parent ſtate. But though they knew that great numbers in the province held ſimilar ſentiments, they were alſo ſenſible, that the more violent formed a very numerous and powerful body; that they had already taken fire at their heſitation, and conſidered them rather as ſecret enemies, than luke-warm friends. Their ſituation was beſides difficult. If they broke the union of the colonies, and thereby forfeited the aſſiſtance and protection of the others, they had no certainty of

obtaining a redreſs of thoſe grievances, nor the ſecurity of thoſe rights, for which they were as willing to contend in their own way as the moſt violent; but were not yet willing to give up all hope, nor to break off all poſſibility of accommodation. Thus critically circumſtanced, they declared, that the queſtion of independence was a matter of too great importance for them to decide finally upon, and that they would therefore refer it to their conſtituents, together with the arguments which had been uſed on both ſides of the queſtion.

It was manifeſtly a ſtep from which it would not be eaſy to retreat. On one hand, the ſeparation from Great-Britain, even if it could be finally accompliſhed, muſt be attended with many evident inconveniences. The protection of the great parent ſtate, and the utility of the power of a common ſovereign to balance ſo many ſeparate, and, poſſibly, diſcordant commonwealths, beſides many political and many commercial advantages derived from the old union, muſt appear in a clear light to every ſober and diſcerning perſon. On the other hand, it was ſaid, that their liberty was their firſt good, without which all the other advantages would be of no value. That if they were to ſubmit to a great ſtanding army, compoſed of foreigners as well as Engliſh, compoſed in part even of their own ſlaves, and of ſavages, what terms were they to hope for? The moment their arms were laid down, they muſt be at the mercy of their enemy. For what end did they take up theſe arms? If it was to ſecure their liberty, to lay them down without that ſecurity, would be to own, that their firſt reſiſtance was cauſeleſs rebellion; and the pardon offered, was the only ſatisfaction for the preſent, or ſecurity for the future, they were given to expect. Did they reſiſt power only to obtain a pardon? were they ſo abſurd originally, or are they ſo cowardly now? If then their object is refuſed to all their entreaties by Great-Britain; if ſhe abandons them to plunder without redemption, except on unconditional ſubmiſſion, how is the object of their reſiſtance to be obtained? By war only. But as long as they acknowledge the claims of the crown of Great-Britain, ſo long will their councils and their generals be deſtitute of all civil and military authority. The war they carry on muſt of courſe be irregular, feeble, and without the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſucceſs. Orders will be given, which none will be obliged to obey; and conſpiracies and mutinies will be formed, which none will have a juſt power to puniſh or repreſs. Neither will any foreign power give them any ſupport againſt the hoſtile combination of Great-Britain, and ſo many foreign powers as ſhe has called to her aſſiſtance, ſo long as they hold themſelves to be ſubjects. We do not break the connexion (ſaid they); it is already broke and diſſolved by an act of parliament; and thus abandoned, all laws human and divine not only permit, but demand of us, to provide every internal and external means for our own preſervation.

In theſe ſentiments, by a reference to the people, the matter was brought to a fair trial of ſtrength between the two parties; when it was carried by great majorities, that the delegates ſhould agree to

the determination of the Congreſs. This deciſion, however, occaſioned much diſſention in the province, and has founded a conſiderable party in oppoſition to the preſent government.

In Maryland, the delegates were inſtructed by a majority of ſeven counties to four, to oppoſe the queſtion of independency in the Congreſs; which they accordingly did; and having given their votes, withdrew totally from that aſſembly. But the horror of being ſecluded and abandoned, together with the reproaches of the others, and perhaps the dread of their reſentment, ſoon gave a new turn to the conduct, if not to the diſpoſition of that province. The delegates were again inſtructed to return to the Congreſs, and to act there, as they thought beſt for the intereſt of their country. This completed the union of the colonies in that meaſure.

The fatal day at length arrived, which, (however the final conſequences may be) muſt be deeply regretted by every true friend to this empire, when thirteen Engliſh colonies in America, declared themſelves free and independent ſtates, abjured all allegiance to the Britiſh crown, and renounced all political connection with this country. Such are the unhappy conſequences of civil contention. Such the effects that may proceed from too great a jealouſy of power on the one ſide, or an ill-timed doubt of obedience on the other. The declaration has been ſeen by every body; it contains a long catalogue of grievances, with not fewer invectives; and is not more temperate in ſtile or compoſition, than it is in act.

July 4th.

There were three principal objects propoſed in the conduct of the Britiſh forces in the preſent campaign. The firſt was the relief of Quebec, and the redemption of Canada, which alſo included the ſubſequent invaſion of the back parts of the colonies by the way of the lakes. The ſecond was the making a ſtrong impreſſion on the ſouthern colonies, which it was hoped would at leaſt have ſucceeded ſo far as to the recovery of one of them. The third was the grand expedition againſt the city and province of New-York.

Of the two collateral parts of this plan we have already ſeen the event, ſo far as the firſt was yet capable of being carried into execution. On the third, the greateſt hopes of ſucceſs were not unjuſtly founded. Much the better part of the province of New-York is incloſed in iſlands, which being long and narrow, were expoſed on all ſides to the hoſtility of our fleets, and to the deſcents of our troops, with every advantage in their favour, whilſt they continued in a ſtate of enmity. When reduced, the protection of the ſhips of war would be as effectual in their preſervation, as their hoſtility had been in their reduction. The central ſituation of this province afforded great advantages. The war could be carried on with equal facility either in Connecticut, and the continent of New-York on the eaſtern ſide, or in New Jerſey, and from thence to Penſylvania on the weſtern; or it may be transferred to and from either at pleaſure. So that this poſition enabled the Britiſh commander to preſcribe the ſcene of action, and to quit it when he liked; while, if the army was withdrawn from the field, he might,

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by the means of the great north river, and the different channels between the iſlands and the main land, with his ſhips and detachments harraſs and ruin the adjoining countries; at the ſame time that the rebels, however powerful, could make no attempt on the iſlands, that would not be attended with the greateſt diſadvantages, and liable to the moſt imminent danger. Another great object in view from this ſituation was, that if General Carleton could penetrate to Hudſon's, or the great north river, General Howe might thereby totally cut off all communication between the northern and ſouthern provinces. To crown theſe advantages, Long Iſland, which is very fertile in wheat and all other corn, and abounded with herds and flocks, was deemed almoſt equal in itſelf to the maintenance of an army. The inhabitants were alſo ſuppoſed to be in general well affected to the royal cauſe.

The attainment of theſe great objects, and the conduct of the grand armament which was neceſſary to the purpoſe, were committed to Admiral Lord Howe, and his brother the General; men who ſtood high in the opinion and confidence of the nation, as well from their own merit and ſervices, as from the military character and bravery of the family. To this ſervice was allotted a very powerful army, conſiſting, beſides the national forces, of about 15,000 Heſſians and Waldeckers. The whole force, if the different parts of which it was compoſed could have been united in the beginning of the campaign, it was ſuppoſed, would have amounted to about 35,000 men. It will be eaſily conceived by thoſe acquainted with military affairs, that all calculations of this nature, though founded upon the beſt official information, will far exceed, even at a much nearer diſtance than America, the real effective number that can ever be brought to action. This force, when united, was, however, truly formidable, and ſuch as no part of the new world had ever ſeen before. Nor was it, perhaps, ever exceeded by any army in Europe of an equal number, whether conſidered, with reſpect to the excellency of the troops, the abundant proviſion of all manner of military ſtores and warlike materials, or the goodneſs and number of artillery of all ſorts with which it was provided. It was beſides ſupported by a very numerous fleet, particularly well adapted to the nature of the ſervice. Beſides their military powers, the General and Admiral were appointed the commiſſioners under the late act of parliament, for reſtoring peace to the colonies, and for granting pardon to ſuch as ſhould deſerve the royal mercy.

The ſituation of the army at Halifax, and the long ſtay of above two months which it was obliged to make there, ſtill waiting the arrival of ſome of the reinforcements from England to enable it to go upon ſervice, was neither pleaſing to the General, nor comfortable to the men. The country was in no ſituation to afford them a ſufficient ſupply of proviſions or neceſſaries; nor was the place even capable of providing quarters on ſhore for the private men, who were obliged to continue on board the ſhips during the whole of their ſtay. As the ſummer advanced,

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the General grew impatient at the delay, and was probably further urged by the ſcarcity of proviſions. He accordingly, without waiting for his brother, or the expected reinforcements, departed, with Admiral Shuldham, and the fleet and army, from Halifax, about the 10th of June, and near the end of the month, arrived at Sandy Hook, a point of land that ſtands at the entrance into that confluence of ſounds, roads, creeks, and bays, which are formed by New-York, Staten, and Long, iſlands, the continent on either ſide, with the North and Rareton rivers.

On their paſſage, they were joined by ſix tranſports with Highland troops on board, who were ſeparated from ſeveral of their companions in the voyage. It appeared ſoon after, that ſome of the miſſing ſhips, with about 450 ſoldiers, and ſeveral officers, were taken by the American cruizers. The General found every approachable part of the iſland of New-York ſtrongly fortified, defended by a numerous artillery, and guarded by little leſs than an army. The extent of Long Iſland did not admit of its being ſo ſtrongly fortified, or ſo well guarded; it was, however, in a powerful ſtate of defence; had an encampment of conſiderable force on the end of the iſland near New-York, and ſeveral works thrown up on the moſt acceſſible parts of the coaſt, as well as at the ſtrongeſt internal paſſes.

Staten Iſland, being of leſs value and conſequence, was leſs attended to. The General landed on the iſland without oppoſition, to the great joy of thoſe of the inhabitans who had ſuffered for their loyalty; and the troops being cantoned in the villages, received plenty of thoſe refreſhments which they ſo much wanted. He was met by Governor Trion, with ſeveral well-affected gentlemen who had taken refuge with him on board a ſhip, at Sandy Hook, who gave him a full account of the ſtate and diſpoſition of the province, as well as of the ſtrength of the enemy. He had the ſatisfaction of being joined by about ſixty perſons from New Jerſey, who came to take arms in the royal cauſe, and about 200 of the militia of the iſland were embodied for the ſame purpoſe, which afforded the pleaſing proſpect, that when the army was in force to march into the country and protect the royaliſts, ſuch numbers would join it, as would contribute not a little to bring the preſent troubles to a ſpeedy concluſion.

July 3d.

Lord Howe arrived at Halifax about a fortnight after his brother's departure, from whence he proceeded to Staten Iſland, where he arrived before the middle of July. His firſt act was to ſend aſhore, by a flag, a circular letter to the ſeveral late Governors of the colonies, acquainting them with his civil and military powers, and deſiring that they would publiſh, as generally as poſſible, for the information of the people, a declaration which accompanied the letter. In this piece he informed the public of the powers with which his brother and he were endued under the late act of parliament, of granting general or particular pardons to all thoſe, who, in the tumult and diſaſter of the times, might have deviated from their juſt allegiance, and who were willing, by a ſpeedy return to their

July 14th.

duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour, and of declaring any colony, province, county, town, port, diſtrict, or place, to be at the peace of his Majeſty; in which caſe, the penal proviſions of that law would ceaſe in their favour. It alſo promiſed, that a due conſideration ſhould be had to the ſervices of all perſons who contributed to the reſtoration of the public tranquillity.

Theſe papers being immediately forwarded by General Waſhington to the Congreſs, were as ſpeedily publiſhed by them in all the newspapers, with a preface or comment of their own, in the form of a reſolution; that the publication was in order that the people of the united ſtates might be informed of what nature are the commiſſioners, and what the terms, with the expectation of which the court of Great-Britain had endeavoured to amuſe and diſarm them; and that the few who ſtill remained ſuſpended by a hope founded either in the juſtice or moderation of that court, might now at length be convinced, that the valour alone of their country, is to ſave its liberties.

At and about the ſame time, different flags were ſent aſhore by Lord Howe, accompanied by ſome of his officers, with a letter directed to George Waſhington, Eſq; which that General refuſed to receive, as not being addreſſed with the title, and in the form, due to the rank which he held under the United States. The Congreſs highly applauded the dignity of this conduct, in a public reſolution paſſed for the purpoſe; by which they directed, for the future, that none of their commanders ſhould receive any letter or meſſage from the enemy, but ſuch as ſhould be directed to them in the characters which they reſpectively ſuſtained.

At length, Adjutant-General Paterſon was ſent to New-York by General Howe, with a letter addreſſed to George Waſhington, &c. &c. &c. That General received him with great politeneſs, and the uſual ceremony of blindfolding, in paſſing through the fortifications, was diſpenſed with in his favour. The Adjutant regretted, in the name of his principals, the difficulties which had ariſen with reſpect to addreſſing the letters; declared their high eſteem for his perſon and character, and that they did not mean to derogate from the reſpect due to his rank; and that it was hoped the et cetera's would remove the impediments to their correſpondence. The General replied, that a letter directed to any perſon in a public character ſhould have ſome deſcription or indication of it, otherwiſe it would appear a mere private letter; that it was true the et cetera's implied every thing; but they alſo implied any thing; and that he ſhould abſolutely decline any letter directed to him as a private perſon, when it related to his public ſtation. 20th.

A long conference enſued on the ſubject of priſoners, and the complaints which were made on both ſides, particularly by the Congreſs, relative to the treatment they received. The adjutant having obſerved, that the commiſſioners were armed with great powers; that they would derive the greateſt pleaſure from effecting an accommodation; and that himſelf wiſhed to have that viſit conſidered as making the firſt advance towards that deſirable object: he received for anſwer,

anſwer, among other things, that, by what had appeared, their powers were only to grant pardons; that thoſe who had committed no fault wanted no pardon; and that they themſelves were only defending what they deemed their indiſputable right. The adjutant was received by General Waſhington in great military ſtate, and the utmoſt politeneſs was obſerved on both ſides.

Some ſmall time previous to the arrival of the fleet and army, plots in favour of the royal cauſe were diſcovered in New York and Albany, which were productive of much trouble. Some few executions took place, great numbers were confined, and many, abandoning their houſes under the operation of their fears, were purſued as outlaws, and enemies to their country. The eſtates of thoſe unfortunate people, againſt whom there were proofs, were ſeized. In the mean time, new forms of government were eſtabliſhed in all thoſe colonies, which deemed the former inſufficient for their preſent ſituation, and the others made the alterations neceſſary to adapt their old forms to the new ſyſtem. The declaration of independence was alſo publiſhed in all the colonies, and every where received and accompanied with the greateſt public teſtimonials of joy. This confidence and boldneſs in the midſt of ſo untried and dangerous a ſtruggle, and at the eve of ſo formidable an invaſion, ſhewed either great preſumption, a knowledge of internal ſtrength, or a certainty of foreign ſupport, which appeared alarming.

The firſt diviſion of Heſſians, with the Britiſh troops by whom they were accompanied, ſailed directly from England to Halifax, as Lord Howe had done, being ſtill ignorant of the general's departure from that place. By this means the month of Auguſt was conſiderably advanced before their arrival at New York, and it was of courſe ſome days longer before any expedition of importance could be undertaken by the commiſſioners. In the mean time they were joined by Sir Peter Parker and General Clinton, with the ſquadron and forces from South Carolina, as well as by ſome regiments from Florida and the Weſt Indies.

All the forces being now arrived, except about one half of the Heſſians, who, though on their way, were not ſpeedily expected, an attempt upon Long Iſland was reſolved upon, as being more practicable, and therefore better fitted for the firſt eſſay than New York, as affording a greater ſcope for the diſplay to advantage of military ſkill and experience, and as abounding with thoſe ſupplies which ſo great a body of men as were now aſſembled by ſea and land neceſſarily demanded.

Aug. 22. The neceſſary meaſures being taken by the fleet for covering the deſcent, the army was landed without oppoſition near Utrecht and Graveſend, on the ſouth-weſt end of the iſland, and not far from the narrows where it approaches cloſeſt to Staten Iſland. General Putnam was at that time with a ſtrong force encamped at Brookland, or Brooklyn, at a few miles diſtance, on the north coaſt, where his works covered the breadth of a ſmall peninſula, having what is called the Eaſt river, which ſeparated him from

from New York, on his left; a marſh, which extended to Gowan's Cove, on his right; with the bay and Governor's Iſland to his back. The armies were ſeparated by a range of hills covered with wood, which interſect the country from eaſt to weſt, and are, in that part, called the heights of Guana. The direct road to the enemy lay through a village called Flat Buſh, where the hills commenced, and near which was one of the moſt important paſſes. As the army advanced, the north coaſt was to the left, the ſouth to the right, and Flat Buſh was nearly in the center between both. The iſland in that part is kept narrow by Jamaica bay, on the right, but ſoon widens. General Putnam had detached a conſiderable part of his army to occupy the woody hills, and poſſeſs the paſſes; and if the commanders upon this ſervice had been ſkilful and vigilant, they could not have been eaſily paſſed.

Lord Cornwallis puſhed on immediately with the reſerve, and ſome other troops, to Flat Buſh, where finding the enemy in poſſeſſion of the paſs, he complied with his orders in making no attempt upon it. When the whole army was landed, the Heſſians, under General Heiſter, compoſed the center at Flat Buſh; Major General Grant commanded the left wing, which extended to the coaſt; and the principal army, containing much the greater part of the Britiſh forces, under the command of General Clinton, Earl Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, turned ſhort to the right, and approached the oppoſite coaſt at Flat Land.

Every thing being prepared for forcing the hills, and advancing towards the enemy's lines, General Clinton, at the head of the van of the army, conſiſting of the light infantry, grenadiers, light horſe, reſerve under Lord Cornwallis, and other corps, with fourteen field pieces, began, as ſoon as it was dark on the night of the 26th, to move from Flat Land, and paſſing through the part of the country called the New Lots, arrived upon the road which croſſes the hills from Bedford to Jamaica, where turning to the left towards the former of theſe places, they ſeized a paſs of the utmoſt importance, which through ſome unaccountable and fatal neglect of the enemy's generals, was left unguarded. The main body, under Lord Percy, with ten field pieces, followed the van at a moderate diſtance, and the way being thus happily open, the whole army paſſed the hills without noiſe or impediment, and deſcended by the town of Bedford into the level country which lay between them and Putnam's lines.

The engagement was begun early in the morning by the Heſſians at Flat Buſh, and by General Grant on the coaſt, and a warm cannonade, with a briſk fire of ſmall arms, was eagerly ſupported on both ſides for ſome hours. In the mean time, the ſhips made ſeveral motions on the left, and attacked a battery on Red Hook, not only to diſtract the right of the enemy, who were engaged with General Grant, but to call off their attention totally from the left and rear, where all their danger lay. Thoſe who oppoſed the Heſſians in the left and center, were the firſt apprized of the march of the Britiſh army, and of their own danger.

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They accordingly retreated in large bodies, and in tolerable order, with their artillery, in order to recover their camp, but ſoon found themſelves intercepted by the King's troops, who furiouſly attacked, and drove them back into the woods. There they again met the Heſſians, and were alternately chaſed and intercepted by the light infantry and dragoons. In theſe deſperate circumſtances, ſome of their regiments, overpowered and outnumbered as they were, forced their way to the lines, through all the difficulties and dangers that oppoſed and ſurrounded them. Others, perhaps not leſs brave, periſhed in the attempt. Some kept the woods and eſcaped; others, leſs fortunate, were loſt under the ſame protection. The nature of the country, and variety of the ground, occaſioned a continuance and extenſion of ſmall engagements, purſuits, and ſlaughter, which laſted for many hours.

Never was any body of men more effectually entrapped: their right, which was engaged with General Grant on the coaſt, were ſo late in their knowledge of what was paſſing, that they were intercepted in their retreat by ſome of the Britiſh troops, who, beſides turning the hills, and their left, had in that morning traverſed the whole extent of country in their rear. Such of theſe as did not chuſe to take to the woods, which were the greater number, were obliged to throw themſelves into the marſh at Gowan's Cove, which we have already taken notice of, where many were drowned, and others periſhed more miſerably in the mud: a conſiderable number, however, made their eſcape this way to the lines, though they were thinned in every part of the courſe by the fire of the purſuers.

Their loſs was repreſented as exceeding 3000 men, including about 1000 who were taken priſoners. Almoſt a whole regiment from Maryland, conſiſting altogether of young men of the beſt families in the country, was cut to pieces. Undoubtedly their loſs muſt have been great, though they do not acknowledge any ſuch number in their accounts. This action, however, broke their ſpirits exceedingly. They not only loſt a number of their beſt and braveſt men, but the ſurvivors loſt that hope of ſucceſs, and confidence in their own proweſs, which are ſo eſſential to victory. New ſoldiers, in the fulneſs of ſpirits, and pride of bodily ſtrength, can ſcarcely conceive any advantage over them, which the old can derive from diſcipline and a knowledge of their buſineſs. And if they are well commanded, and ſkilfully led to action in this temper, ſo that their opponents are deprived of an opportunity of turning theſe advantages to account, they will do wonderful execution: for not being yet capable of thoroughly comprehending danger, nor having known by experience the pain and vexation of wounds, they are often more daring, adventurous, and violent than veterans. But if, as in the preſent inſtance, they find courage and ſtrength totally uſeleſs; that when they are making the greateſt, and, as they think, moſt effectual efforts, they find them all thrown away, and that they are ſurrounded, overpowered, and deſtroyed, by means which they cannot underſtand, they withdraw all due confidence from

thoſe things on which they had before placed too much, and aſcribe an irreſiſtible power to military ſkill and diſcipline which they do not really poſſeſs. Thus they abandon their natural ſtrength, and it will be ſome time before they have confidence enough in their new knowledge to call it effectually into action.

Great errors ſeem to have been committed on the ſide of the provincial commanders. They ſay, that a body of not more than four or five thouſand men was ſurrounded by the whole force of the Britiſh army. They endeavour to palliate their miſconduct in getting into that ſituation by repreſenting, that they had no idea that more than about that number of Britiſh troops were landed on the iſland. It does appear as if no more had landed in the firſt embarkation; but either from a change or concealment of plan, very great bodies were afterwards embarked and paſſed. The provincials too, as uſual with men in misfortunes, hinted treachery in ſome of thoſe who were employed to diſcover the motions of their enemy, and to guard the paſſes, by the occupying of which they had been ſurrounded.

Nothing could exceed the ſpirit and alacrity ſhewn by all the different corps of which the Britiſh army was compoſed in this action. The ardour of the ſoldiers was ſo great, that it was with difficulty the generals could call them off from attacking the enemy's lines, in the eagerneſs of their purſuit after the fugitives. Nor is it improbable, in that temper, that they would have carried every thing before them. It may be ſuppoſed, that the emulation between the foreign troops and the Britiſh did not leſſen the deſire of being diſtinguiſhed on either ſide in this their firſt action. Too much praiſe cannot be given to the ability which planned this enterprize, nor to the promptneſs and exactitude with which the ſeveral generals carried their reſpective parts of it into execution.

Three of the enemy's commanders, viz. Major General Sullivan, with the Brigadiers General Lord Sterling and Udell, and ten other field officers, were among the priſoners. The loſs on the ſide of the Britiſh and Heſſians was very trifling, being under 350 in killed and wounded; of which the former did not compoſe one fifth. An officer with a few men were taken priſoners. The victorious army encamped in the front of the enemy's works on that even
ing, and on the 28th, at 27th.
night, broke ground in form at 600 yards diſtance from a redoubt which covered the enemy's left.

General Waſhington paſſed over from New York during the engagement, and is ſaid to have burſt into a poignant exclamation of grief, when he beheld the inextricable deſtruction in which ſome of his beſt troops were involved. Nothing was now left, but to preſerve the remainder of the army on Long Iſland. He knew that the ſuperior power of the royal artillery would ſoon ſilence their batteries, and that if their lines were forced, which, in their preſent depreſſion of ſpirits, and comparative weakneſs in number as well as diſcipline, there was little hope of preventing, they muſt all be killed or taken. If he attempted to ſtrengthem them by reinforcements from New York,

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he hazarded the loſs of that iſland, which was already menaced on every ſide, and kept in continual alarm and apprehenſion by the fleet. A danger not leſs than any other was ſtill to be conſidered; the men of war only waited for a fair wind to enter and take poſſeſſion of the Eaſt river, which would have totally cut off all communication between the iſlands. In this ſituation, no hope remained but in a retreat; a matter of no ſmall difficulty and danger, under the eye of ſo vigilant an enemy, and with ſo powerful an army, flushed with ſucceſs, cloſe to their works. This arduous taſk was, however, undertaken, and carried into execution with great ability by General Waſhington. In the night of the 29th, their troops were withdrawn from the camp and their different works, and with their baggage, ſtores, and part of their artillery, were conveyed to the water-ſide, embarked, and paſſed over a long ferry to New York, with ſuch wonderful ſilence and order, that our army did not perceive the leaſt motion, and were ſurpriſed in the morning at finding the lines abandoned, and ſeeing the laſt of the rear guard (or, as they ſay, a party which had returned to carry off ſome ſtores that were left behind) in their boats, and out of danger. Thoſe who are beſt acquainted with the difficulty, embarraſſment, noiſe, and tumult, which attend even by day, and no enemy at hand, a movement of this nature with ſeveral thouſand men, will be the firſt to acknowledge, that this retreat ſhould hold a high place among military tranſactions.

Soon after the retreat from Long Iſland, General Sullivan was ſent upon parole with a meſſage from Lord Howe to the Congreſs. In this he ſtated, that though he could not at preſent treat with that aſſembly as ſuch, yet he was very deſirous of having a conference with ſome of their members, whom he would conſider for the preſent only as private gentlemen, and would himſelf meet them at ſuch place as they ſhould appoint. He ſaid, that he had, in conjunction with the General, full powers to compromiſe the diſpute between Great-Britain and America, upon terms advantageous to both, the obtaining of which had detained him near two months, and prevented his arrival before the declaration of independency took place. That he wiſhed a compact might be ſettled at this time, when no deciſive blow was ſtruck, and neither party could ſay they were compelled to enter into the agreement. That if the Congreſs were diſpoſed to treat, many things which they had not yet aſked, might and ought to be granted to them; and that if upon the conference any probable ground of an accommodation appeared, the authority of Congreſs muſt be afterwards acknowledged, or the compact could not be complete.

The Congreſs returned for anſwer, that being the repreſentatives of the Free and Independent States of America, they could not with propriety ſend any of their members to confer with him in their private characters; but that, ever deſirous of eſtabliſhing peace on reaſonable terms, they would ſend a committee of their body to know whether he had any authority to treat with perſons authorized by Congreſs for that purpoſe,

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in behalf of America, and what that authority was, and to hear ſuch propoſitions as he ſhould think fit to make reſpecting the ſame.

Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, being appointed as a committee upon this occaſion, waited accordingly upon Lord Howe in Staten Iſland. The committee ſum up the account of this conference, which they laid before the Congreſs, in the following words: "Upon the whole, it did not appear to your committee, that his lordſhip's commiſſion contained any other authority of importance than what is contained in the act of Parliament, viz. That of granting pardons, with ſuch exceptions as the commiſſioners ſhall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the King's peace upon ſubmiſſion. For, as to the power of enquiring into the ſtate of America, which his lordſhip mentioned to us, and of conferring and conſulting with any perſons the commiſſioners might think proper, and repreſenting the reſult of ſuch converſations to the miniſtry, who (provided the colonies would ſubject themſelves) might, after all, or might not, at their pleaſure, make any alterations in the former inſtructions to governors, or propoſe in Parliament any amendment of the acts complained of, we apprehended any expectation from the effect of ſuch a power would have been too uncertain and precarious to be relied on by America, had ſhe ſtill continued in her ſtate of dependance."

In this manner the hopes of negociation by the commiſſioners ended. They endeavoured to make amends for their failure in their civil capacity by the vigour of their military operations. The royal army being now divided from the iſland of New York only by the Eaſt river, were impatient to paſs that narrow boundary. They poſted themſelves along the coaſt wherever they could ſee or front the enemy, and erected batteries to anſwer, if not to ſilence theirs. A fleet, conſiſting of conſiderably more than 300 ſail, including tranſports, covered the face of the waters, while the ſhips of war, hovering round the iſland, threatened deſtruction to every part, and were continually engaged with one or other of the batteries by which it was ſurrounded. The ſmall iſlands between the oppoſite ſhores were perpetual objects of conteſt, until, by dint of a well-ſerved artillery, the aid of the ſhips, and the intrepidity of the troops, they ſecured thoſe which were moſt neceſſary for their future operations. Thus, an almoſt conſtant cannonade was kept up for many days, and the troops who had ſo lately eſcaped from the moſt imminent danger, had little time to quiet their apprehenſions.

Every thing being at length prepared for a deſcent, ſeveral movements were made by the ſhips of war in the North River, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that ſide of the iſland. Other parts ſeemed equally threatened, and increaſed the uncertainty of the real object of attack. The ſeizure of the iſland of Montreſor, near Hell Gate, and erecting a battery on it to ſilence one which the provincials had at Horen's Hook, ſeemed to indicate a deſign of

of landing in that part, which was near the center of New York Iſland.

Whilſt the rebels were in this ſtate of expectation and uncertainty, the firſt diviſion of the army, under the command of Sept. 15. General Clinton, with Earl Cornwallis, Major General Vaughan, Brigadier General Leſlie, and the Heſſian Colonel Donop, embarked at the head of Newtown bay, which runs pretty deep into Long Iſland, and where they were out of all view of the enemy. Being covered by five ſhips of war upon their entrance into the river, they proceeded to Kepp's bay, about three miles north of New York, where being leſs expected than in ſome other places, the preparation for defence was not ſo great. The works, however, were not inconſiderable, nor deſtitute of troops, but the fire from the ſhips was ſo inceſſant, and ſo well conducted, that they were ſoon abandoned, and the army landed without oppoſition.

The enemy immediately abandoned the city of New York, with their other poſts on that part of the iſland, and retired towards the north end, where their principal ſtrength lay. They were obliged to leave their artillery, which was conſiderable, and their military ſtores (of which, except powder, there was plenty) behind. They ſuſtained ſome loſs in ſlain, and a greater in priſoners, as well in the retreat, as in the ſubſequent ſkirmiſhes which took place during the day. The ſore remembrance of their late loſs was ſtrongly viſible in every part of their conduct, and their own accounts acknowledged, that ſeveral of the regiments behaved ill.

A brigade of the Britiſh army having taken poſſeſſion of New York, the reſt encamped not far from the center of the iſland, with the right at Horen's Hook, on the Eaſt river, and the left at the North river, near Bloomingdale; thus occupying the extent of the iſland from ſhore to ſhore, which, though about 16 miles in length, is not much above one in breadth. The enemy were very ſtrong in the north of the iſland, where they had great works erected; particularly at Kingſbridge, by which their communication with the continent of New York was kept open, where the works were ſo conſiderable on both ſides of the paſſage, that in their preſent ſtate of force they ſeemed to defy all attempts on either. Their neareſt encampment was on the heights of Harlem, at the diſtance of about a mile and a half. M'Gowan's paſs, and the ſtrong grounds called Morris's heights, lay between them and Kingſbridge, and were defenſible againſt a very ſuperior force. In this ſituation of both armies, frequent ſkirmiſhes of courſe happened, and it was found by degrees that their late apprehenſions began to wear away.

General Howe had not been many days in poſſeſſion of New York, when ſome incendiaries, who probably had ſtayed behind and concealed themſelves for that purpoſe, being determined, if poſſible, to prevent its being of any benefit to the conqueror, prepared combuſtibles with great art and ingenuity, and taking 20th. the advantage of dry weather and a briſk wind, ſet fire to the city about

about midnight, in ſeveral places at the ſame time. Thus, near a third of that beautiful city was reduced to aſhes, and nothing leſs than the courage and activity of the troops, as well as of the ſailors who were diſpatched from the fleet, could have preſerved any part of the remainder. Many of the wretches who were, as it is ſaid, concerned in this atrocious buſineſs, being detected, experienced a ſummary juſtice, and were precipitated by the fury of the ſoldiers into thoſe flames which they had themſelves kindled.

The general perceiving that no attempt could be made on the enemy upon the ſide of New York, which would not be attended with great danger, without affording any equal proſpect of ſucceſs, determined at length upon a plan of operation, which would either oblige them to quit their preſent ſtrong ſituation, or render their perſeverance in holding it extremely dangerous. For this purpoſe, Oct. 12. the greater part of the army being embarked in flat boats and other ſmall craft proper for the ſervice, paſſed ſucceſsfully through the dangerous navigation of Hell Gate, which forms a communication between the Eaſt river and the Sound, and landed on Frog's Neck, near the town of Weſt Cheſter, which lies on that part of the continent belonging to New York, upon the ſide of Connecticut.

Earl Percy, with two brigades of Britiſh troops, and one of Heſſian, continued in the lines near Harlem to cover New-York. Though this movement was highly judicious in the preſent exact ſtate of things, it ſeems as if it would have been extremely dangerous if General Waſhington had commanded a veteran army on whoſe performance he could rely, and that the corps under Lord Percy would in that caſe have been in great danger. It is, however, to be obſerved, that the powerful fleet which ſurrounded that narrow iſland, would have afforded ſhelter and protection in almoſt any ſituation to which they could have been reduced. This fleet was of infinite ſervice in all the operations of the campaign. In this the inferiority of the provincials was moſt felt, being totally deſtitute of any force of that nature.

The army was detained for ſome days at Frog's Neck, waiting for the arrival of the proviſions and ſtores, and of a reinforcement which was drawn from Staten Iſland. They then proceeded through Pelham's Manor to New Rochelle, which lies on the coaſt of the Sound, as that channel is called, which ſeparates the continent from Long Iſland. At this place they were joined by the greater part of a regiment of light horſe from Ireland, one of the tranſports having been taken in the paſſage. They were alſo joined by the ſecond diviſion of Heſſians under General Knyphauſen, with a regiment of Waldeckers, both of which had arrived at New-York ſince the departure of the army from thence.

The firſt object of this expedition was to cut off the communications between Waſhington and the eaſtern colonies; and then, if this meaſure did not bring him to an engagement, to encloſe him on all ſides in his faſtneſſes on the north end of York Iſland. The King's troops

troops were now maſters of the lower road to Connecticut and Boſton; but to gain the upper, it was neceſſary to advance to the high grounds called the White Plains; a rough, ſtony, and mountainous tract; which, however, is only part of the aſcent, to a country ſtill higher, rougher, and more difficult. Upon the departure of the army to the higher country, it was deemed neceſſary to leave the ſecond diviſion of Heſſians, with the Waldeck regiment, at New Rochelle, as well to preſerve the communications, as to ſecure the ſupplies of proviſions and neceſſaries that were to arrive at that port. Indeed the army was now ſo powerful, that it was enabled to ſupport every ſervice.

General Waſhington was not inattentive to the danger of his ſituation. He ſaw, that if he continued where he was, he would at length be compelled to commit the whole fortune of the war, and the ſafety of all the colonies to the hazard of a general engagement; a deciſion, of which he had every cauſe to apprehend the event, and in which a defeat would be final, as there could ſcarcely be a poſſibility of retreat. His army likewiſe, which had been diſheartened by their late misfortunes, was then much reduced by ſickneſs, which the ſeverity of the ſervices, indifferent quarters, inſufficient cloathing, the want of ſalt and other neceſſaries, joined to a ſlovenlineſs generally prevalent in America, had rendered general, and very fatal in his camp.

A grand movement was accordingly made, by which the army was formed into a line of ſmall, detached, and entrenched camps, which occupied every height and ſtrong ground from Valentine's Hill, not far from Kingſbridge, on the right, to the White Plains, and the upper road to Connecticut, on the left. In this poſition they faced the whole line of march of the King's troops at a moderate diſtance, the deep river Brunx covering their front, and the North river at ſome diſtance in their rear, whilſt the open ground to the laſt afforded a ſecure paſſage for their ſtores and baggage to the upper country. A garriſon was left for the protection of Fort Waſhington, the lines of Harlem and Kingſbridge.

In this ſituation of the enemy, General Howe thought it neceſſary to proceed with great circumſpection. The progreſs was ſlow, the march of the army cloſe, the encampments compact, and well guarded with artillery, and the moſt ſoldier-like caution uſed in every reſpect. This did not reſtrain the enemy from ſending parties over the Brunx to impede their march, which occaſioned ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, in which the royal army were generally ſucceſsful. Upon the approach of the army to the White Plains, the enemy quitted their detached camps along the Brunx, and joining their left, took a ſtrong ground of encampment before the Britiſh on the former.

Every thing being prepared for bringing the enemy to action, the army marched early in the morning in two columns towards the White Plains, the left being commanded by General Heiſter. Before noon, all the enemies advanced parties being drove back to their works by the light infantry and Heſſian Chaſſeurs, the 28th.

army formed, with the right upon the road from Mamoroneck, at about a mile's diſtance from their center, and the left to the Brunx, at about the ſame diſtance from the right flank of their entrenchments.

A body of the enemy poſſeſſed an advantageous ground, that was ſeparated from their right flank by the Brunx, and which alſo by its windings, covered that corps in front from the left of our army. As this poſt would have been of great conſequence in attacking that flank of the entrenchments, Brigadier General Leſlie, with the ſecond brigade of Britiſh troops, the Heſſian grenadiers under Colonel Donop, and a battalion of that corps, were ordered to diſlodge the enemy. Previous to their attack, Colonel Ralle, who commanded a brigade of Heſſians on the left, had paſſed the Brunx, and gained a poſt, which enabled him to annoy the enemies flank, while they were engaged with the other forces in front.

Though the paſſage of the river was difficult, it was performed with the greateſt ſpirit, and the 28th, and 35th regiments, being the firſt that paſſed, formed with the greateſt ſteadineſs, under the enemies fire on the oppoſite ſide; they then aſcended a ſteep hill, in defiance of all oppoſition, and ruſhing on the enemy, ſoon routed, and drove them from their works. No leſs alacrity was ſhewn by the other troops in ſupporting theſe two regiments. The gaining of this important poſt took up a conſiderable time, which was prolonged by the enemy's ſtill ſupporting a broken and ſcattered engagement, in defence of the adjoining walls and hedges. In the evening, the Heſſian grenadiers were ordered forward upon the heights within cannon ſhot of the entrenchments, the 2d brigade of Britiſh formed in their rear, and the two Heſſian brigades, on the left of the ſecond. The right and center of the army did not remove from the ground upon which they had formed. In that poſition the whole army lay upon their arms during the night, with a full intention, and in the higheſt expectation, of attacking the enemy's camp next morning.

It was perceived in the morning that the enemy had drawn back their encampment in the night, and had greatly ſtrengthened their lines by additional works. Upon this account the attack was deferred, and it was thought neceſſary to wait for the arrival of the 4th brigade, and of two battalion of the 6th, which had been left with Lord Percy at New York. Upon the arrival of theſe troops, the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made in the evening, for attacking the enemy early on the laſt of October; but an extreme wet night and morning prevented this deſign from being carried into execution.

In the mean time, General Waſhington had not the ſmalleſt intention of venturing an engagement, whilſt there was a poſſibility of its being avoided. He knew that delay was in ſome ſort victory to him. That ſmall actions, which could not in the leaſt affect the public ſafety, would more effectually train his men to ſervice, and inure them to danger, than a general action, which might in one day decide their own, and the fate of America. It muſt be acknowledged, that in the courſe of this campaign, and more particularly in this

this part of it, he fully performed the part of no mean commander.

The American accounts ſay, that upon our covering four or five batteries with a powerful artillery, preparatory to an attack, together with the General's knowledge that by turning his camp, the Britiſh might become poſſeſſed of hills at his back which totally commanded it, he found it neceſſary to change his poſition. He accordingly quitted his camp on the night of the 1ſt of November, and took higher ground towards the North Caſtle diſtrict, having firſt ſet fire to the town or village of White Plains, as well as to all the houſes and forage near the lines. The Britiſh army on the next day took poſſeſſion of their entrenchment.

General Howe ſeeing that the enemy could not be enticed to an engagement, and that the nature of the country did not admit of their being forced to it, determined not to loſe time in a fruitleſs purſuit, and to take this opportunity of driving them out of their ſtrong holds in York Iſland; an operation which their army could not now poſſibly prevent. For this purpoſe, General Knyphauſen croſſed the country from New Rochelle, and having taken poſſeſſion of King's Bridge without oppoſition, entered York Iſland, and took his ſtation to the north of Fort Waſhington, to which the enemy had retired at his approach.

Fort Waſhington lay on the weſt ſide of New York Iſland, not far from King's Bridge, near Jeffery's Hook, and almoſt facing Fort Lee on the Jerſey ſide, from which it was ſeparated by the North River. This work, though not contemptible, was not ſufficient to reſiſt heavy artillery; and it was by no means of a ſufficient extent for any other purpoſe than the ſtrengthening of lines. But the ſituation was extremely ſtrong, and the approaches difficult.

The army having returned ſlowly by the North River, encamped on the heighths of Fordham, at a moderate diſtance from King's-Bridge, with that river on its right, and the Brunx on the left. Every thing being prepared for attacking the Fort, and the commander, Colonel Magaw, refuſing a ſummons to ſurrender, and declaring he would defend it to the laſt extremity, a general aſſault was determined upon, as ſaving the time that would be loſt in regular approaches. The garriſon conſiſted of near 3000 men, and the ſtrong grounds round the Fort were covered with lines and works. Four attacks were made at the ſame time. The firſt, on the north ſide, was conducted by General Knyphauſen, at the head of two columns of Heſſians and Waldeckers. The ſecond, on the eaſt, was led on by Brigadier General Mathew, at the head of the 1ſt and 2d battalions of light infantry, and two battalions of guards, ſupported by Lord Cornwallis with the 1ſt and 2d battalions of grenadiers, and the 33d regiment. Theſe forces croſſed the Eaſt River in flat boats, and as the enemies works there extended the breadth of the iſland, redoubts and batteries were erected on the oppoſite ſhore, as well to cover the landing of the troops, as to annoy thoſe works which were near the water. The third attack, which was principally intended as a feint to diſtract the enemy, was

Nov. 13th.

16th.

conducted by Lt. Colonel Sterling, with the 42d regiment, who paſſed the Eaſt River lower down, between the 2d and 4th attacks. The laſt attack was made by Lord Percy, with the corps which he commanded on the ſouth of the iſland. All the attacks were ſupported with a numerous, powerful, and well ſerved artillery.

The Heſſians under Gen. Knyphauſen had a thick wood to paſs, where the enemy were very advantageouſly poſted, and a warm engagement was continued for a conſiderable time, in which the former were much expoſed, and behaved with great firmneſs and bravery. In the mean time the light infantry landed, and were expoſed both before and after to a very briſk and continual fire from the enemy, who were themſelves covered by the rocks and trees among which they were poſted. The former, however, with their uſual alertneſs and activity, extricated themſelves by clambering up a very ſteep and rough mountain, when they ſoon diſperſed the enemy, and made way for the landing of the reſt of the troops without oppoſition. During theſe tranſactions, Lord Percy having carried an advanced work on his ſide, Col. Sterling was ordered to attempt a landing, and two battalions of the 2d brigade to ſupport him. This ſervice was effected by the Colonel with great bravery. He advanced his boats through a very heavy fire, which they bore with the greateſt firmneſs and perſeverance, and forcing his way up a ſteep height, gained the ſummit, and took 170 priſoners, notwithſtanding a bold and good defence made by the enemy.

In the mean time Colonel Ralle, who led the right column of General Knyphauſen's attack, having forced the enemy, after a conſiderable oppoſition, from their ſtrong poſts in his line, puſhed forward to their works, and lodged his column within an hundred yards of the fort; and being ſoon after joined by the General with the left column, who had at length overcome the impediments which he met with in the wood, the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war. The loſs on either ſide was not in any degree proportioned to the warmth, length, and variety of the action. The quantity of gunpowder found in the Fort was utterly inadequate to the purpoſe of almoſt the ſhorteſt defence. How ſo large a body was left with ſo poor a proviſion, is extremely unaccountable. But the narrative of all theſe tranſactions is hitherto very imperfect.

Upon this acquiſition, a ſtrong body of forces under the command of Lord Cornwallis was paſſed over the North River, in order to take Fort Lee, and make a further impreſſion in the Jerſeys. The garriſon of 2000 men, had a narrow eſcape, by abandoning the Fort juſt before his lordſhip's arrival, leaving their artillery, ſtores, tents, and every thing behind. 18th. Our troops afterwards overrun the greater part of both the Jerſeys without oppoſition, the enemy flying every where before them; and at length extended their winter cantonments from New Brunſwick to the Delaware. If they had any means of paſſing that river upon their firſt arrival in its neighbourhood, there ſeems little doubt, conſidering the conſternation and diſmay which then prevailed

vailed among the enemy, that they might eaſily have become maſters of the city of Philadelphia; but the former, very prudently, either deſtroyed the boats, or removed them out of the way.

During theſe ſucceſſes in the Jerſeys, Gen. Clinton, with two brigades of Britiſh, and two of Heſſian troops, with a ſquadron of ſhips of war under the command of Sir Peter Parker, were ſent to make an attempt upon Rhode Iſland. In this enterprize they ſucceeded beyond expectation. The rebels having abandoned the iſland at their approach, they took poſſeſſion of it without the loſs of a man; at the ſame time that they blocked up Hopkins's ſquadron, which was in the harbour of Providence, on the adjoining Continent. The ſquadron and troops continued here during the winter, where they had better quarters than any other of the king's forces. Hitherto the royal army had ſucceeded in every object ſince their landing at Staten Iſland. The Provincial army, beſides the loſs by ſword, by captivity, and by deſertion, began to dwindle to very ſmall numbers, from the nature of their military engagement. They were only enliſted for a year; and the coloniſts, who were but little uſed to any reſtraint, very ill brooked, even ſo long an abſence from their families. At the expiration of the term, but few were prevailed upon to continue in ſervice. Every thing ſeemed to promiſe a deciſive event in favour of the royal arms, and a ſubmiſſion of ſome of the principal colonies was hourly expected.

Dec. 8th.

CHAP. IX.

General conduct of European powers with reſpect to the American troubles. France. Military preparations. Count de St. Germain placed at the head of the war department. Muſquetaires reduced. Mr. Necker placed at the head of the Finances. Spain. Extraordinary military preparations. Diſpute with Portugal. Improvements. Diſcoveries in the Southern Ocean. New Academy. Vienna. Torture aboliſhed. Toleration enlarged. Bohemia peaſants on the royal demeſnes freed from their former ſtate of villainage. Attempt to open a trade with the Eaſt Indies. Ruſſia. Endeavours to people the uncultivated parts of the Empire. Grand Ducheſs dies. Grand Duke marries the Princeſs of Wirtemberg. Porte. Baſſora taken by the Perſians. Northern kingdoms. Holland.

WHILST our own affairs have opened ſo extenſive a field of buſineſs and action, the reſt of Europe has happily preſerved its tranquillity, and affords few objects of hiſtorical diſcuſion. Indeed it ſeems as if the tranſactions we have deſcribed, had occaſioned a kind of pauſe in the active politicks of other ſtates. The unhappy contention in which we are engaged, is of ſuch general importance in its progreſs, and may be ſo widely extenſive in its conſequences, that every commercial ſtate finds itſelf intereſted in the one, and its ſpeculation ſtrongly excited by the other. Political

enthuſiaſts, like all others, overlook all obſtacles to the eſtabliſhment of their favourite ſyſtem, and all impediments in the way to that point, which they have fixed upon as the ſummit of attainment. Such a ſchemer as Alberoni, would now ſee a proſpect opened for a total change in the political ſyſtem of Europe, and a new arrangement of power and commerce in both the worlds. However the race of projectors may become extinct in other ſciences, they are immortal in the affairs of nations. In them Alberoni's are never wanting.

It is not then to be wondered at, that the political attention of ſome of the great European ſtates ſhould be ſtrongly attracted by objects, in which Great Britain and her colonies ſhould only have an intereſt; or that the conſciouſneſs of a power, which would enable them to convert all favourable circumſtances to the greateſt advantage, ſhould diſpoſe them to look forward to poſſible conſequences. It is as little a matter of ſurprize, that other ſtates, whoſe views are more limited, ſhould endeavour to profit of the preſent conjuncture.

No alliance, no ties of political friendſhip founded upon mutual intereſt and ſafety, and no other can ſubſiſt between ſtates, are capable of reſiſting the allurements of commerce, with its concomitants wealth and power, when theſe, even approach in value, to that of the bands which cemented the union. If ſuch be their influence upon the cloſeſt alliance, upon thoſe who are bound by many common motives of connection and friendſhip, what muſt it be upon natural enemies; upon jealous and ſuſpicious rivals; upon thoſe who dread, or who have experienced our power; or even ſuch as only envied our greatneſs? Without the attainment of thoſe benefits to themſelves, the ſimply withdrawing them from an envied or dreaded power, and thereby leſſening its importance and the apprehenſion it excited, would be an object of the firſt conſideration.

France and Spain have opened their ports, with the greateſt apparent friendſhip to the Americans, and treat them in every reſpect as an independent people. The remonſtrances of the Britiſh miniſters have availed but little. They already have a taſte of the ſweets of that commerce which we had ſo long ſecluded from the reſt of the world; and which would have ſtill preſerved our greatneſs if we had loſt all other. They now begin to know by experience the extent of thoſe advantages, which before were only objects of an uncertain ſpeculation, and whoſe real value was not well underſtood by ourſelves. Not content with reaping the benefits of the American commerce, by keeping barely within the pale of a verbal neutrality, they go farther; they ſolicit, and afford the means for its continuance. The American privateers have been openly received, protected, and cheriſhed, and the rich prizes they have taken from the Britiſh merchants, rather publicly ſold in the French ports, both in Europe and the colonies. Artillery and military ſtores of all kinds have been likewiſe ſent; whether really bought with their own money, or ſupplied gratis, is uncertain. At this the Britiſh miniſters find themſelves obliged, ſometimes, to remonſtrate, ſometimes to wink. French engineers and officers have

alſo joined the Americans, in numbers not before known upon any occaſion of foreign or volunteer ſervice. It ſignifies little to enquire, whether this has been practiſed by permiſſion, or ſuffered by connivance.

Two evils attend this unhappy civil contention, which at the ſame time that they diſtinguiſh it from other wars, render it more dangerous and grievous than any. The one is, that by the advantages which it lays open, either immediately, or in proſpect, to other nations, it cauſes an union in a certain degree, either in act or ſentiment, of the commercial world againſt us; holding out a temptation to mankind to become our enemies. The other is, the weakneſs which it induces with reſpect to foreign powers. Our dominions are not only ſevered at that critical juncture, when it is too evident that a ſtrict union of the whole would be particularly neceſſary; but a new enemy ſprings up in the ſeparated part, which from the extraordinary vigour of exertion, proceeding from the novelty of the ſituation, the danger attending it, and the bitterneſs of domeſtic enmity, acquires an efficacy and force, far beyond what it contributed, or knew it poſſeſſed, when in unity, and only forming a ſubordinate ſhare of general defence. Thus we have been obliged to be the tame ſpectators of a conduct, which in another ſeaſon would have been deemed inſufferable, and to ſubmit to a degree of injury and inſult which we never before experienced, or, at leaſt, which was never offered with impunity.

Neither was neighbourhood, long alliance, the power of proclamations, or the vigilance of our Ambaſſador, ſufficient to reſtrain the Dutch from ſharing in thoſe advantages which were now offered. In a word, all the nations who poſſeſs colonies in America, were eager to partake of the new and unexpected commerce which was now opened; and all, excepting the Portugueſe, who, much againſt their inclination, have been reſtrained through our influence at that Court, ſtill continue moſt ſeduloufly to profit of the opportunity. This diſpoſition has, by degrees, appeared pretty general in other European ſtates.

It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that this commerce, whilſt confined merely to the European colonies in the New World, may be juſtified upon ſome very reaſonable grounds. The French, Dutch, and Daniſh iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, as well as our own, had at all times been ſupplied by North-America with various commodities, ſome of which, ſuch as proviſions and lumber, were even eſſential to their exiſtence. Nor were all the Spaniſh colonies, notwithſtanding their extent of continent, wholly free from this neceſſity. It could not then be expected, that theſe States, from any regard to our private quarrels, or attention to our acts of parliament, ſhould ſuffer their iſlands to be ſtarved, or their ſtaple commodities loſt. Nor could the ruin which they ſaw coming upon our own Weſt India iſlands, and palliated chiefly by captures from the Americans, be the ſmalleſt inducement to their ſubmitting to a ſimilar miſchief.

However, from this invaſion of the American trade by foreigners one advantage is derived, if not to

the commerce and navigation, yet to the manufactures of England; that these nations not having yet got into the way of providing a proper assortment for the American market, they resort hither for supply. This is felt in all the manufacturing towns; and the Ministry owe much of their quiet, during the present contention, to that source.

It is probable that Europe is much indebted, for the continuance of its tranquillity, to the pacific disposition of the French monarch, which is supposed with difficulty to have restrained the activity or restlessness of a close ally and powerful neighbour, as well as the ardor of the princes of the blood, the nobility, and the nation in general, who are thought to be eagerly disposed to a war. Indeed, from whatever cause it proceeds, the American party is so strong in France, that it seems nearly to include the whole nation, except the ruling part of the Court. However that may be, the present disposition of that Court is favourable to the happiness of mankind, and, in the present state of affairs, particularly fortunate to Great-Britain.

The military preparations, however, in France, particularly on the sea-coasts, and the naval armaments, have been so considerable, that no explanation which could be given of the motives, was sufficient for a time to allay the alarm and apprehension which they excited. It was said, that as the seas were covered with English fleets and American cruizers, and not only an actual war carried on, but such armies sent to the New World as had never before appeared there, it became necessary for France to arm in such a manner, as would effectually secure her colonies, and protect her commerce: That her engagements with Spain, and the disputes between that power and Portugal, rendered it besides necessary, that she should be in such a state of preparation, as in case of a rupture would enable her to fulfil them: And that it was very extraordinary, that those who, besides being themselves in the highest possible state of warlike preparation, had also sent hosts of armed foreigners into the New World, should make objections to their neighbours putting themselves in a proper state of security. Whatever satisfaction these answers afforded, no better could be obtained; and it is very probable, that a greater reliance was placed upon a knowledge of the temper of the French Ministers, and of the cabals which prevailed in the Court, than upon any assurances they could have given. All together were not sufficient to prevent alarm, or totally to remove apprehension.

The Count de St. Germain, who in the preceding year had been recalled by the King to the service of his country, and placed at the head of the War department, ventured upon a military regulation, which for a time made a great noise, and would, in a more turbulent season, have been exceedingly dangerous. This was the suppression of the Musquetaires, and some other of those corps, which being adapted more to the parade of guarding the royal person, than any real military service, were supported at a prodigious expence, without an adequate return of benefit to the state. Notwithstanding

ſtanding the evident utility of this reduction, and that the very conſiderable ſums of money ariſing from the ſavings, were to be applied to increaſe the real ſtrength and ſecurity of the nation, by the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of effective marching battalions; yet theſe corps being compoſed of gentlemen, and their officers being of the firſt families in the kingdom, it occaſioned a prodigious clamour, and the fate of Struenſee, whoſe fall had been precipitated by a ſimilar innovation with reſpect to the Daniſh guards, was loudly and repeatedly prognoſticated, if not threatened, as the certain doom of the author. Such is the power of habit, and ſuch the pride and pleaſure which men find, and the mutual attachment they contract, when thrown into any diſtinct claſs that ſeparates them from the reſt of the community, that no women, in the caſe of being torn away from their huſbands, country, and all that was moſt dear to them by a mercileſs conqueror, could expreſs a more poignant grief, or ſhew greater marks of deſpair, than thoſe brave men, whoſe courage had at all times been diſtinguiſhed, did upon this occaſion. Of this a more ſtriking inſtance needs not to be given, than that of the veteran commander of the Grey Muſquetaires; who, though the matter was fully known, and the corps he commanded aſſembled for the purpoſe of receiving the order of ſuppreſſion, yet is ſaid to have fainted away in their arms upon its being delivered.

Another remarkable circumſtance, which will ſtill more diſtinguiſh this year in the hiſtory of France, was the placing of Mr. Necker, a foreigner and proteſtant, at the head of the Finances in that kingdom. This gentleman, who is a Swiſs by birth, is ſaid to poſſeſs ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities in every thing appertaining to his office, that his appointment to it could be no matter of ſurprize, if it had not been ſo directly oppoſite to the long eſtabliſhed maxims and policy of that nation. It affords one of thoſe inſtances which are now happily becoming general, of that enlargement of mind, and liberality of ſentiment, which are daily gaining ground upon prejudice and error.

The vaſt expence at which Spain has continued, ever ſince the affair of Algiers, to augment her armaments by ſea and land, has given ſome alarms to different parts of Europe. Indeed, nobody believed that ſhe intended, for the preſent, to venture another attempt upon the coaſt of Africa. The great land and naval force which ſhe ſupported, and daily increaſed, in the Weſt-Indies, with the pains ſhe was at in rendering her principal fortreſſes there as nearly impregnable as ſkill and expence were capable of making them, ſeemed to indicate either deſign or apprehenſion in that quarter, while no colourable cauſe could be aſſigned for ſuppoſing the latter. It is certain, that the iſland of Jamaica was more than once ſeriouſly alarmed at the apprehended deſigns, or the movements of theſe forces in her neighbourhood.

A diſpute with Portugal, about limits, on the borders of the Rio de la Plata, in South America, afforded a favourable opportunity for continuing and increaſing theſe preparations. The vaſt, and almoſt

moſt unmeaſureable countries, with the ill-defined, and nearly unknown limits, in thoſe half-diſcovered regions, will for ages afford opportunities of diſpute, as well through error as deſign. The Portugueſe ſay, that the Spaniards had ſeized a conſiderable tract of territory, which had been repeatedly confirmed to them by different treaties, and guarantied by Great-Britain. However the matter of right may have been between the two countries, it is certain that the conduct of the Court of Liſbon was charged by their adverſaries to have been, in every part of their proceeding, full of artifice, fallacy, and breach of faith.

Troops had been for ſome time ſent to the Brazils, unobſerved, and in ſmall numbers, until they at length amounted to a dangerous force; the marine was increaſed by the ſame imperceptible degrees, and every preparation for hoſtility and defence was carried on with the utmoſt privacy. They then, as the Court of Spain aſſerted, attacked, overpowered, and ſlaughtered the Spaniards, and took ſeveral of their forts, without any fair or previous notice of hoſtility. That Court complained, that at the ſame time the moſt pacific ſentiments were held out at Lisbon, the conduct of their Governors and Officers totally diſavowed and condemned, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances given, that all hoſtility ſhould immediately ceaſe, and all poſſible ſatisfaction be made, as ſoon as the neceſſary inſtructions could arrive at the ſcene of action. Inſtead of the expected inſtructions, ſtrong reinforcements were ſent out, to ſupport and extend the advantages already gained.

In theſe circumſtances, large bodies of the Spaniſh forces, with a proper artillery, were advanced towards the borders of Portugal, and France was called upon for the ſtipulated auxiliary aſſiſtance ſhe was bound by treaty to furniſh, in caſe of a war with that ſtate. The mediation of Great-Britain and France, or, perhaps more properly, the pacific determination of the latter, prevented matters from proceeding to the laſt extremity; ſo that ſome ſort of an imperfect accommodation took place, which, however, left ſufficient room open for renewing the quarrel. It is ſaid, that even the former of theſe Courts expreſſed the utmoſt diſapprobation of the conduct of Portugal in this buſineſs, and even declared, that it could not deem itſelf bounden by the defenſive treaties between both States, unleſs proper ſatisfaction was firſt given.

The death of the King of Portugal, and the removal of his favourite and prime miniſter from the government of that country, which he had long ruled with an unbounded, and to the nobility a moſt dreaded ſway, both of which happened ſince the cloſe of the year, have probably made a total change, with reſpect at leaſt to each other, in the political principles both of that and the Spaniſh Court.

We ſhall not dwell longer at preſent on this ſubject, as the particulars fall more properly within the year ſucceeding that whoſe events we now relate, and as the proceedings in South-America have not yet been fully known in Europe.

As this is the æra of improvement in almoſt every part of Europe, Spain, which has been ſo long

long at a great diſtance, in that reſpect, behind her neighbours, ſeems now beginning to have her ſhare. A policy, a little more liberal, begins to dawn in that country, which may perhaps turn the great natural advantages ſhe poſſeſſes in both worlds to ſuch account, as to raiſe her to the very firſt rank in power and importance. But knowledge and literature, ſo neceſſary to this progreſs, can ſcarcely have their operation towards ſo great an improvement, whilſt, at beſt, they can appear only in a ſort of diſguiſe, during the continuance of the inquiſition. For a while, that tribunal was reduced only to a name; but at preſent, it is ſaid to be revived on grounds with which we are unacquainted. However, Spain has formed, and is ſaid ſtill to be forming, ſeveral moſt uſeful regulations, for the improvement and extenſion of her commerce, particularly by laying the trade to Mexico open to all her ports without diſtinction, and removing thoſe deſtructive reſtrictions by which it was confined to certain places, ſeaſons, and a certain ſpecified number of ſhips. Other meaſures equally uſeful in their ſeveral degrees, and tending to the ſame end, have been adopted with reſpect to the government and conduct of her colonies, and the eſtabliſhment of a regular mercantile correſpondence with them. It is even ſaid that the barbarous penal law, which renders it death to foreigners to hold any ſhare in, what is called, the trade to the Indies, will be moſt wiſely and deſervedly abrogated. If theſe and ſimilar meaſures are purſued even to a moderate extent, they will ſoon produce unthought of effects, both in the face and ſtate of that country. Foreign merchants, and the ingenious and induſtrious of all nations, will crowd into her maritime towns, which will become the ſeats of wealth and commerce. The improvement of the interior country will follow unbidden.

The ſpirit of diſcovery which appeared in our late voyages, ſeems to have operated upon the Spaniards, and prompted them to acquire a perfect knowledge of thoſe ſeas and countries which they conſider peculiarly as their own. For this purpoſe, Buccarelli, the Viceroy of New Spain, has for ſome time paſt ſent ſeveral frigates from Acapulco, to explore thoſe unknown, or barely diſcovered regions which lie to the North of California. Theſe adventures are ſaid to have been attended with ſucceſs, and that the voyagers have diſcovered an extenſive coaſt, inhabited by a docile and tractable people, among whom they have eſtabliſhed ſeveral miſſions. It is farther ſaid, that theſe diſcoveries are capable of ſome immediate and conſiderable benefits, by the whale, and other fiſheries, which they would admit of to a great extent.

A new academy has been eſtabliſhed in Madrid, under the laudable title of "The Friends of their "Country," which affords a ſtrong inſtance of the diſpoſition to the moſt uſeful improvements which at preſent prevails in that kingdom. The deſign of that inſtitution is the encouragement of argriculture, manufactures, arts, induſtry, and commerce. It is patronized by the King, who has aſſigned an annual ſum of money

to

to it for premiums, and the princes of the blood, with the grandees, and other of the moſt illuſtrious names in the kingdom, are among its members.

The Houſe of Auſtria never perhaps made a more illuſtrious figure, not even in the height of the power, victories, and glories of Charles V. than it does in its preſent beneficent repreſentatives. Among the moſt glorious acts of the preſent ſovereigns, is the aboliſhing of the torture with all its horrors in the hereditary dominions, and the granting of a moſt liberal religious toleration. The latter has already been obſerved, even in its firſt operation, to have produced, particularly in Hungary, the happieſt effects. The moſt mortal animoſities ſubſiſted between the Roman Catholicks and Proteſtants in that country, occaſioned by the power which the laws afforded, to the worſt members of one communion, (who are thoſe that are always buſy in ſuch matters) to grieve and harraſs even the beſt of the other. The taking away of this unnatural and ill-beſtowed power, and the removing all objects of contention, particularly the forced attendance of the Romiſh Clergy in ſickneſs, and of the Proteſtants at proceſſions, has likewiſe ſtrongly operated to ſubdue all animoſity and diſſenſion, and it probably may not be long, when both they, and the cauſes from which they originated, will be equally forgotten.

The ſame beneficence, attention to the welfare and happineſs of the people, and regard to the rights of mankind, has been diſplayed in Bohemia, where the peaſants upon the imperial demeſnes have been diſcharged from the ſtate of villainage in which they had hitherto been retained, and thoſe extenſive tracts portioned out into moderate lots, and let to them upon leaſe, not only at equitable but eaſy rents; whilſt even taſk-work, the only remaining mark of ſervitude, is allowed to be commuted for by a ſmall yearly ſum of money. Nor are the immediate benefits of this meaſure its only object, it being intended and hoped, that the example will be followed by the Bohemian nobility, and that it will be a means of weaning them from thoſe remains of antient barbarity, which render them at preſent ſo tenacious of a power, that deprives their vaſſals of all the rights of human nature, and of which even the ſovereign could not venture to ſtrip them by force.

One Bolts, a German, who had acquired a large fortune in the ſervice of our Eaſt India Company, but who, to all appearance, from an impracticable temper, and a turbulent litigious diſpoſition, involved himſelf in ſuch troubles by quarrels with our Governors abroad, and law ſuits with them and the Company at home, as greatly diſarranged his affairs, partly with a view of retrieving them, and partly, it may be ſuppoſed, through revenge, has this year induced the Emperor to revive the long abandoned ſcheme of inſtituting a company, and opening a trade to the Eaſt-Indies. Every body knows the alarm which the Oſtend Company excited in the maritime powers, and the effectual meaſures which they uſed for its ſuppreſſion. Such is the ſtate of affairs at preſent, and ſo much perhaps have ſentiments and opinions

nions changed ſince that time, that this meaſure is paſſed over without notice. Indeed ſuch great difficulties attend all new eſtabliſhments of this kind againſt powerful concurrents already in poſſeſſion, that this ſcheme will probably fail without any direct interference of the commercial ſtates.

Ruſſia ſtill continues to move in that ſuperior ſphere of conduct which has for ſome years excited the admiration of the world. Great and ſplendid actions, adorned by a noble magnificence, and a munificence only ſuited to the reſources of ſo vaſt an empire, throw a luſtre all round, which dazzles the eyes of the beholders, and afford a permanency to the government of Catherine, which was little to be expected, either from the diſpoſition of the people, the uncertain tenure of arbitrary power, or many inauſpicious circumſtances which attended its commencement. Individuals feel themſelves partakers in the exalted ſtate of the whole, and that ſenſe influences their conduct. A Captain of a Ruſſian ſhip, forgetting all ſober maxims of prudence, with a noble generoſity, hazards the loſs of life and property, and encounters what is ſtill more dreadful than either, the danger of ſlavery, in boldly cutting a rich Chriſtian prize out of a fortified piratical harbour in Barbary, ſcorning all benefit to himſelf or his brave crew, other than the glory of the act, with the pleaſure of reſtoring liberty to the captives, and their property to the pillaged. Perhaps there is an intermediate period, between the roughneſs of barbariſm, and a refined ſtate of cultivation, in all brave nations, when the manners, and general caſt of thinking, tend to produce that peculiar character, which conſtitutes and diſtinguiſhes what is underſtood as an age of chivalry or heroiſm.

The attention which has been paid this year to the increaſe and improvement of the Ruſſian naval force, ſufficiently ſpeak the intentions of that government, if other evidence was even wanting, to advance ſpeedily into the firſt claſs of commercial and maritime power. But of all the vaſt projects which have engaged the attention of the rulers of that empire from Peter the Great downward, none equalled in magnitude, that which not only occupies the contemplation of the preſent Empreſs, but is ſaid to be already, in ſome degree, undertaken. This is no leſs than the union of the remote and inland Caſpian Sea, with the far diſtant frozen and boundleſs Northern Ocean. However extraordinary this ſcheme may appear, and however difficult it may prove in the execution, it is at preſent hoped, that by the means of canals, with the junction of ſeveral navigable rivers, it will not be found impracticable. If it ſhould ſucceed, it will undoubtedly exhibit the greateſt monument of human induſtry, and the moſt extraordinary inland navigation, that has ever been known.

Great pains are uſed, and no expence or encouragement ſpared, to induce foreigners to people thoſe vaſt deſarts which overſpread a great part of the empire, and which, in many places, require only cultivation, to produce, in the greateſt plenty, every thing neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence and comfort of mankind. Theſe means, joined with

with the inducement of an unbounded toleration in religious matters, have ſucceeded ſo happily, that twelve new colonies, comprehending above 6000 families, are already eſtabliſhed on the borders of the Wolga. In order to facilitate the commerce and communication with China, and to prevent the great expences attending caravans, no leſs endeavours have been uſed, to form a cultivated tract along the courſe of the road, through thoſe wide and void regions which ſeparate the two empires. Towns and villages have been founded at proper diſtances for this purpoſe; and as a rampart at the head of the line, ſeveral colonies of Poliſh farmers were eſtabliſhed during the war, in the country immemediately adjoining to the confines of China. As theſe poor emigrants, who had eſcaped the double horrors of war and oppreſſion in their own country, were liberally provided with ſtock and all neceſſaries, and began to taſte the ſweets of ſecurity in perſon and property, the new ſettlements flouriſhed accordingly, until the rapacity of the Governors, encouraged by the ſuppoſed impunity which their diſtance from the ſeat of government, and the means they poſſeſſed of ſuppreſſing information and complaint, would afford, changed the pleaſing proſpect, and had nearly accompliſhed their ruin. The vigilance of government has ſaved the poor people from deſtruction. A rigorous enquiry is commenced into the conduct of their oppreſſors; and nobody will regret the ſeverity of a Ruſſian puniſhment upon this occaſion.

Some ſmall difficulties that occurred, as to fulfilling a part of the conditions which were included or ſuppoſed in the late treaty of peace between Ruſſia and the Porte, and which particularly related to the freedom and extent of navigation and commerce claimed by the former in the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, and the paſſage through the Dardanelles, and to the troubles excited by the contending Khans in the Crimea, only indicated in a ſmall degree, thoſe differences, which ſince the cloſe of the year have riſen to a conſiderable height, and ſtill afford room for apprehenſion of their being the means of renewing the troubles between the two powers. Theſe will of courſe become objects of future obſervation. They were indeed ſo little expected or thought of, that the Ambaſſadors on both ſides quitted the oppoſite courts, with every mark of favour, and appearance of cordial friendſhip; and a great Ruſſian trading houſe was eſtabliſhed at Conſtantinople, endowed with very conſiderable excluſive privileges, and under the immediate patronage of the Empreſs, whoſe foundation was fixed upon that commerce which is now in diſpute.

The Grand Dutcheſs of Ruſſia having unfortunately died, without the felicity of leaving an heir to inherit that empire, the great affair of the ſucceſſion was a matter of too much importance, to be governed or limited by thoſe forms which prevail in common caſes of the ſame nature. The Grand Duke accordingly paid a viſit to the court of Berlin towards the cloſe of the ſummer, where he received the Princeſs of Wirtembergh as a bride from the hands of the King of Pruſſia. The marriage was in ſome time after celebrated with the uſual

April 26th.

Oct. 7th.

pomp

pomp and magnificence at Peterſburg.

The war with Perſia, in concurrence with all late events in which the Ottoman power and ſafety are concerned, has proved unfortunate to the Porte. The ancient, venerable, once great, and even of late conſiderable commercial city of Baſſora, after a ſiege of more than twelve months, was at length compelled, by dint of ſickneſs and famine, to ſubmit to the Perſians. The defence of that city reſted upon the government of Bagdad, which, in the preſent ſtate of Perſia, would have been fully competent to the purpoſe, if the diviſions and diſorders which extend through that vaſt and unwieldy empire, had not rendered all its parts inefficacious. The family of Omar Pacha, taking advantage of the venality and weakneſs which have ſo long degraded government in its ſeat, had for ſeveral years, without aſſuming the title, or pretending to its rights, in reality exerciſed all the powers of ſovereignty in the extenſive provinces which compoſe the important frontier of Bagdad. The time which ſhould have been now allotted to the public defence, was applied to the remedy of this evil; and that not being eaſily compaſſed by force, recourſe was had to intrigue; money and promiſes had the deſired and uſual effect upon the great men of the country, and ſo powerful a party was formed againſt the unfortunate Omar, that his head with his vaſt treaſures were brought in triumph to Conſtantinople. Such was the inglorious compenſation which the Porte received for the loſs of Baſſora.

April 16th.

A new Baſha who ſucceeded Omar, having neither power nor influence in the country, was eaſily defeated by the Perſians, at the head of ſuch a ſmall and ill-formed force, as he was able to raiſe for the relief of that city. Though Baſſora ſubmitted upon compoſition, the Perſians, according to the barbarous maxims of the eaſtern world, were guilty of great exceſſes and cruelties, the former of which extended even to the chriſtian merchants, who ſuffered conſiderably upon this occaſion. This ſucceſs encouraged Kerim Khan, the Regent of Perſia, to ſend a conſiderable army under the command of his brother, againſt the government and city of Bagdad. Here his hopes were effectually checked. The great men of the country, uniting now in their own defence, totally routed the Perſians with great ſlaughter.

The numerous ſons, family, and officers of the unfortunate Chiek Daher, have been hunted with a rage as cruel and unremitting, as the avarice which principally excited the purſuit was boundleſs. Unhappily for them, the taking of new treaſures from time to time, have kept up the ardour of the chace, and it will probably only end in the extermination of the whole race. It would ſeem wonderful, if long and conſtant experience had not rendered it familiar, that in that vaſt extent of the globe, through every part of which the poſſeſſion of riches is, with mathematical certainty, attended with inevitable deſtruction, and yet, that the avidity of accumulating wealth, is at leaſt as ſtrong in thoſe regions ſo unfriendly to property, as in any other part of the world.

It ſeems remarkable, that the mag-

magnificence, ſplendour, and even the munificence of Prince Repnin, during his ambaſſy at Conſtantinople, was a moſt grievous eyeſore to the Turks, who conſidered it as a kind of inſult, and an oſtentatious triumph over them, in conſequence of the loſſes and diſgraces of the late war. This jealouſy was ſo prevalent, particularly among the common people, that the Grand Vizir was obliged to take effective meaſures, to prevent its being productive of inſult or miſchief.

Great efforts have been uſed ſince the peace to reſtore and ſtrengthen the Turkiſh marine, and ſeveral ſhips of war of great force, and upon a new conſtruction, have this year been launched at Conſtantinople. Equal pains have been taken to ſtrengthen the fortreſſes on the Danube and Neiſter, and every thing of late tends to ſhew, that the ſtrongeſt jealouſy prevails with reſpect to the navigation, and the greateſt apprehenſion of the power, which Ruſſia will poſſeſs in conſequence of it upon the Black Sea. It can ſcarcely, however, be imagined, that the Porte, in its preſent ſtate, will venture upon a new war with Ruſſia, unleſs encouraged to it, by an aſſurance of the moſt powerful ſupport on the ſide of Europe.

The northern kingdoms afford little matter for obſervation this year. Sweden continues to be governed with great moderation, and apparently to the ſatisfaction of the people, whilſt the King is equally induſtrious and ſucceſsful, in placing it in a moſt reſpectable ſtate, with reſpect both to its land and naval force. As this ſeems to be an æra, when the opulence of merchants particularly excites the envy and avarice of Princes, who not content with the power, would become univerſal traders, and monopolize alſo the commerce of the earth, the Daniſh King has ſhewn his approbation of ſo laudable a ſyſtem of regal policy, by aboliſhing the Guinea Company, taking all their affairs into his own hands, and appointing a few of his officers to manage the future traffick.

The States of Holland have renewed the charter of their Eaſt India Company upon ſuch liberal terms, as might be expected in a commercial and wiſe commonwealth. For finding that the Company had of late ſuffered greatly, as well by a decline of commerce as other loſſes, they accepted the ſum of two millions of florins for a new charter for thirty years, inſtead of three millions, which they had paid for the former, under the ſame conditions, and for a like term.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st BEING new-year's day, was obſerved at court, and elſewhere, as uſual. [For the Ode performed at St. James's on the occaſion, pleaſe to turn to our article of Poetry for this year.]

The town of Norfolk, the beſt ſea-port, and moſt flouriſhing town, in Virginia, was, all to three houſes, burnt to aſhes. Shortly after the provincials made themſelves maſters of New-Providence, one of the Bahama iſlands, with a ſmall fleet of ſeven ſail, which at their return met with the Glaſgow man of war, and attacked her. But as to the details of theſe events, and others of the ſame kind, we muſt leave them, as making part of the unhappy war between the mother country and her colonies, to the able pen which favours the public with the hiſtorical part of this work.

Mr. Melliſh contracted with the commiſſioners of the victualling-office, for 1000 oxen, at 33s 10d per hundred weight; no bad criterion of the price of ſuch proviſions at this time.

An ordinance was publiſhed at Paris, granting a general pardon to all deſerters, by which it was computed that upwards of 20,000 men would return to the ſervice; and likewiſe decreeing, that deſerters ſhall not for the future be puniſhed with death, but be ſent to work at the fortifications for a longer term than their engagement in the military ſervice.

Extract of a Letter from Paris, of this date.

"We learn from Vienna, in Dauphiny, that, notwithſtanding the diſcovery which had been made, at a ſmall diſtance to the ſouthward of the town, in 1773, of a valuable piece of antique Moſaic, they had diſcontinued their reſearches after theſe monuments of antiquity, till the ſingular patronage given to the arts, by the governor of the province, had determined Monſieur Schneider, painter, and profeſſor in the ſchool of drawing, at the Royal College in that town, to continue his reſearches in the ſame ſpot where the firſt piece of Moſaic was found. By the labours of this artiſt were found many pieces of marble, curious both for their ſize and ſculpture; and a piece of Moſaic was diſcovered, larger and more variegated than the former. This pavement is thirty-four feet in length, and twenty-four in breadth. In the middle is a tablet, on which are three female figures, one half naked, who appear greatly terrified, and as if flying from a ſoldier, armed with a lance, who is in purſuit of them. Above this tablet is a rampart, on which is a tent, and two other warriors, one of whom ſeems to be giving orders for ſtopping the women, and the other ſounding a trumpet. Theſe figures, which are of the natural

ſize, are in the Grecian dreſs. Above the tablet are five medalions; one repreſenting the head of Meduſa; and the others, the four ſeaſons, with their particular attributes. The reſt of this rich pavement conſiſts of twenty-ſix compartments, alternately ſquare and round. The whole is bounded by a border of exquiſite taſte and workmanſhip.

Mr. Schneider, by a contrivance of his own, raiſed this Moſaic without injuring it, and ſent it to the college, where it remains a precious monument to all the lovers of the fine arts.

In purſuing his reſearches, with an ardor increaſed by ſucceſs, he has diſcovered a ſecond pavement in white Roman Maſtic, interſperſed with fragments of the moſt uncommon marbles, ſcattered, as it were, by chance; the whole poliſhed, producing a beautiful effect, and forming a very hard body. Some of this kind of marble has likewiſe been depoſited in the ſame college. The analytical decompoſition of this fictitious marble, might prove very uſeful to our modern workers in ſtucco."

In conſequence of the pregnancy of the firſt and favourite ſultaneſs of the Grand Signior, which was lately notified in form, His Highneſs granted permiſſion to the Chriſtians throughout his dominions, to repair ſuch of their churches as might have ſuffered by the ruins of time. Thankfully availing themſelves of this permiſſion, the Chriſtians worked night and day for the reſtoration of their places of worſhip. One of the Turkiſh emirs, however, viewing this privilege with a jealous eye, employed every artifice to inſtigate the people to revolt; inſomuch that the ſultan found himſelf at length conſtrained by policy, to revoke the permiſſion he had given to the Chriſtians, and to iſſue an order, that ſuch of their religious edifices as had been repaired, ſhould be inſtantly demoliſhed. By this event, not only Chriſtianity muſt ſuffer ſome decay in the Turkiſh dominions; but many beautiful reliques of ancient architecture, upheld by Chriſtian piety, may periſh paſt the poſſibility of being retrieved.

The lottery finiſhed drawing at Guildhall. 3d.

Being Twelfth-day, the lord-chamberlain of the king's houſhold, in the abſence of his Majeſty, made the uſual offering at the altar, of frankincenſe, myrrh, &c. and alſo a purſe of gold, to be diſtributed among the poor. 6th.

Began, attended with an high eaſterly wind, one of the greateſt falls of ſnow that has happened in England in the memory of man; and it was followed by ſo intenſe a froſt, that, the barometer, at times, ſunk two or three degrees lower than it did in the great froſt which began during the laſt days of 1739, and continued about three months in 1740; and, by the 16th, the Thames was entirely frozen over at Mortlake. Nor was this inclemency of the weather confined to our iſland. The Sound itſelf, that vaſt body of water which ſeparates Denmark from Sweden, was frozen over as hard as during the above great froſt; ſo that even heavy-laden ſledges croſſed it with ſafety. On the 2d of February, here in England at leaſt, the wind, which had continued eaſterly from the beginning of this viſitation, turned to the ſouth, 7th.

ſouth, and gave every thing a different appearance.

The many and great inconveniencies and evils uſual, on theſe occaſions, in a country like this, where they are ſeldom felt, and of courſe little provided againſt, it would be unneceſſary to dwell upon; ſuch as ſnow-drowned fields, obſtructed roads, ſtoppage of handicraft labour; and their natural conſequences; and perhaps, conſidering the humanity which now univerſally prevails, it might be equally unneceſſary to enlarge upon the relief afforded by thoſe in rich, and even eaſy, circumſtances, to their ſuffering brethren. Their Majeſties behaved on the occaſion with their uſual benevolence; as did likewiſe many corporate bodies and individuals; particularly the city of London, and the nobility and gentry throughout England, as well on their eſtates, as in the places of their reſidence; and, to crown all, their aſſiſtance was given moſtly in kind; that is, in bread, broth, and coals; by which means the profligate and the inconſiderate were, in a great meaſure, prevented from making any improper uſe of it.

On this occaſion we would beg leave to recommend to our readers the peruſal of accounts of ſome perſons who lived a long time in a houſe buried by a ſlide of ſnow, or valanza, from a neighbouring ſteep mountain, which he may find in our Firſt Volume, p. 297; and in our Eighth, p. 85: as likewiſe that of an article relating to heat and cold; and another, concerning the freſhneſs of ice-water obtained from ſalt-water; both in the ſecond part of our preſent volume.

In the mean time, the following particulars relating to the great froſt in 1739 and 1740 may not be unentertaining. It began on the 24th day of December: the day after it was very ſharp, the wind blowing north-eaſt, and continuing ſo till the 29th, when it changed a little to the ſouthward of the eaſt, about eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and blew hard; the cold was then very ſevere; water thrown up fell down in ice; and the mercury in the thermometer fell to 25 degrees below the freezing point. On the 30th, the cold ſtill increaſing, it fell to 32, which was lower than ever it had been remembered in England. On the 31ſt, towards the evening, the wind being much abated, the ſeverity of the froſt was not ſo great; and there was ſome appearance of a thaw on the 1ſt and 2d of January; but on the 3d, in the evening, the froſt ſet in again, with greater violence than ever; and on the 4th, in the morning, the mercury fell one degree lower than it had been before, when there was an uncommon great hoar, and the air was ſo ſharp and penetrating, as to render it difficult for ſtrong perſons to endure the cold; and vegetables in general ſuffered prodigiouſly.

8th. The river Stour, which runs through Canterbury, was ſo ſwelled by the heavy rains that fell for three preceding days, that the ſtreets contiguous to the river were one continued torrent, and moſt of the houſes filled to the height of four feet. Nothing could equal the diſtreſs and confuſion occaſioned by this deluge, but the readineſs of the inhabitants whom it did not affect, particularly the two members, to contribute to the relief of the poorer ſufferers.

A young fellow was ſhot dead in attempting to rob the Norwich

coach, near Newmarket. He appeared to be the ſon of an innkeeper, who had run through a conſiderable fortune, and was driven to neceſſity.

About one this morning, a woman who lived in that part of Paris, called *le Palais*, where the courts of juſtice are kept, having the misfortune to fall aſleep, with a chauffrette, or ſmall pot with charcoal burning in it, uſed by women there to keep themſelves warm in cold weather; the fire communicated itſelf to her cloaths, immediately ſtifled her, and then ſpread inſenſibly, till one of the office-keepers, awakened by the ſmoke, gave the alarm through the palace;—but too late for himſelf, for the progreſs of the fire became now ſo rapid, that he was ſwallowed up in the flames. It then caught the priſon of the Conciergerie, and extended itſelf to the ſhop-keepers hall; by which, there being a communication from the great chamber to the holy chapel, the conſtagration became general.

The firſt object of attention was to remove the priſoners into places of ſafety; but, in the firſt moments of terror, ſome of the criminals had addreſs enough to eſcape The firemen, the French guards, the city guards, horſe and foot, and all the orders of Mendicant friars, aſſembled to aſſiſt in extinguiſhing the flames; but, notwithſtanding all their endeavours, part of the Conciergerie was deſtroyed, and the fire caught the court of Aids. Many of the public offices were burnt, and ſeveral toy-ſhops, with all their ſtock, intirely conſumed. A Capuchin friar, and another perſon, were loſt by the ſudden falling of a great beam. This fire was not got under till noon; but time enough to ſave the firſt chamber of the court of aids, the holy chapel, the treaſury, and the depoſitary of the regiſters of parliament, with the greateſt difficulty. The king's loſs, on this occaſion, was computed at two millions of livres; that of the court of Aids at two hundred thouſand; and that of individuals, at much about the ſame ſum. His majeſty ſent the private ſufferers a thouſand louis d'ors; the queen, two hundred; and many of the richer inhabitants of Paris contributed, likewiſe, very liberally to their relief.

Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the weather, his Majeſty reviewed, on Clapham Common, the firſt and ſecond battalions of foot, lately arrived from Gibraltar; after which they were ordered to prepare immediately to embark for America.

Came on at St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, the trial of the principal rioter at a riot at Vauxhall, on the laſt night of the laſt ſeaſon, when, after a trial of ſeven hours, he was fined, and obliged to give ſecurity for his good behaviour for two years. The fine was paid in court.

This night the wind blew ſo hard at eaſt, that the tide ran up the river at the rate of ſix miles an hour; and ſeveral veſſels were driven from their moorings by its violence. 11th.

At about three o'clock in the afternoon, her Royal Highneſs the Dutcheſs of Glouceſter was ſafely delivered of a prince, in the Teodole palace at Rome; their Royal Highneſſes' houſhold and ſome Engliſh gentlemen were preſent, as witneſſes to teſtify the event; and on Monday the 12th of February, the newborn prince was baptized by the Rev. 15th.

Rev. Mr. Salter, and called William Frederick, in the preſence of all the Engliſh gentlemen then at Rome. The Duke and Ducheſs of Saxe-Gotha, and the Margrave of Anſpach being ſponſors.

About the ſame time, Archangelo Caſelletti, bookſeller, who had leave from the Duke to inſcribe to him ſome dramatic pieces, was baniſhed that capital, for having omitted the title of Royal, after that of Highneſs, at the head of the dedication.

There was an execution at Tyburn; and another on the 17th; for the particulars of which we beg leave to refer the readers to our laſt volume, as belonging to our account of the laſt Old-Bailey ſeſſions, held in the year 1775.

Ended the ſeſſions at the Old-Bailey, which began on the 10th, when five priſoners, capitally convicted, received ſentence of death, viz. two for highway robbery; one for a ſtreet robbery; one for houſebreaking; one for a burglary; and two for coining. The two laſt moved in arreſt of judgment; one of the highway robbers was executed the 19th of February; and the reſt were reſpited.

19th. It appears, by letters of this date, from Naples, that Mount Veſuvius had at laſt, after threatening an eruption for ſome time, actually burſt an opening about half way up, from which the lava ran at firſt towards Atrio del Cavallo, and then towards Ottajama, but ſo gently as not to do the country any great damage.

20th. In a piece, intitled, "The ancient Teſtimony and Principles of the People called Quakers, with reſpect to King and Government; and touching the Commotions now prevailing in theſe (Penſylvania and New-Jerſey) and other Parts of America," addreſſed to the people in general, and dated at Philadelphia this day, that reſpectable part of the community profeſs their juſt and neceſſary ſubordination to the king, and thoſe who are lawfully placed in authority under him, that they may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godlineſs and honeſty, under the government which has been ſet over them by God, whoſe peculiar prerogative, they ſay, it is, for cauſes beſt known to himſelf, to ſet up and put down kings and governments.

Mr. Dunning having moved the court of King's-Bench to make abſolute a rule for a mandamus, to replace in his office the clerk of the pariſh of Hampſtead, who had been diſcharged by the rector, as having acted indecently in giving a kiſs to a bride, to whom he had ſtood father, as ſoon as the ceremony was over, the court declared the clerk, after appointment, a ſervant to the pariſh, and not diſchargable at the pleaſure of rector or curate, the office being of a temporal, not an eccleſiaſtical nature; and made the rule abſolute. 24th.

The following hand-bill was delivered to the members of the two houſes of parliament: 25th.

"To the parliament:—A ſuffering and afflicted people moſt humbly and ſolemnly beſeech and implore every member of parliament to put a ſpeedy ſtop to the further effuſion of the blood of our American brethren; that peace and tranquillity may be reſtored to the royal breaſt, and glory, commerce, and felicity, to the whole empire."

A cauſe of an extraordinary nature came on in the court of Chancery, upon a bill brought by an

apothecary at Bath, againſt a gentleman of Huntingdonſhire, for the recovery of 100l. lent to the gentleman's wife. The merits were briefly as follows: The defendant, in poſſeſſion of about 4000l. per annum, married a lady in 1757 who brought him 20,000l. In the year 1769, being in a very ill ſtate of health, ſhe was adviſed by her phyſicians to go to Bath. The defendant ſhewed much reluctance, raiſed ſeveral objections to her going, and ſeemed likewiſe not much pleaſed with her being obliged to uſe his new chaiſe; but at length he conſented, gave her fifty pounds to defray the expences; and afterwards remitted her more money, but in very ſmall ſums, the greateſt remittance not exceeding twenty pounds; ſo that the lady, notwithſtanding the moſt frugal manner of living, was obliged to exceed her allowance, and borrow 100l. of the plaintiff, to clear her bills before ſhe could leave Bath, giving him a draft for the ſame upon her huſband. The only extravagant article which appeared againſt her, was half-a-guinea for ſome moſs roſes. In the ſummer after her return ſhe grew worſe, and died. The plaintiff then applied to the defendant in town, for payment, but was told to ſeek his remedy at law, the defendant being determined (without compulſion) not to pay a ſhilling. But, upon hearing counſel on both ſides, the court decreed payment of the money with full coſts of ſuit.

29th. A late paſtoral letter from the ſynod of New-York and Philadelphia, to the congregations throughout America, was delivered at the doors of the Houſes of Lords and Commons.

A placart was publiſhed at Copenhagen, dated the 15th inſtant, excluding all foreigners from employments in the Daniſh dominions, except thoſe who were or ſhould be naturalized.

31ſt. The Pope lately granted to the whole chriſtian world, an univerſal jubilee, which is to laſt ſix months, to be computed, in the different countries, from the day of the publication of the bull in them; and to extend to thoſe who had already obtained the indulgencies in Rome during the courſe of the laſt year.

The following extraordinary affair lately happened at Liſbon. A poor widow came ſeveral times into the antichamber of the court, and, though frequently ordered to retire, conſtantly returned the next day, ſaying, ſhe muſt ſpeak to the king. At length it happened, that ſeeing his majeſty paſs by, ſhe immediately advanced towards him, preſented him with a caſket, and ſpoke to him as follows: "Sire, behold what I have diſcovered among the rubbiſh of ſome of the buildings ruined by the great earthquake in 1755. I am a poor widow, and have ſix children. That caſket would relieve me from my preſent diſtreſſes, but I prefer my honour, with a good conſcience, to all the treaſures in the world. I deliver this to your majeſty, as to the moſt proper perſon to reſtore it to its lawful poſſeſſor, and to reward me for the diſcovery."—The king immediately ordered the caſket to be opened, and was ſtruck with the beauty of the jewels which it contained; after which, ſpeaking highly in praiſe of the widow's honeſty and diſintereſtedneſs, he aſſured her of his

his protection, and immediately ordered her 20,000 piaſtres [3s. 7d. each]. His majeſty farther ordered, that proper enquiry ſhould be made after the real proprietor; and, if it ſhould prove fruitleſs, that the jewels ſhould be ſold, and the produce appropriated to the uſe of the widow and her children,

A new print of M. de Voltaire has lately been publiſhed at Paris, with the following lines under it, written by M. Dorat:

Il vit le dernier Siecle expirer chez Ninon,
De Virgile à trente Ans il ceignit la Couronne,
Des Lauriers de Sophocle il orna ſon Automne,
Il pare ſon Hiver des Fleurs d'Anacreon.

DIED, the 15th inſtant, Mrs. Eleanor Willis, who had been married to four huſbands, and had ſeventeen children, aged 105 years, in Beech Lane.

The 16th, Mr. Thomas Weſton, the celebrated commedian of Drury-Lane Theatre.

Mary Coon, aged 112 years, at Weſtborough, in Ireland.

The 18th, Mr. John Leach, maſter builder, in the 106th year of his age. He retained his memory to the laſt.

Not many years ago, there died, in the neighbourhood of Feſtiniog, in Merionethſhire, Wales, as appears by Lord Lyttleton's works, an honeſt Welch farmer, who was 105 years of age: by his firſt wife he had 30 children; by his ſecond 10; by his third 4; and by two concubines 7. His youngeſt ſon was 81 years younger than his eldeſt, and 800 perſons, deſcended from his body, attended his funeral.

FEBRUARY.

A proclamation having been this day iſſued by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, laying an embargo, for an unlimited time, on all proviſions of whatever kind, except to Great-Britain, and the Britiſh dominions not in rebellion, to which ſalted beef, pork, bacon, and butter may be ſent by permiſſion of an Engliſh act of parliament; George Ogle, Eſq; purſuant to a promiſe made by him in the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, where the force of ſuch a proclamation was warmly debated, ſoon after paſſed an entry in the cuſtom-houſe of Dublin for three hundred barrels of beef, to be ſhipped forthwith in a veſſel then in the river of that city, bound for Bourdeaux. 1ſt.

A clergyman, who this afternoon preached a charity ſermon at a church in the city, during his diſcourſe, pulled out of his pocket a news-paper, and read out of it the following paragraph. viz. 'On Sunday the 18th of January, two ponies ran, on the Uxbridge road, 20 miles for 20 guineas, and one gained it by about half a head; both ponies ridden by their owners.' Alſo another paragraph of the like kind, of a race on the Rumford road on a Sunday. He made an apology for reading part of a news-paper in the pulpit, ſaid he believed it was the firſt inſtance of the kind, and he ſincerely wiſhed that there never might be occaſion for the like again. He then pointed out the heinous ſin of Sabbath-breaking, and what a ſcandal it was that ſuch actions ſhould be practiſed in a chriſtian country by men of property, who 4th.

ought to ſet a good example to the lower claſs of people; and paſs unnoticed by thoſe who had authority to puniſh the offenders: he added, that ſuch wickedneſs would have been ſeverely puniſhed by Mahometans; how much more ought it to be by chriſtian magiſtrates!

5th. Came on in the court of King's-Bench, before the Right Hon. Lord Mansfield, the the trial of Benjamin Cholſey, for wilful and corrupt perjury upon the trial of the merits of the petition of Mr. Beckford and Mr. Calthorp, reſpecting the Hindon election. Lord Mansfield, in his charge, remarked, that on one or other ſide the moſt impious and audacious perjury had been committed. His Lordſhip, however, left the Jury intirely to their own opinions, who, after withdrawing for about a quarter of an hour, brought the Defendant in, guilty.

8th. Sir Robert Ainſlie, appointed ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, took leave of his majeſty, and received his laſt inſtructions.

12th. Was decided in the court of Common Pleas, the long conteſted cauſe, wherein Mr. Rafael, an Armenian merchant, late of the province of Owd, in the Eaſt-Indies, was plaintiff, and Harry Vereiſt, Eſq; late governor of Bengal, was defendant. The action was brought for the defendant's aſſaulting and impriſoning the plaintiff in the Eaſt-Indies. Upon the trial of the cauſe at Guildhall in the ſittings after laſt term, before the Right Hon. Lord Chief-juſtice De Grey, the Jury found a verdict for the plaintiff; but, as objections were raiſed by the counſel for the defendant, that in point of law (under the particular circumſtances of the caſe) the action would not lie in our courts of law at Weſtminſter againſt him, the jury found a ſpecial verdict, reſerving the point of law for the determination of the court of Common Pleas; and, in caſe the court ſhould be of opinion that the action was maintainable, they gave the plaintiff 4000l. damages. The caſe was argued on the 9th inſtant in the court of Common Pleas by Mr. Serjeant Glynn, for the plaintiff, and Mr. Serjeant Adair on the part of the defendant; and this day the judges delivered their opinions, in which they were unanimous, that the action was well ſuſtained, and of courſe decreed the defendant the 4000l. damages, and coſts of ſuit.

14th. At a general court of the Turkey company, Lord North was unanimouſly choſen governor, in the room of the late Earl of Radnor.

19th. Came on in the court of King's-bench, before Lord Mansfield and a ſpecial jury of the county of Middleſex, a cauſe wherein John Potter Harris, Eſq; of Baghurſt, was plaintiff, and the Rev. John Craven, of Barton-Court, Berkſhire, defendant, for criminal converſation with the plaintiff's wife; when the jury, after going out of court a ſhort time, brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with 3000l. damages, and coſts of ſuit.

20th. A cauſe was tried in the court of King's-bench, Weſtminſter, before Lord Mansfield and a ſpecial jury, wherein Mr. Towſey, of Clement's-Inn, was plaintiff, and a gentleman of the county of Worceſter, defendant. The cauſe was brought by indict-

ment

ment againſt the ſaid gentleman for wilful and corrupt perjury on a late occaſion. After a hearing of near ſeven hours, the judge ſummed up the evidence, and gave his charge to the jury, who withdrew, and in half an hour returned and delivered their verdict, finding the defendant guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury. He was ordered to be brought up the firſt day of next term, in order to receive ſentence. Great numbers of perſons of diſtinction, and ſeveral members of the lower aſſembly, appeared in behalf of the priſoner.

Sir Stephen Theodore Janſſen having ſignified, the 4th inſtant, his intention to reſign the office of Chamberlain, on account of his bad ſtate of health, the election of a proper perſon to ſucceed him came on this day at Guild-hall; the candidates, Mr. Wilkes, and Mr. Hopkins, alderman of Broad-ſtreet Ward; when the ſhew of hands appearing in favour of the former, he was declared duly elected. But Mr. Hopkins, not content with this deciſion, demanded a poll; which being granted, the number of votes at the concluſion of it on the 26th, appeared as follows.

For Mr. Hopkins	-	2887
Mr. Wilkes	-	2710
Majority for Mr. Hopkins	- -	177

upon which Mr. Hopkins was declared Chamberlain.

The total number of pollers at this election was 5597, which is 1049 leſs than at the conteſted election for the ſame office, between Boſworth and Selwyn.

The following is a liſt of thoſe gentlemen who have been Chamberlains from the Revolution to the preſent year. Upon an average each enjoyed the office nine years.

1688 Sir Peter Rich
1689 Sir Leonard Robinſon.
1696 Sir Thomas Cuddon.
1702 Sir William Fazakerley.
1718 Sir George Ludlam.
1727 Samuel Robinſon, Eſq;
1734 Sir John Boſworth.
1751 Sir Thomas Harriſon.
1765 Sir Steph. Theo. Janſſen, Bart.
1776 Benjamin Hopkins, Eſq;

It is ſomewhat remarkable, that at the general election in 1761, the number of the livery who then voted, amounted to 5,797. At the general election in 1768, the number amounted to 5,697. And at the preſent election for Chamberlain, the amount is 5,597; ſo that in the three elections here alluded to, there has been a regular and gradual decreaſe of one hundred pollers.

When Mr. Hopkins had been declared duly elected, Mr. Wilkes, in an harangue, in which he paid his uſual compliments to corrupting miniſters, and the directors of the bank, as having interfered on the occaſion, &c. &c. and accuſed the latter with having lent government eight millions of money, without the conſent of the proprietary, invited the livery to meet him on the ſame ſpot, the Midſummer day following, to aſſert the rights of a free election, as well as their own dignity and importance. This challenge was anſwered in another ſpeech by Mr. Hopkins; upon which the friends of both ſubſcribed towards the expence of the conteſt. Alderman Bull ſubſcribed one hundred pounds in favour of Mr. Wilkes; and twelve Alder-

men

men ſubſcribed fifty pounds each in favour of Mr. Hopkins. Before this election came on, a court of common-council reſolved, that every future chamberlain ſhould give 40,000l. ſecurity for the faithful diſcharge of his office; and voted Sir Stephen Theodore Janſſen the thanks of the city for his paſt ſervices.

21ſt. His Excellency the Count de Guines, the French ambaſſador, having received his letters of recal, took leave of his majeſty, leaving M. Garnier chargé des affaires till another ambaſſador arrives.

The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when four convicts received ſentence of death, two of whom ſuffered on the 12th of April; viz. one for a highway robbery; and the other for houſe-breaking.

25th. By a letter of this date from York, it appears, that counterfeit guineas of the date 1775 were now in circulation, and ſo well executed that it was difficult to diſtinguiſh them from the real ones. On comparing them with the latter they will be found rather larger, paler, and thinner, and defective in the milling. In the counterfeits there is not the hollow between the forehead and the noſe diſcoverable in the real ones. In air they weigh 6d. above the ſtandard, and only 14s. in water.

26th. A deſperate attempt was made by the felons in Maidſtone gaol to eſcape, but was happily defeated by the vigilance and reſolution of the keeper. It being the day for carrying ſome convicts on board a tranſport, the felons concluded the keeper himſelf would go with them as uſual, and that conſequently they ſhould have only the turnkey, or ſome ſervant of the keeper's to encounter with; but the keeper, having reaſon to ſuſpect ſome ſchemes were on foot, prudently ſtaid at home, ſending his turnkey with proper aſſiſtants to put the tranſports on board. Between four and five in the afternoon, juſt before the time of locking all up, twenty-four of the moſt daring of the felons, having found means to get off their irons, ſuddenly ſeized and ſecured two of the keeper's men, and with knives at their breaſts ſwore they would murder them if they did not let them out, and attempted immediately to make towards the Fore-Gate, but could not reach it before the keeper had caught the alarm and appeared with a blunderbuſs, which prevented them on that ſide. They then changed their attack, and endeavoured to make way through the keeper's apartments, ſwearing they were determined to get out, or die in the attempt. Here the keeper expoſtulated with them again and again, deſiring them to deſiſt, and retire peaceably; but all to no purpoſe; they ſtill ſwearing they would one and all eſcape, or die in the attempt. The keeper was now under the neceſſity of threatening to fire upon them, if they did not retire, and, on their not retiring, fired accordingly a blunderbuſs loaded with ſmall ſhot amongſt them, and wounded three or four of the moſt daring (who were charged with highway robberies) in the legs. Whereupon finding, that the keeper was as reſolute as themſelves, and that he had alſo now good aſſiſtance, they began to retreat, and were ſoon maſtered and properly ſecured without farther miſchief. To the honour of the poor debtors, they did not join with

with the felons in this desperate attempt.

A committee of West-India planters and merchants, having lately attended Lord George Germaine and Lord North, and given each a separate memorial, requesting, in consequence of their lordships' inclinations, publickly declared to assist and relieve the sugar colonies, that the distillation of grain should be stopt, and the duties on rum lessened, with a view of increasing the consumption of that article, and thereby enabling the Memorialists to supply themselves with lumber, now, on account of the troubles in America, risen to a most exorbitant price, each of their lordships delivered a verbal answer, amounting in the whole, that the propositions cannot at present be complied with. Probably such compliance might be looked upon as interfering too much with the husbandry of the mother country.

27th. About eleven o'clock while the piquet-guard was off duty, a terrible mutiny happened among the transports and recruits confined in the Savoy gaol, when near forty found means to escape, by breaking through a back window near the water side, and geting over the wall, the tide being down, to the craft on the river. A soldier was now ordered to bid them stop; and, on their refusal, to fire. The orders were obeyed, and on his killing the last of them, the rest were secured.

Lord Viscount Pitt, (son of the Earl of Chatham) lately resigned his commission as ensign in the 47th regiment, now at Boston, his lordship being determined not to serve in the present war between the mother country and her colonies,

28th. Two Indian chiefs, who lately arrived in town from Canada, were introduced to his majesty at St. James's by Col. Johnson, and graciously received.

An oak-tree lately cut through on the estate of Dennis Rolle, Esq; near great Torrington, in Devonshire, measured in the body thirteen feet six inches diameter: two couple danced a country-dance on the surface, the fiddler standing in a corner.

Died, the 6th instant, the Rev. Evan Lloyd, A. M. Vicar of Lanfair, near Ruthim, Denbighshire, and author of several ingenious poetical pieces.

The Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen, upwards of 53 years chaplain of his Majesty's German chapel at St. James's.

The 19th, Mrs. Ellison, in Westgate, Newcastle, possessed of a fortune of 181,000 l.

The 21st, Mr. Movat, surgeon, at Laugholm in the Shire of Dumfrees, aged 136.

The 22d, Mr. Joseph Collyer, translator of the Messiah and Noah from the German, and author of several useful works, in Barns-row, Islington.

Mr. William Horsley, aged 75, author of the Periodical Letter, entitled The Fool.

Mr. Livingstone, one of the heads of the Congress at New York, and father-in-law to the late General Montgomery.

John Manners, commonly called My Lord Manners, at Dryfield, in the East-Riding of the county of York.

David Brian, of Tinncrane, in Ireland, aged 117.

MARCH.

1st. Being St. David's day, the tutelar Saint of Wales, the ſtewards of the ſociety of Ancient Britons waited on his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, to compliment him on the occaſion; when he was pleaſed to make them a preſent of 100 guineas towards the ſupport of that uſeful charity, for the education of poor friendleſs Welch children, in London: and the ſum of 464l. 10s. 2d. was collected for the ſame laudable purpoſe, at their yearly dinner.

A peace between the Eaſt-India company and the Marattoes, on very advantageous terms to the former, was ſigned at Loonan, and proclaimed at Bombay the 12th following.

2d. Came on in the court of King's-bench at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield and a ſpecial jury, the cauſe relative to the election of Mr. Hart ſome time ago to the aldermanſhip of Bridge Ward, in the room of the late Sir William Stephenſon, when the jury, after withdrawing for about a quarter of an hour, brought in a verdict, that Mr. Hart was duly elected.

About nine at night, a fire broke out in the ware-houſe of Meſſ. Cox and Bigg, printers, in the Savoy, juſt after the journeymen had left the office. And notwithſtanding every poſſible effort to ſtop its progreſs, the warehouſe, the printing-office, and the dwelling-houſes of the two partners were, in a ſhort time, conſumed, together with two warehouſes filled with books belonging to Mr. Cadell, and Mr. Elmſly, of the Strand, and ſeveral contiguous buildings. It was with the utmoſt difficulty that the two German chapels were ſaved.

There were no leſs than ſeven parties, from ſo many different ſtates, now recruiting in Hamburgh. The Hanoverians had the greateſt ſucceſs, as they enliſted men of every country, provided they were ſizeable, and not too old; and gave a large bounty.

By a letter from Naples of the 5th inſtant, it appears, 3d. that the Free Maſons there, continuing to frequent a lodge near Cape Demonte, notwithſtanding the publication of an edict which prohibited them from holding clandeſtine aſſemblies; the government being informed thereof, cauſed the lodge to be ſurrounded this day, and all who were there to be arreſted and put in priſon.

The Houſe of Commons having thought proper to 4th. addreſs his majeſty relative to cloathing the foreign troops in Britiſh pay, with the manufactures of Great Britain; his majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, that being always deſirous to give every encouragement in his power to the manufactures of Great Britain, he will uſe his endeavours, as recommended by the ſaid addreſs.

Juſt after two men, convicted of robbery, in Dublin, and ordered for execution, had received the ſacrament from the ordinary, who in the moſt ſolemn manner declared their innocence, but were about to be pinioned, preparatory to their execution, two other criminals, confined for ſtreet-robbery, declared themſelves to be the perſons who actually committed the fact for which thoſe innocent men were going to ſuffer. Upon this, the Sheriffs waited on the Lord Lieutenant, and the circumſtance being made known to his Excellency,

Excellency, a reſpite was immediately granted.

The ſubjects for the prize medals left by the late Sir William Browne, for the preſent year, are: For the Odes, *Bellum Americanum.* For the Epigrams, *Ineſt ſua Gratia Parvis.* The Epigram prize medal was not diſpoſed of laſt year; two therefore will be given the preſent year, if any Epigrams appear to deſerve them.

The two gold medals given annually by the duke of Grafton, chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, for the encouragement of claſſical learning, are this year adjudged to Mr. Foſter, A.B. of St. John's college, and Mr. Wakefield, A. B. of Jeſus college.

7th. Mr. Alderman Oliver having moved the Houſe of Commons, that the reſolution of the 8th of May, ordering the attorney-general to proſecute Richard Beckford, Eſq; for employing an agent to endeavour to bribe and corrupt certain voters of the borough of Hindon, be reſcinded; he was warmly ſupported by Mr. Dunning, and oppoſed by Sir George Younge and Mr. George Grenville. But, the queſtion being at length put, it paſſed in the negative without a diviſion.

The college of commerce of Sweden has ſent circular letters to all the miniſters and conſuls of that kingdom reſiding in foreign countries, deſiring them to tranſmit an exact liſt of all the Swediſh merchants, traders, and artiſts, who are ſettled at their reſpective places, in order to find out the motives that induced them to quit their native country, and endeavour to prevent ſuch emigrations for the future; a thing, which it is improbable they ſhould ever be able to effect, till they can change their ſoil and climate, and have reformed their conſtitution.

10th. The anniverſary ſermon to recommend the inſtitution of the ſociety for the recovery of drowned perſons was preached at St. Andrew's, Holborn, by Dr. Dodd, to a very numerous congregation. Twelve of the perſons who had been recovered through the means of this inſtitution attended, among whom was an elderly man, who had been fifty-five minutes under water. [The reader will find a full account of this uſeful inſtitution, and the propereſt methods to recover perſons in ſimilar circumſtances, in our laſt volume.]

A cauſe between Alderman Newnham and the churchwardens of the pariſh in which he lives, has been lately decided in favour of the latter. The object of litigation was, whether Mr. Newnham, as an alderman of the city, was compellable to ſerve the office of churchwarden, to which he had been elected, but refuſed to ſerve, upon a ſuppoſition that he was legally exempted from the duties of it by his magiſterial character; and the court of aldermen adviſed him to try the point. But it now appears, that no gentleman, becauſe he chuſes to fill an employment of honour, is to be diſcharged from his parochial obligations, wherever he may be an inhabitant.

One day laſt week, as one Kinchey, a private ſoldier in the guards, who flung up his pay in order to be permitted to follow his own buſineſs, was lamenting his hard fate in drawing a lot to go to America, and being thereby obliged to leave his wife and children

dren to the parish; Henry Francis, a comrade of his, who happened to be standing by, went directly, without saying any thing to him, to the commanding officer, to whom he painted the poor fellow's distress in the best manner he was able, and added, that as he himself was a single man, and free from any incumbrance, he was very willing to go in his place. The officer, pleased with the man's generosity and spirit, accepted his offer, told him he was a brave fellow, and, giving him half a crown to drink his majesty's health, promised to be his friend.

13th. Two ship loads of damaged oats, that had been spoiled by long keeping, were sold at the Hermitage for 4s. 6d. per quarter. On this occasion it may not be improper to observe, that, by an act of the 11th of George II. any person or persons keeping a quantity of grain of any kind on board any ship, vessel, lighter, &c. on the river Thames beyond the time prescribed for clearance at the custom-house, shall forfeit ship and cargo to the conservator of the said river.

14th. Messrs. Rumbold and Sykes, the late sitting members for Hindon, in Wilts, were found guilty of bribery at the last election, at the prosecution of the attorney-general, by order of the House of Commons.

In a court of common council, a motion being made and carried by a great majority, "that the thanks of this court be given to Dr. Price, for his excellent pamphlet on civil liberty, just published; and also, that the freedom of this city be presented to him in a gold box of the value of 50l." both were soon after done; when the doctor wrote Mr. Rix, the town clerk, the following letter, which was ordered to be entered in the city journals.

'SIR,

I request the favour of you to convey to the lord mayor, the aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, my warmest acknowledgments for the very condescending resolution of thanks, with which they have honoured my Observations on Civil Liberty. Those Observations were written with no other intention, than to plead the cause of liberty and justice, and to remind this country of the dreadful danger of its present situation; the testimony of approbation, which they have received from a body so respectable, annually elected by the first city in the world, and so distinguished for giving an example of zeal in the cause of liberty, will, it may be hoped, lead the public to fix their views more on such measures as shall save a sinking constitution, and preserve us from impending calamities.

'I am, Sir, with great respect,

'Your's, &c.

'RICHARD PRICE.'

A proper explanation between the Pope and the king of Prussia, which had till now retarded the abolition of the order of Jesuits in the Prussian dominions, has at length taken place, the court of Berlin having made the following declaration. "His Prussian majesty would by no means renounce his own interest, but conbine it with that of the Pope, and meant by suffering the Jesuits to reside in his dominions, not to permit the existence of the society, but the utility of its members. The most important object of a sovereign, has always been public education.

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In a ſtate like Pruſſia, where there are ſo many different ſects and religions, education muſt be various, and the inſtruction of a million and a half of catholics, which are in different parts of Pruſſia, is no ſmall concern. This agreed to, and the ſociety aboliſhed, his majeſty will not aboliſh the functions they filled, which were the inſtruction of youth in religion and the catholic theology. Theſe are the only functions which his majeſty will permit them to continue, which appears evident from his declaration, that it was indifferent to him whether they changed their name of Jeſuits, their habits, their vows, and all their interior rules, if their functions were left them."

17th. The king's troops evacuated Boſton.

A gentleman lately deceaſed has left the Univerſity of Oxford, one hundred and ſixty pounds per annum, to be given to a perſon who ſhall preach eight ſermons in the courſe of the year, againſt diſſenters or heretics. The preacher is not to receive the money till he has delivered a copy of the ſermons to the head of each houſe. No perſon can be appointed twice, nor any perſon who is not at leaſt A. M. of either of the Engliſh Univerſities, Oxford or Cambridge.

19th. Some detachments from the three regiments of foot guards deſtined for America, were reviewed by his majeſty, accompanied by the duke of Wirtemberg, and attended by the duke and ducheſs of Northumberland, and many officers and other perſons of great diſtinction, as alſo one of the Indian chiefs, who was habited in the dreſs of his country, over an Engliſh ſuit of clothes. He wore an enſign's breaſt-plate; carried a war hatchet in his hand, and his face was painted as with ſtreaks of blood. Both officers and men gave great ſatisfaction on the occaſion; both wore the ſame uniform, with their hair dreſſed in the ſame manner, which they are to continue to do abroad, that they may not be diſtinguiſhed by the riflemen, who aim particularly at the officers. Moreover, the men, on a few field days, which for ſome time conſtantly ſucceeded this review, practiſed firing at a target, to be a better match for the riflemen. They had felt caps, with black feathers, preſented them before their departure.

At a quarterly general court of proprietors of India ſtock at their houſe in Leadenhall-ſtreet, it appeared that the debt to government on the 1ſt inſtant, was reduced from 1,400,000 l. to 420,000l. and the company was otherwiſe in a good ſituation. 20th.

Mr. Wilkes moved the Houſe of Commons for leave to bring in a bill for a more fair and equal repreſentation of the people in the Houſe of Commons; but after ſome very jocular treatment, it paſſed in the negative, without a diviſion.

The Duke of Bridgewater's canal to Liverpool was compleated, and the veſſels went through it to Mancheſter the two days following; nay, ſome of them returned to Liverpool the third. To make this junction, a mile was compleatly cut, and four capital bridges built, between the 22d of January and the 22d of March, in which time there were twenty-one days hard froſt, and very bad weather. So ſingular a tranſaction cannot be equalled. 21ſt.

At one o'clock, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen Halifax, Croſby, 22d.

Crosby, Oliver, Townsend, Bull and Lee, the Sheriffs, 62 Common-councilmen, the Chamberlain, and other city officers, went in procession from Guildhall to St. James's, and after being joined by the Recorder in Pall-Mall, presented an address and petition to his majesty; which being rather too long for this part of our work, and too important to be abridged, we shall give it, with his majesty's answer, in one of the subsequent parts.

23d. The Continental Congress issued a proclamation to impower the inhabitants of the Colonies under them, to cruize on the ships of their enemies, and regulate the distribution of the prize money, &c.

25th. The following bills received the royal assent by commission.

The bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army in North-America.

The bill to discontinue the duties payable on the importation of tallow, hog's-lard, and grease, for a limited time.

The bill to continue an act for laying a duty of two pennies Scots on all beer and ale brewed for sale in Dundee.

The bill for defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia out of the land-tax.

The bill to rectify mistakes in the names of the commissioners appointed to execute the land-tax act.

The bill to enable his majesty to make leases, copies, and grants of offices, lands, &c. in Cornwall.

The bill for making a navigable cut or canal from or near Stourbridge, in Worcestershire, to join the Staffordshire and Worcestershire canals, at or near Stourton, in Staffordshire.

The bill to build an iron bridge across the river Severn, from Benthallin, Salop, to the opposite shore at Madeley wood.

The bill for better securing a fund, belonging to certain persons of the Theatre-Royal, Drury-Lane, applicable to charitable uses, &c.

And also to several road, inclosure, naturalization, and other private bills.

At two in the afternoon, there fell in Lorraine such a prodigious quantity of hail and rain, that in less than half an hour, ninety-nine houses, composing the lower and principal street of the village of Tremont, were intirely laid under water, and filled with mud and hail; several of the inhabitants were drowned, or buried under the ruins of their houses, and the rest, to the number of five hundred, must have perished with hunger and cold, had not their neighbours exerted themselves in giving them assistance, particularly the Abbeys of Trois Fontaines, Jandeures, and S. Hoil, and the regular clergy, who parted with their cloaths to them. All the poultry of the village, with five hundred and thirty-five head of cattle, which formed the riches of the inhabitants, were destroyed, and the territory laid waste.

26th. The driver of a hackney-coach was brought before the Lord Mayor at Guildhall by two Custom-House officers, charged with having two dead bodies in his coach. The officers account of the matter was as follows. The day before about four in the morning, as they were going over London-bridge, they observed a coach driving very precipitately, which gave

gave them a ſuſpicion that ſome run goods were concealed therein; and on calling to the coachman to ſtop, he drove the faſter; on which one of them preſenting a piſtol, and threatening to fire at him, two men jumped out and ran away, and the coach ſtopped; the officers proceeded to examine it for their ſuppoſed prize, but, to their great aſtoniſhment, they found the body of an elderly man and that of a woman, quite naked, with each a rope tied round its neck, put into two ſeparate ſacks; there were three bruiſes about the body of the man, and neither of them had been dead a long time.—The coachman ſaid, he took up his fair in Shoreditch, was ordered to drive to St. George's hoſpital, and he knew nothing more of the matter. However, on his taking the bodies, by the lord-mayor's order, to the officers of Shoreditch pariſh, they were found to be thoſe of two paupers who had lately died in their workhouſe, and which were ſuppoſed to have been ſtolen out of the burying-ground, for the uſe of the ſurgeons; a thing not very ſurpriſing, conſidering the careleſs manner in which ſuch poor people are generally buried in London, as the reader may ſee by turning to our ſecond part, p. 119.

Four days after the remains of more than one hundred dead bodies were diſcovered in a ſhed in Tottenham Court Road, ſuppoſed to have been depoſited there by traders to the ſurgeons; of whom there is one, it is ſaid, in the Borough, who makes open profeſſion of dealing in dead bodies, and is well known by the name of the Reſurrectioniſt.

The tower ſtanding in the centre of the pariſh church of Buckingham ſuddenly fell down, and ſo much damaged the reſt of the building that the whole was daily expected to be in ruins.

Some time ago, a citizen, who had raiſed himſelf to the diſtinction of a common-councilman of one of the wards of this city, and then had the misfortune to fail, and be obliged to compound with his creditors, called them together, to acquaint them he had embarked in another buſineſs, in which it had pleaſed God to bleſs his honeſt endeavours with ſucceſs, and paid them every ſhilling of their debts. At the ſame time he deſired one of them, who was churchwarden of his pariſh, to accept his benefaction of 20l. towards the cloathing of the poor children, during the late inclement ſeaſon of the year.

23d. DIED, Doctor Robert James, author of the Medical Dictionary; and inventor of the celebrated fever powders known by his name; in Bruton-ſtreet.

Lately, George Goodman, in Jamaica, in the 105th year of his age, and immenſely rich.

24th, Mr. John Harriſon, inventer and conſtructor of the famous time keepers for aſcertaining the longitude at ſea, in the 84th year of his age, at his houſe in Red-Lion-ſquare, Holborn. Mr. Harriſon had received, as a reward for his uſeful labours, ſeveral thouſand pounds of the money offered by parliament for facilitating the means of diſcovering the longitude at ſea. [For ſome account of theſe his labours, pleaſe to turn to the ſecond part of our eighth volume, for 1765.]

Mrs. Jay and Mrs. Gilbert, widows, at Uxbridge. They were twins; born within half an hour of each

each other; died within much about the ſame time; married the the ſame day, and buried in one grave.

Mr. John Bird, a moſt ingenious and accurate mathematical inſtrument maker, and, as ſuch, well known in every part of the world.

APRIL.

2d. His majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the following bills.

An act for the better ſupply of marines and ſeamen to ſerve in his majeſty's ſhips of war, and on board merchant ſhips, &c.

An act for veſting certain eſtates, now held in truſt for the benefit of the royal hoſpital for ſeamen at Greenwich, in the commiſſioners and governors of the ſaid hoſpital.

An act for the better regulation of the pilots conducting ſhips and veſſels into and out of the port of Boſton in Lincolnſhire, and for preventing miſchiefs by fire in the ſaid haven and harbour.

An act for lighting and watching the ſtreets, lanes, &c. within the borough of Boſton, in Lincolnſhire.

An act for rebuilding the pariſh church of Tardebigg, in the counties of Worceſter and Warwick.

An act for better cleanſing, lighting and watching the ſtreets, lanes, &c. in Dorcheſter.

An act for lighting and watching of Camberwell and Peckham, in Surry.

An act for making and maintaining a navigable canal, from or near Stourbridge in Worceſterſhire, to join the Staffordſhire and Worceſterſhire canal at or near Stourton in Staffordſhire. And to two more canal bills, two road and ten private bills.

By the above act, for the better ſupplying his majeſty's fleet with mariners, it is enacted, that all trading ſhips ſhall be allowed to be navigated with 3-4ths of their crew foreigners, till the 25th of March, 1777, and no longer.

Patrick Haſtings and John Clark ſtood in the pillory at 3d. the end of Margaret-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare, for extorting ſeveral ſums of money from James Lintott, by charging him with a deteſtable crime. They were pelted with apples, potatoes, eggs, &c. very ſeverely; and conveyed back to Newgate, to undergo the remainder of their ſentence, which is two years impriſonment.

Advice was received at the 4th. India-houſe of the arrival of the Northumberland Indiaman, which had been a miſſing ſhip for ſome time, at Liſbon. She met with a violent hurricane near the Weſtern Iſlands the latter end of February laſt, by which ſhe broached to, and ſprung ſo large a leak, that the water ruſhed in at the rate of four feet deep in the ſpace of an hour, ſo that, notwithſtanding the captain, and all hands, by turns, worked at the pumps, it was with the utmoſt difficulty they brought her into port, and that not without ſeveral feet water in the hold. Her cargo was damaged, and a large quantity of ſaltpetre, which made a conſiderable part of it, intirely deſtroyed. But ten of the original crew were left, all the reſt having died with the fatigue of pumping day and night on the voyage.

By private letters from Dublin, there arrived the melancholy account

count that a malignant fever had, for ſome days paſt, made great havoc in that city. It was ſuppoſed by the faculty, to have ariſen from a criminal, afflicted with the gaol diſtemper, being brought into court without the neceſſary precautions of waſhing him, ſhifting his cloaths, &c. Upon the liſt of thoſe who have fallen victims to this direful diſorder, were Fielding Ould, Eſq; high ſheriff of Dublin, an active, worthy magiſtrate; counſellor Darby, counſellor Palmer, counſellor Spring, counſellor Ridge, Charles Caldwell, Eſq; Mr. Bolton, Mr. Erwin, and ſeveral other attornies and perſons whoſe buſineſs brought them into court.

By letters from France, the ſport of horſe-racing, not without a little mixture of gambling, is daily increaſing there. They have had two very lately in one day; the firſt, between the Prince of Naſſau and the Marquis of Fenelon, who both rode their own horſes. The former loſt his wager, and was very near loſing his life, by the indiſcretion of one of the ſpectators. His horſe fell, and the marquis who was under him, received a violent hurt on his head. The other race was between the Duke of Chartres and the Duke of Lauzun. The Duke of Chartres's horſe, which won two former races, was beat this time by that of the Duke of Lauzun; their grooms rode this race, which was for 200 louis d'ors. Their majeſties, and great part of the royal family, were preſent at this entertainment, which was rendered more agreeable by the fine weather they had for ſome time. The queen frequently aſſiſts at theſe amuſements.

Notwithſtanding this ſpirit of diſſipation, many national improvements have been lately undertaken in France. Among others, a conſiderable commercial company, actuated by a true ſpirit of patriotiſm, have formed in Paris, under the name of *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*, or diſcount office, an eſtabliſhment with a fund of fifteen millions of livres. They have contracted to diſcount bills and notes, both in peace and war, without ever exceeding the rate of four per cent. per annum, and have tied themſelves down to this ſingle branch of buſineſs, the gold and ſilver trade, and to receive voluntary depoſits of caſh, without meddling in any other matters whatſoever. This new eſtabliſhment, the French ſay, is an improvement of the plan of the bank of England, and that, as the regulations relative to its adminiſtrations, its dividends, &c. are wiſely calculated to inſure ſucceſs, it is probable the profits of the houſe will be conſiderable enough to enable the adminiſtrators to lower in a little time the rate of intereſt to three per cent.

A new eſtabliſhment, equally or more uſeful, has likewiſe been lately formed in Madrid. It is an academy under the title of, "The friends of their country." The deſign of this inſtitution is to encourage agriculture, manufactures, induſtry, arts, and trade, which are viſibly decaying in Spain. The prince of Aſturias, the infants Don Gabriel and Don Antonio, alſo the marquis de St. Croix, the prince Pignatelli, the duke de Crillon, the count de Montalvo, the illuſtrious Campomanez, and other grandees of the court, have cauſed their

names to be inſcribed in the liſt of Academicians; and the king, ever attentive to the protection of eſtabliſhments advantageous to his ſubjects, hath not only approved of the inſtitution and ſtatutes of this academy, but has been alſo pleaſed to aſſign a ſum of money for an annual diſtribution of two premiums to be given to ſuch agriculturers, manufacturers, or artiſts, as ſhall diſtinguiſh themſelves in their ſeveral profeſſions.

Extract of a letter from Dublin of this date.

"James Wilſon, Eſq; a member of our parliament, and captain of marines, has juſt now ſent to Lord George Germaine, a memorial to lay before his majeſty, requeſting leave to lay down his commiſſion, as he cannot, he ſays, conſiſtently with his conſcience, ſerve in the preſent diſpute againſt the Americans.

"Captain Wilſon, in the year 1760, raiſed a hundred and thirty men (as the purchaſe of his company) on his own eſtate in Ireland, and ſerved all the remainder of the war in actual ſervice with the higheſt credit to himſelf."

The committee on the Worceſter election, after ſitting forty days in hearing the examination of witneſſes and the arguments of counſel, and five days deliberation, finally determined, that the ſitting members, Thomas Bates Rous, and ——— Walſh, Eſqrs. are duly elected. It is computed that this election has coſt the parties upwards of twenty thouſand pounds.

6th. On taking up a floor in one of the rooms at Somerſet-houſe, ſome buſhels of cockle-ſhells were found in the cavity between it and the under cieling. Conſidering the genius of the time, in which this palace was built, it is very probable that ſome magical, or medicinal purpoſe was intended by this depoſit.

7th. Being Eaſter Sunday, was obſerved at court, and elſewhere, as uſual.

8th. By the report of the ſtate of the city hoſpitals for the laſt year, laid before the Lord-Mayor this day, as uſual, at St. Bride's church, it appeared,

That all the patients cured, relieved, buried, and remaining under cure in St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital, amounted to 10,155. Thoſe in St. Thomas's to 7957.

That, in Chriſt's Hoſpital, 142 boys had been put out and provided for, ſeven had died, and that 1132 remained.

That in Bridewell 1084 vagrants had been provided for, and that 33 apprentices had been maintained at trades, &c.

That in Bethlem 187 lunatics had been admitted, 190 cured, 17 buried, and 244 remained under cure.

9th. A woman who keeps a public houſe was tried, at the quarter-ſeſſions held at Weſtminſter, for aſſaulting and greaſing the chin of a Jew with pork. The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 10l. damages.

A very tragical adventure happened about this time at Liſle, between the regiments of Auvergne and Maine, which were in garriſon there. An uniform being found in one of the guard-houſes, ſome of thoſe who found it, took it into their heads, that it belonged to one of their comrades who had been killed; others thought that it was left there as a mark of contempt,

contempt. Some were for burning it; others thought that it would be beſt to demand ſatisfaction of the other regiment: this advice prevailed. Accordingly a day and hour being fixed, the two regiments fought againſt each other with ſuch fury, that a great number were killed and wounded.

11th. The Caſtilla, a Spaniſh man of war of ſixty guns, took fire off the mouth of the Tagus, when the flames reaching the powder room, the ſhip blew up, and all on board periſhed.

13th. The Dublin Gazette of this date, contains a notice, dated Dublin Caſtle, March 27, 1776, ſignifying, that it is his majeſty's royal pleaſure, that for the future, the Dublin Gazette ſhall, as nearly as poſſible, be put upon the ſame footing as the London Gazette; and that it ſhall contain no other articles of news than ſuch as are authorized by his majeſty's government of this kingdom, or duly authenticated: and his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland has appointed Mr. W. Roſeingrave compiler of the ſaid Dublin Gazette.

15th. A doubt having been ſtarted in the Houſe of Lords, whether their lordſhips could legally proceed to the trial of Elizabeth, ſtyling herſelf Ducheſs of Kingſton; ſhe being indicted as the wife of John Auguſtus Hervey; and the judges, to whom the matter was referred, having made anſwer, that having duly conſidered the queſtion propoſed to them, they were clearly and unanimouſly of opinion, that their lordſhips may legally proceed to trial; this day, at length, their lordſhips (after ſome debates, whether ſhe ſhould be tried at their bar, or in Weſtminſter-Hall, and ſeveral delays with regard to the time, on account of the interference of the terms) attended by the judges, ſeveral of the maſters in chancery, garter king at arms, the uſher of the black rod, and a number of other gentlemen, attendants on the lord high ſteward *pro tempore*, went in proceſſion to Weſtminſter-Hall, and, after the uſual ceremonies, entered immediately on the trial; the doors of the court had been opened by ſeven in the morning; but each peer had but ſeven tickets of admiſſion; a debate in favour of eight laſted but a ſhort time; for it was proved that the benches were crowded at the trials of Lord Byron and the Earl of Ferrers, when only ſeven were delivered. Her ladyſhip, during the trial, was permitted to remain in the cuſtody of the gentleman uſher of the black rod.

[For an account of the trial itſelf, we beg leave to refer to our Appendix.]

20th. The ſeſſions at the Old-Bailey for Middleſex ended, when five convicts received ſentence of death, viz. one, for having in his poſſeſſion a dye, on which was impreſſed the reſemblance of a ſixpence; one, for beſtiality; one, for ſtealing 180 guineas from Robert Whitehead; one, for picking a gentleman's pocket of his purſe; and one, for returning from tranſportation: and on the 18th of June, the three firſt, with two other convicts, were executed at Tyburn. One of them acknowledged his being one of thoſe people that attempted to rob Mr. Sandford's houſe, in Wincheſter-ſtreet, in

which attempt Armſtrong was ſhot. Another requeſted, that ſeveral robberies, &c. committed by him, ſhould be made known to the injured parties, of which he gave ſome particulars; by which it appears he had got above four hundred pounds, moſt of it in ready money, during the two laſt years of his life; and in ſuch capital ſums as 50 and 180 guineas at a time.

21ſt. A fire broke out at Warradine, the capital of Eſclavonia, by which ſeven parts out of eight of that large and opulent city were reduced to aſhes. It happened by a man's ſhaking the tobacco out of his pipe without extinguiſhing the aſhes.

25th. About ſix in the morning, her Majeſty was taken with labour pains, notice of which was immediately ſent to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the ſecretaries of ſtate, and ſeveral of the nobility; and, at ſeven o'clock, her Majeſty was ſafely delivered of a princeſs, being her eleventh child, and all of them living.

And on Sunday evening, the 19th of May, being the birth-day of her Majeſty, who but then entered her thirty-third year, the ceremony of the chriſtening of the young princeſs was performed in the great council chamber, by his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Her Royal Highneſs was named Mary. The ſponſors were, Prince Frederick of Heſſe-Caſſel, repreſented by the Earl of Hertford, Lord-Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold: the Ducheſs of Saxe-Gotha, repreſented by the Ducheſs of Argyle; and the Princeſs Frederica of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, repreſented by the Dowager Counteſs of Effingham.

On this happy occaſion, both houſes, and the lord-mayor, &c. addreſſed his Majeſty, as uſual. But, as the addreſs of the latter is not altogether in the uſual ſtile, our readers may be glad to ſee it. It is as follows:

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

Your Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, the Lord-mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, approach your Majeſty with their congratulations on the happy delivery of their moſt amiable Queen, and the birth of another Princeſs; and to aſſure your Majeſty, that there are not, in all your dominions, any ſubjects more faithful, or more ready to maintain the true honour and dignity of your crown.

They will continue to rejoice at every event which adds to your Majeſty's domeſtic felicity; and they hope, that every branch of the auguſt Houſe of Brunſwick will add further ſecurity to thoſe ſacred laws and liberties which their anceſtors would not ſuffer to be violated with impunity, and which, in conſequence of the glorious and neceſſary Revolution, that illuſtrious Houſe was called forth to protect and defend.

Signed, by order of Court,

WILLIAM RIX.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

"I thank you for this dutiful addreſs on the happy delivery of the Queen, and the birth of another Princeſs.

The ſecurity of the laws and liberties

liberties of my people, has always been, and ever ſhall be, the object of my care and attention."

The ſubjects for the annual prizes of fifteen guineas each, given by the Marquis of Granby, and Richard Croftes, Eſq; repreſentatives for the univerſity of Cambridge, for the beſt exerciſes in Latin proſe, are, this year, for the ſenior bachelors, "Utrum Imperium atque Artes, humaniores Occidentali Curſu Nationibus ſeſe deferant?" For the middle bachelors, "An Conſtantinus Imperii ſui Sedem Jure mutaverit?"

26th. Died the Grand Ducheſs of Ruſſia, Petrowna Alexiewna, born Princeſs of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, univerſally and ſincerely lamented by her Imperial Majeſty, the Grand Duke, and the whole empire.

Some days ago, Capt. Kidd, of his majeſty's ſloop Princeſs Anne, fell in with a ſmuggler dogger in the Frith of Forth and took her. But it was not long before another ſmuggling veſſel, which, as it ſince appears, meaſures 66 feet keel, carries twenty ſix-pounders, with thirty ſwivels, and is navigated by eighty ſtout men, came up with and attacked Capt. Kidd, killed one or two of his men, and retook the dogger. Upon this, Capt. Ogilvie's exciſe yacht, and the Hazard ſloop of war, ſailed in queſt of the ſmugglers; but the latter, being a bad ſailer, did not come up with them; and when Capt. Ogilvie did, he durſt not venture to attack them alone.

28th. The governors of the city of London Lying-in-Hoſpital held their anniverſary feaſt at the King's-Arms tavern in Cornhill. The collection at the church and dinner, together with ſome late ſubſcriptions, amounted to 564l. 4s. beſides ſome legacies lately received, to the amount of 677l. 2s. 6d. amongſt which was the ſum of 500l. bequeathed to this charity by their late worthy preſident, Barlow Trecothick, Eſq;

29th. Mr. Axtell was brought into the court of King's-Bench to receive judgment for printing and publiſhing a pamphlet called "The Criſis."—Sir Richard Aſton read ſeveral extracts from the ſame, which he declared were groſsly libellous, and deſerving of puniſhment. However, an affidavit being read, in which the priſoner declared he was not worth five pounds, the court paſſed ſentence of but three months impriſonment upon him.

Immediately after George Allen appeared, and Robert Holloway was brought into court to receive judgment; the former for printing and publiſhing, and the latter for writing a libellous pamphlet, called the "Rat Trap." When his lordſhip pronounced the ſentence of the court, which was impriſonment for one month to the defendant Allen; and three months longer to the priſoner Holloway, who had been already confined a conſiderable time.

At a court of common-council, held at Guildhall, Mr. Horton aroſe, and prefacing his motion with ſome remarks upon the expenditure neceſſary to ſupport the dignity of the mayoralty: he ſaid, that for ſeveral years paſt, although the income allowed out of the chamber was but 4000l. the expence was not leſs than 7000l. and upwards; he thought the cloſe attendance upon the duties of the office a ſuffi-

cient burthen; but that, connected with the other conſideration, it was intolerable, and what the corporation ought not to ſuffer to be endured; he ſhould therefore move, "That it be referred to the committee appointed to examine into the ſtate of the city's caſh, to take into conſideration the amount of the ſalary and certain emoluments annually allowed by the corporation to the Lord-Mayor, for ſupporting the neceſſary expence of the mayoralty; and that the ſaid committee do ſtate their opinion to the court thereupon." This was agreed to without a diviſion.

The beginning of this year, the French clergy granted his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty a free gift of ſixteen millions of livres, or ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; which his majeſty has acquieſced in; whilſt other Roman Catholic ſtates ſeem reſolved to take another method with their clergy.—The ſenate of Venice are ſaid to be reſolved to ſell the revenues of all the monaſteries in their dominions. At leaſt, they have already ſold thoſe enjoyed by the late Mr. Sarvognano, by auction. The produce, however, of theſe ſales is to be kept in a ſeparate ſtock, out of which the monaſteries are to be ſupported, and the reſt is to augment the revenues of the pooreſt biſhopricks of the ſtate, in order to put them more upon an equality with the reſt. It was ſaid, however, that the ſenate intended to ſend two prelates to Rome, with a commiſſion to terminate the differences in an amicable manner. —The court of Naples has, it is ſaid, reſolved to purſue the ſame courſe with the ſenate of Venice, with as little regard to the pope's permiſſion.

Mr. Wilkes made his annual motion in parliament, 30th. for expunging from the journals of the houſe, the reſolution for his expulſion; for a more equal repreſentation of the people; and for ſhortening the duration of parliament; but it paſſed in the negative, 186 to 92.

The charter of the Dutch Eaſt-India company having expired in the year 1773, the company, under a pretence that its trade had declined, ſolicited the States-General to grant a diminution of the ſum formerly paid for the renewal of the charter. Upon this, their high mightineſſes, in order to have time to enquire into the foundation of this requeſt, prolonged the charter for three years, upon the old footing; and finding ſince upon enquiry, that the company had really met with great loſſes, and that their trade had greatly declined, they complied with the company's requeſt, and have lately granted them a new charter for thirty years, for the ſame term as the former, paying immediately two millions of florins inſtead of three millions, which they paid before, and the ſum of 360,000 florins yearly, which laſt ſum, however, they were allowed to make good in money or goods. In conſequence of this indulgence, the ſtock of the company roſe no leſs than 19 per cent. in about ſix months.

Died, the 1ſt inſtant, 31ſt. Mr. John Harman, one of the moſt noted aſtrologers of the age.

The 2d, The Rev. Mr. Grainger, vicar of Shiplake, Oxfordſhire, author

thor of that uſeful and entertaining work, the "Biographical Hiſtory of England, &c." ſuddenly, by the burſting of a veſſel in the brain, as he was adminiſtering the ſacrament at church. [See an elegant epigram on the occaſion, in our article of Poetry.]

The 18th, Mr. Iſaac Sparks, the celebrated comedian of Smock-Alley theatre, Dublin.

The 26th, The Rev. Dr. Borlace, Rector of ———, during the long ſpace of 57 years, juſtice of the peace, vice warden of the ſtannaries, at Caſtle Horneck, in Cornwall, aged 82 years.

The 28th, Mr. Robert Cook, at Clifton, Yorkſhire, aged 107 years.

Mr. Rogers, maſter of the Sun alehouſe in the Borough, a dwarf four feet three inches high.

The 30th, the famous Mr. Wortley Montague, brother to Lady Bute, at Padua. [See ſome account of this gentleman's life, in our ſecond part.]

Lately, a lady of large fortune in Weſtminſter, who left a conſiderable legacy to her footman to hang fourteen favourite cats.

Captain Panſhaw, at Deptford, aged 98. He has left a large fortune between his man and his maid and a deſerted girl, to whom he had the goodneſs to be a father, becauſe ſhe had no mother, and her father had forſaken her.

Nathaniel St. André, Eſq; well known by the infamous ſtory of Mary Tofts, the rabbit woman; whoſe caſe was urged, by a learned cotemporary divine, as a completion of a prophecy in the Revelations.

William G——, Eſq; who, having been left 18,000l. a few months before, by his father, loſt it all by gaming in leſs than month; in the Rules of the King's-bench.

David Biar, aged 117, at Finnerane, in the county of Clare, Ireland.

Mr. John Mouat, ſurgeon, who, in the opinion of thoſe beſt acquainted with him, was 136 years old, at Langholme, in the county of Dumfries, Scotland.

LENT ASSIZES.

At Hertford, four priſoners were capitally convicted.

At Chelmsford, eight; amongſt whom was Samuel Norfolk for the murder of Sarah his wife. He ſtrongly denied being guilty of the murder, till after ſentence of death was paſſed on him; when he acknowledged that he threw her into the river, and afterwards kept her down with a ſtick till ſhe was drowned. He was a farmer of Great Coggeſhall, and in very good circumſtances; and his wife, even by his own account, a woman of the greateſt diſcretion and mildneſs.

At Oxford, two.

At Wincheſter, four.

At Reading, two; one of whom was reprieved; the other, for burglary, left for execution.

At Saliſbury, nine; but all reprieved.

At the above aſſizes came on the trials of the four candidates for Hindon, in conſequence of the proſecution commenced againſt them all by the attorney-general for bribery, by order of the houſe of commons. After a hearing, which continued for two days, General Smith and Mr. Hollis, the late ſitting members for the borough, were found guilty. Mr. Calthorp

Calthorp and Mr. Beckford, the petitioners, were, upon the ſtrongeſt and cleareſt evidence, acquitted.

At Worceſter, Ann Hale only, for the murder of her baſtard child, was condemned and executed.

At Northampton, three were capitally convicted; but all reprieved, except one for a burglary and robbery.

At Bedford, one, for horſeſtealing; but reprieved.

At Cambridge, a boy for a burglary; but reprieved.

At Maidſtone, eight; amongſt whom was Margaret Ryan, for the wilful murder of her huſband. She pleaded guilty; but, at the deſire of the court, ſhe put herſelf on her country. She appeared to be near 70, and only ſaid in her defence "the deceaſed and ſhe had words, and ſhe ſtabbed him with a penknife."

At York, ten; among whom were Thomas Aikney and Elizabeth Boardingham, for the murder of John Boardingham, huſband to the latter.

On their trials it appeared that Aikney had cohabited with her, during her huſband's confinement in York Caſtle for ſmuggling; and that, ſoon after his releaſe and return to Flambrough, ſhe went off with Aikney into Lincolnſhire, where they continued three months: that, previous to their going off, ſhe had frequently urged Aikney to murder her huſband, but that he, to avoid yielding to her intreaties, perſuaded her to elope: that, notwithſtanding ſhe was kindly received on her return home, ſhe ſeemed inflexibly bent on her huſband's deſtruction, and renewed her ſollicitations that Aikney would effect it.

He at length agreed to accompliſh the horrid deſign, for which purpoſe ſhe promiſed to let him into the houſe in the night-time: that, eight days after her return, viz. the 13th of February, about eleven at night, ſhe awakened her huſband, by acquainting him that ſhe heard a noiſe at the door, on which the unfortunate man put on his coat and waiſtcoat, and went down ſtairs, where Aikney, lying in wait for his coming, ſtabbed him firſt in the thigh, and afterwards on the left ſide, leaving the knife in the wound. Boardingham made to the ſtreet, and cried out murder; in the mean time Aikney eſcaped.

A neighbour came to his aſſiſtance, and found him, holding in one hand the bloody knife juſt drawn out of the wound, and with the other ſupporting his bowels that were falling from his body. He languiſhed till next day, when he expired in great agonies. The knife was produced in court, and proved to be Aikney's, who, on being aſked if he had any thing to advance in his defence, acknowledged the truth of the evidence, and received his ſentence with reſignation.

Elizabeth Boardingham's body was burnt to aſhes, and Thomas Aikney's ſent to the infirmary at Leeds for diſſection.

At the ſame aſſizes a cauſe was tried, wherein Mrs. Saunderſon was plaintiff, and a maltſter defendant, for non-performance of a promiſe of marriage. The jury found for the plaintiff, with 100l. damages. The defendant is 60 years

years of age, and the plaintiff upwards of 50.

At Stafford, ſix were capitally convicted; one of whom was for the murder of his own daughter, an infant, aged ten weeks.

At Derby, one, for the murder of Mrs. Mary Vickars, Dec. 18, 1774.

At Norwich, four.

At the ſame aſſizes came on before Mr. Juſtice Willes, and a ſpecial jury, an action of debt, brought by Pinkney Wilkinſon, Eſq; againſt a clergyman, in order to recover the ſum of 80l. for eight months non-reſidence on his living in this county, when the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, ſubject to the opinion of the Conrt of King's-Bench, upon the following queſtion, 'Whether the want of a parſonage-houſe is a ſufficient excuſe for the defendant's abſence from his living, and a total neglect of his duty.' See p. 141. for the opinion of the court hereupon.

At Dorcheſter, one, for horſe-ſtealing, but reprieved.

At Shrewſbury, four.

At Kingſton, nineteen; fourteen of whom were afterwards reprieved.

At Bury, four; but all afterwards reprieved.

At the ſame aſſizes, a livery ſervant brought an action againſt a juſtice of the peace for falſe impriſonment, being committed for going out with his maſter's greyhounds, by his maſter's order, and killing a hare. The jury, who were ſpecial, deeming it an act of oppreſſion, found for the plaintiff with coſts of ſuit.

At Eaſt Grinſtead, one was capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Exeter, four.

At Warwick, ſeven; four of whom were reprieved.

At Launceſton, one, for the murder of her baſtard child.

At Lancaſter, two. Fourteen more, who had been concerned in the riot at Liverpool, were, by the clemency of the judge and proſecutors, ſuffered to go on board one of his majeſty's ſhips of war deſtined for America.

At Glouceſter, ſeven were capitally convicted.

At Monmouth, one, who was afterwards reprieved.

At Taunton, nine.

At Briſtol, four; but all reprieved.

Huntingdon and Hereford aſſizes proved maiden ones.

At Hereford aſſizes, an action of ſingular importance to all traders in hops was tried, between Mr. Beezley, of Worceſter, plaintiff, and Mr. Higgings, of Hereford, defendant, to recover ſatisfaction for a parcel of hops ſold in October laſt by the defendant to the plaintiff, and which turned out to be badly cured, and, on that account, unmarketable. The event of this action (which it is to be hoped all hop planters will record in their minds) was, that the defendant was compelled to take the hops again; refund the price; pay intereſt, and for warehouſe room; and allow a moderate profit to the plaintiff, which he of courſe would have made if the hops had been ſound; and alſo to pay coſts.

A new regulation was ordered to take place for the future at all the country aſſizes; which is, that all perſons condemned, and afterwards pardoned, are to be tranſported forthwith, and not to lie

till

till another aſſize to plead their pardon, as hitherto had been the cuſtom.

MAY.

1ſt. By a proclamation iſſued the 12th ult. and to take place this day, no guineas, half-guineas, or quarter-guineas, more deficient in weight than the rates ſpecified in the table following; viz.

	dwts.	*grs.*
Guineas coined prior to the 1ſt of January 1772,	5	8
Half-guineas during the ſame period,	2	16
Quarter-guineas, during the ſame period,	1	8

are to be allowed to be current, or to paſs in any payment whatſoever, in Great-Britain, except

	dwts.	*grs.*
Guineas coined prior to the 1ſt of January 1772, weighing	5	6
Half-guineas, during the ſame period,	2	14
Quarter-guineas, during the ſame period,	1	7

which were, till the 19th of Auguſt following, incluſively, to paſs in payments to be made at the receipt of the Exchequer, or to the collectors or receivers of the revenues in Great-Britain, or to the governor and company of the Bank of England, or to ſuch other perſon or perſons as ſhall be appointed by the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, or any three of them, or the Bank, to receive and exchange the ſame for gold of the weight mentioned in the firſt table, ſuch appointments to be publiſhed in the London Gazette.

On this occaſion, three or four large ſums, in light gold, were loſt in their way to London, by being packed up, without any other precaution, in parcels, which, though big enough to conceal the bulk, were not heavy enough to drown the weight, of ſo ponderous a metal.

A demurrer in the cauſe, the king againſt John Hart, Eſq; for uſurping the office of Alderman of the city of London, was argued in the court of King's-Bench, when it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the election was void.

2d. The governors of the Magdalen charity dined together, when the collection amounted to 1007 l. 13 s 6d.

Whitehall, May 3. The King has been pleaſed to order letters patent to be paſſed under the great ſeal of Great-Britain, conſtituting and appointing Richard Lord Viſcount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and the Honourable William Howe, Eſq; Major-General of his Majeſty's forces, and General of his Majeſty's forces in North-America only, to be his Majeſty's commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to his Majeſty's colonies and plantations in North-America; and for granting pardon to ſuch of his Majeſty's ſubjects there, now in rebellion, as ſhall deſerve the royal mercy.

His Majeſty hath alſo been pleaſed to nominate and appoint Henry Strachy, Eſq; to be ſecretary to the ſaid commiſſion.

And about this time, or ſoon after, General Howe was inveſted with full power to grant commiſſions of every rank.

6th. The

6th. The ſiege of Quebec was raiſed; and ſoon after General Carleton iſſued two proclamations: by one of which he forbid ſuch of its former inhabitants, with their wives and children, as had been baniſhed the town before the ſiege, on account of their not joining in its defence, to attempt coming back, without a ſpecial licence under his hand, or that of the lieutenant-governor: by the other, he invited ſuch of the Provincials as might be hiding in the woods, particularly the ſick and wounded, in danger of periſhing for want of neceſſaries, to come in and be taken ſome care of; with a promiſe to diſmiſs them when able to ſet out for their own homes.

7th. Was held the anniverſary meeting of the ſons of the clergy. The collections at the performances in church, and feaſt, were as follow: at St. Paul's 197l. at ditto, 280l. 11s. 6d. at Merchant-Taylors Hall, 392l. 6s. Total, 869l. 17s 6d.

8th. Sir Robert Murray Keith took leave of his Majeſty, being ſoon to ſet out on his embaſſy to the court of Vienna.

An ox of an extraordinary magnitude, fed by Henry Lutwidge, Eſq; at Cooper's-Hill, was killed at Wigan, in Lancaſhire. It meaſured, when living, 16 hands in height, and 9 feet 2 inches in girt over the part called the ſaddle; and weighed 1568lb. After it was ſlaughtered, there were taken from it 186lb. of tallow. The ſirloin, which weighed 67 lb. was nine inches deep in fat; and the rump weighed 77lb. both of them cut as ſcant as poſſible.

9th. At the anniverſary meeting of the ſociety for the diſcharge and relief of perſons impriſoned for ſmall debts, it appeared, by accounts laid before the ſociety, that, ſince its inſtitution, 3591 debtors had been releaſed, and reſtored to their families; and a conſiderable ſum was collected towards extending this charitable deſign.

10th. Sir Robert Ainſtie, late appointed ambaſſador to the court of Conſtantinople, took leave of his Majeſty, being in a few days to ſet out on his embaſſy. Henry Higden, Eſq; late ſecretary to Lord Suffolk, is appointed ſecretary to this embaſſy.

11th. During an audience of leave which Prince Repnin, ambaſſador extraordinary at the Porte from Ruſſia, had this day of the grand vizir, one of his officers, even in his preſence, threw off his uniform and hat, and called for a turban, declaring he was a true and faithful Mahometan. But his excellency having talked to him, in the Ruſſian language, and reclaimed him, the grand vizir cauſed him to be returned; which, however, was not the caſe with about twenty other Ruſſians, who turned Mahometans.

A few days ago came on to be argued in the court of King's-Bench, a ſpecial caſe, reſerved at the Norfolk aſſizes, in a cauſe between Pinckney Wilkinſon, Eſq; plaintiff, and a clergyman defendant, upon the following queſtion, whether the want of a parſonage-houſe is a ſufficient excuſe for a clergyman's abſenting himſelf from, and neglecting the care of his living. The court were unanimouſly

of

of opinion, that the want of a parſonage-houſe is not an excuſe for non-reſidence; but that in ſuch caſe a clergyman is obliged to be reſident upon his living, and to perform his parochial duty, and for that purpoſe muſt hire an habitation in or near his pariſh; and accordingly judgment was pronounced for the plaintiff.

13th. The royal aſſent was given, by commiſſion, to the following bills, viz.

The bill for raiſing a certain ſum, by loans on Exchequer bills, for the ſervice of the preſent year.

The bill more effectually to prevent the ſtealing or deſtroying of deer in Great-Britain.

The bill for ſecuring a fund belonging to certain perſons of the theatre in Covent-Garden, and applicable to charitable purpoſes.

The bill to continue the corporation of guardians of the poor in the iſle of Wight.

The bill to remove the danger of fire amongſt the ſhips in the port of Briſtol.

The bill to amend an act for lighting and paving Portſmouth.

The bill for the better encouragement of the pilchard fiſhery within the Bay of St. Ives.

The bill to declare his majeſty's natural-born ſubjects inheritable to the eſtates of their anceſtors in Scotland.

The bill for granting a bounty on flax-ſeed, the growth of the Auſtrian Netherlands, imported into Ireland.

The bill to indemnify perſons who have omitted to qualify themſelves for offices or employments within the time limitted by law.

The bill for better ſupplying the town of Brecknock with water, and for paving and lighting the ſtreets therein.

The bills to diſſolve the marriages of Charles Horneck, Eſq; and of Dr. John Elliot.

And alſo to ſeveral other public and private bills ready for that purpoſe, to the amount of fifty and upwards.

Lord Ravenſworth moved in the houſe of lords, that the commiſſioners of exciſe be deſired to write to all ſuch perſons as they had reaſon to ſuſpect had ſilver-plate, and had not paid the duty, and to return to the houſe the names of ſuch perſons as had, or had not paid it, on the firſt day of next ſeſſions. This motion was agreed to.

Happened the affair of the Cedars, not perhaps ſo remarkable for the defeat of a pretty large body of provincials, as the handle made of it by the continental congreſs to charge the Britiſh troops with the moſt wanton cruelty; whereas it has been ſince proved that their behaviour had been quite the reverſe.

14th. The opinion of the court of Common-Pleas was ſolemnly delivered by all the judges upon a motion for an arreſt of judgment, in a cauſe wherein Mrs. Baddeley, comedian, was defendant. The court was unanimous in granting the motion, but ſeemed to differ as to the principles. The chief juſtice declared, that as a *feme covert*, and not ſubject to the local cuſtom of any trading community, ſhe could not be ſued, and was by law equally incapable of ſuing. His lordſhip adduced ſeveral caſes, which clearly proved, that by the common law of this country, a married woman, not under influence of locality, cannot be

be made accountable for any debts ſhe may contract.

15th. The congreſs, conſidering the United Colonies as excluded by the capture-acts from the protection of the crown of Great-Britain, recommended to the reſpective colonies, to adopt ſuch form of government, as ſhould beſt conduce to the happineſs of the inhabitants, and the ſafety of America.

17th. The attorney-general came into the court of King's-Bench, and moved for judgment againſt General Smith, for bribing the electors of the borough of Hindon: Mr. Juſtice Willes ſtated the evidence againſt him. As ſoon as he concluded, Serjeant Davy and Mr. Mansfield endeavoured to mitigate the ſentence, by ſhewing how much the general had already been puniſhed for his offence, the great expence he was at, and likely to be at. In anſwer to what was urged in his favour, the attorney-general inſiſted, that the reaſons given in favour of him, only aggravated his guilt. Lord Mansfield then began, by expreſſing his concern that the defendant had brought himſelf into ſo diſagreeable a ſituation, purſued the attorney-general's idea, that as to the expence, the general brought it on himſelf by procuring a return by corruption; that the voters being willing to receive bribes, was no juſtification of the giver; that ſuch puniſhment ſhould be inflicted as would compel the candidate to be honeſt; that the preſent caſe was of the moſt ſerious nature. An officer of the crown, on behalf of the public, proſecuted to conviction a man endeavouring to get into the ſenate by corruption; this crime called for ample puniſhment by way of example; it was the firſt inſtance of the kind heard of, and ſhould be maturely conſidered, as it would be impoſſible to preſerve the conſtitution from ruin, if courts of juſtice did not act with vigor, when ſuch matters came before them. His lordſhip then ordered the general for the preſent to ſtand committed, and to be brought up the firſt day of next term, to receive whatever ſentence the court ſhould think proper to pronounce. Mr. Hollis, the other candidate, ſtanding upon the ſame ground, was diſmiſſed in the ſame manner; and both ſent to the King's-Bench priſon.

20th. The following bills were paſſed by commiſſion:

The bill for granting to his majeſty a certain ſum out of the ſinking fund.

The bill to enable his majeſty to raiſe the ſum of one million, for the purpoſes therein mentioned.

The bill for granting to his majeſty ſeveral duties on coaches and other carriages; alſo upon indentures, leaſes, bonds, and other deeds; likewiſe upon cards, dice, and news-papers: and for raiſing two millions by annuities and a lottery.

The bill for raiſing a certain ſum by loans on exchequer-bills.

The bill for relief of inſolvent debtors, and bankrupts, in certain caſes.

The bill to diſſolve the marriage of Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury with his now wife, and to enable him to marry again.

The bill for erecting light-houſes and land-marks in the port of Cheſter, for the better ſecurity of ſhipping.

The

The bill to explain, amend, and reduce into one act, the general laws in being, for the better preſervation of turnpike roads.

The bill for the further encouragement of the whale-fiſhery, carried on from Great Britain and Ireland.

The bill for allowing the exportation of a certain quantity of wheat and other articles to the ſugar colonies in America, and to the iſland of St. Helena, and other ſettlements belonging to the Eaſt-India Company.

The bill for allowing corn, grain, and flour, imported into the port of Preſton, to be landed without payment of the duties.

The bill for draining, improving, and preſerving certain fen and waſte lands near Sandwich.

And alſo to ſeveral road, incloſure, and private bills.

By the coach act an additional duty of 20s. per annum is laid on all coaches, berlins, &c. except hackney-coaches; and a duty of 5l. per annum on ſtages; notice to be given, and payment made, agreeable to an act 20 Geo. I. The clauſe in the ſaid act, exempting perſons from paying for more than five carriages, is repealed.

By the new act with reſpect to ſtamps, an additional duty of 1s. is laid on all indentures, bonds, &c. heretofore liable to a ſhilling ſtamp; an additional duty of 6d. on every pack of playing-cards, and 2s. 6d. on every pair of dice made for ſale; an additional duty of one halfpenny on every ſheet or half-ſheet of news-paper. Commiſſioners may provide a new ſtamp, to denote all the ſeveral duties; and, after July 5, 1776, all vellum, &c. liable to the new duty, to be carried to the ſtamp-office, &c. before it is printed or wrote on. Perſons counterfeiting ſtamps to ſuffer death as felons. Selling cards to be played with, after the cover has been broke open, 5l. penalty.

By returns made from the goals throughout the kingdom, it appears, that there are upwards of 8000 debtors in the different priſons waiting to take the benefit of the inſolvent-act.

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and, after being addreſſed by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, gave the royal aſſent to the following bills, viz. 23d.

The bill to oblige the overſeers of the poor, within the ſeveral pariſhes and places in England, which are not under the proviſion of former acts, to make returns upon oath relative to the ſtate of their poor.

The bill to alter the mode of puniſhment of felons ſentenced for tranſportation, to hard labour in England.

The bill to diſſolve the marriage of the Rev. John Jenkins with Mary Jenkins, his wife.

The bill relating to the Duke of St. Alban's eſtate, and ſome other bills.

And then His Majeſty put an end to the ſeſſions, by a moſt gracious ſpeech; which the reader will find, as alſo the Speaker's addreſs, among our State Papers.

The new hall, called Free Maſon's Hall, in Great Queen-ſtreet, Lincoln's-inn-fields, was dedicated with great ſolemnity; great numbers of ſtrangers being preſent; particularly ladies, who were treated with great politeneſs. Doctor Dodd preached the ſermon on the occaſion.

Being Holy Thurſday, 8,400 charity

charity children, educated in the different ſchools of London and Weſtminſter, met, and heard divine ſervice performed at Chriſt-Church, according to annual cuſtom.

24th. The general aſſembly of the church of Scotland met at Edinburgh, and choſe the Rev. Dr. John Ker their moderator. Lord Cathcart was his majeſty's high commiſſioner on the occaſion.

25th. The ſeſſions ended at the Old-Bailey, when two criminals, for murdering Joſeph Peerſon, a cuſtom-houſe officer, on the 11th of April laſt; two, for coining; and fifteen others, for various other capital crimes, received ſentence of death; forty-one were branded in the hand, of whom ſeveral were ordered to be impriſoned for ſome time in Newgate; four were ordered to be whipped; and eighteen diſcharged by proclamation. With the two coiners was tried one Hannah Horner, as an acceſſary, who having a fine child about four months old at her breaſt, greatly affected the whole court. On her acquittal, ſhe fell into tears; and after paying her reſpects to the court and jury, firſt embraced her little innocent; and then, in a kind of frenzy, ſeized the unhappy father, one of the coiners, in her arms, and was with difficulty diſengaged from him, expreſſing more anxiety for his life than for her own. At the ſame inſtant, on the conviction of the other coiner, a well-dreſſed young woman in the gallery burſt into a loud fit, crying out repeatedly to the lord-mayor and judges, "Gentlemen, ſpare my father! mercy! mercy! to my dear father!" and then falling down on the floor, was carried out of court in great agonies.

The two murderers were executed on the 27th. The poor man they had murdered was one of four cuſtom-houſe officers, who, having previous intelligence that a quantity of tea was to be run in the night, way-laid the ſmugglers, near Deptford turnpike; but poſſibly the ſame perſon who gave the information to the officers might alarm the ſmugglers, who, having made themſelves drunk for miſchief, inſtead of running the tea, armed themſelves with clubs and bludgeons to hunt the officers; the unfortunate deceaſed was overtaken in the purſuit, and beat ſo unmercifully, that he died, after being conveyed to the hoſpital, in great agonies. They were convicted on the evidence of an accomplice; but there were other corroborating proofs againſt them, though none to their being the identical perſons who gave the blows. One Gipſey George, a noted ſmuggler, was their employer, and hired the whole gang, twenty in number, to purſue the officers.

Moſt of the other capital convicts were reſpited; the reſt, of whom the two coiners, and an elderly man, for being concerned with his ſon in robbing the ſon's maſter, made a part; with another convicted in February ſeſſions for writing a threatening letter, when under ſentence of tranſportation in Newgate, to the proſecutor of a fellow-priſoner; were executed at Tyburn the 17th of July. The criminal, for writing the threatening letter, had been kept back for the opinion of the judges, on a point of law. The youth con-

victed of robbing his master, was saved in consequence of a recommendation by the jury, as it appeared he had been put on by his father; and of a petition afterwards presented to the king by his grandmother, a poor woman of eighty-two; whom his Majesty perceiving to totter as she approached him, was graciously pleased to go and meet.

29th. Being the anniversary of the restoration of Charles II. the same was observed as usual.

A sudden fire broke out, at noonday, at Bellon, in Rutlandshire, by which 27 houses were consumed, besides barns, out-houses and granaries, and more than 170 persons reduced to the greatest distress. It was occasioned by a girl's throwing hot ashes into a back yard, which kindled the litter and set an out-house on fire.

They write from Vienna, that since the power of the monks is fallen, the clouds of ignorance are dissipated, and toleration has proved that the difference of religion does not either weaken the love, or lessen the fidelity of, subjects, or sow the least dissention among them; if they are equally well used. By an imperial edict lately published in Hungary, it is said to be enacted, First, that no sick protestant shall for the future be obliged to have a catholic priest. 2d, The latter are forbid going to the sick protestants, unless they are called by the sick persons, their relations, or protestant friends. 3d, The protestants shall not for the future be obliged to have a catholic priest to attend their funerals. 4th, If a priest is called upon on such an occasion, he shall be obliged to sing such canticles as the protestants shall chuse. 5th, All catholic school-masters, &c. are forbid to put such books into the hands of their pupils, as treat of different doctrines from that which their parents profess, under pain of losing their employments. 6th, All processions, &c. which take up more than one day are absolutely forbid. 7th, When processions are made in cities, the protestants shall not be obliged to assist at them; consequently they are not to be invited, or punished for not coming. By these means all disorder, animosity, and profanation will be put an end to.

Several Spanish frigates having been sent from Acapulco to make discoveries, and propagate the Gospel among the Indians to the north of California; in the month of July, 1774, they navigated as high upon the coast as the latitude 58 deg. 20 min. six degrees above Cape Blanco. Having discovered several good ports, and navigable rivers, upon the west coast of this great continent, they established in one of the largest ports, a garrison, and called the port Presidio de San Carlos; and, besides, left a mission at every port where inhabitants were to be found. The Indians they here met with, are said to be a docile sort of people, agreeable in their countenance, honest in their traffic, and neat in their dress, but at the same time idolaters to the greatest degree, having never before had any intercourse with Europeans. M. Buccarelli, viceroy of New Spain, has received his catholic majesty's thanks for these discoveries, as they were made under his direction, and the several navy officers upon that service have been

preferred.

preferred. It is imagined that thoſe new diſcoveries will be very advantageous, as the coaſt abounds with whales, as alſo a fiſh equal to the Newfoundland cod, known in Spain by the name of Baccalao.

At the late Lent aſſizes of Maryborough, in Ireland, twelve of the deluded people called White-boys were capitally convicted on a late act, and ordered for execution. By this act, perſons found in arms, day or night, in any diſguiſe, or diſtinguiſhed by any name other than their uſual name, are liable to corporal puniſhment, fine, or impriſonment;——perſons maiming, wounding, ſhooting at, threatening the perſon, or deſtroying the property, of another, or compelling him to join in any criminal offences, are puniſhable with death;—perſons forcibly entering the dwelling-houſes of others in the night, or cauſing any door to be opened, any arms, ammunition, or other goods or chattels to be ſeized, are puniſhable with death;——aiding, abetting, or concealing any ſuch perſons, is death;——and perſons killing or maiming ſuch offenders in purſuing or apprehending them, are indemnified.——All damages done by ſuch offenders are to be made good by aſſeſſment in the diſtrict where the damage is ſuſtained. Magiſtrates are empowered to ſearch for and ſeize all arms, &c. in the poſſeſſion of papiſts or reputed papiſts; and perſons under ſuch denomination are liable to corporal puniſhment, fine, and impriſonment, for concealing arms, ammunition, &c. The act, however, allows time for criminals to ſurrender and receive pardon; and enacts, that no confeſſion that may be then made, ſhall be brought in evidence againſt any perſon ſo ſurrendering and pleading pardon.

On the 15th inſtant, Ellin Ellis, aged 72, and who had been married 46 years, was brought to bed, at the Four Croſſes, Denbighſhire. She has had twelve children by the ſame father, the oldeſt was 45, and the youngeſt, before the laſt, 25 years of age. The laſt was ſtill-born, owing, as it is imagined, to the mother's being frightened by a brute of a fellow telling her a fortnight before, that, if ſhe was with child, it muſt be by the devil. This is ſo remarkable an event, that her pregnancy was much called in queſtion. Both ſhe and her huſband looked very infirm.

Died, the 1ſt inſtant, William Smith, Eſq; aged 98, at Seven-Oaks, Kent. He has left an only ſon, his heir, who is upwards of 60.

The 8th, The wife of Mr. Ricaby, hoſier, in the Borough. Her death was occaſioned by a ſharper's coming in to her on a pretended meſſage, and haſtily telling her that her huſband was dropt down dead at Camberwell.

The 29th, Nicholas Price, Eſq; Lieutenant-Governor of Kinſale. As he was walking along Dame-ſtreet, Dublin, he ſtruck a man that met him, and who he ſaid had joſtled him againſt the wall, a blow or two with his cane. The man, whether he knew the governor or not, never returned the blow, but contented himſelf with taking the cane with which he had been ſtruck; when the governor immediately fell againſt the wall and

expired. Several ſurgeons were ſent for, who attempted to bleed him, but all to no purpoſe. It is preſumed he burſt a blood veſſel in his paſſion.

JUNE.

1ſt. Some experiments were tried at Woolwich before Lord Viſcount Townſhend, Lord Amherſt, Generals Harvey and Deſaguliers, and a number of other officers with a rifle gun, upon a new conſtruction, by Capt. Ferguſon, of the 70th regiment; when that gentleman, under the diſadvantages of a heavy rain and a high wind, performed the following four things, none of which had ever before been accompliſhed with any other ſmall arms: 1ſt, He fired during four or five minutes at a target, at 200 yards diſtance, at the rate of four ſhots each minute. 2dly, He fired ſix ſhots in one minute. 3dly, He fired four times per minute, advancing at the ſame time at the rate of four miles in the hour. 4thly, He poured a bottle of water into the pan and barrel of the piece when loaded, ſo as to wet every grain of the powder, and in leſs than half a minute fired with her as well as ever, without extracting the ball. He alſo hit the bull's eye at 100 yards, lying with his back on the ground; and, notwithſtanding the unequalneſs of the wind and wetneſs of the weather, he only miſſed the target three times during the whole courſe of the experiments. The captain has ſince taken out a patent for the ſaid improvements. It paſſed the great ſeal on the 4th of December following.

Some weeks ago, a merchant in Dublin was charged, before the privy council of Ireland, with being concerned in ſhipping ammunition and warlike ſtores for America; and the captain of the ſhip Hancock and Adams, with receiving the ſame. The merchant was diſcharged for want of direct proof, but the captain was committed to Newgate.

4th. Two addreſſes from the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland; one on the diſturbances in America, the other expreſſing their congratulations on the birth of another princeſs, appeared in the London Gazette.

Being his majeſty's birth-day, who then entered into the thirty-ninth year of his age, their majeſties received, at St. James's, the compliments of a numerous and brilliant court on that occaſion. [For the ode performed on the occaſion, pleaſe to turn to our article of poetry for this year.]

Came on at Guildhall, before Mr. Juſtice Aſton, a cauſe between Thomas Eden and Chriſtopher Court, of London, tobacco merchants, plaintiffs, and the company of wharfingers, defendants. The action was brought for recovery of damages ſuſtained on board the wharfingers lighters to and from different ſhips loaded with tobacco; which being plainly proved to have been occaſioned by want of proper covering, or other neceſſary care on the part of the wharfinger, a verdict was given in favour of the plaintiffs, with full coſts of ſuit, after a hearing of five hours.

5th. Was

5th. Was tried in the court of King's-Bench, at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield and a ſpecial jury, an action brought upon a bond, wherein the governors of Greenwich Hoſpital were plaintiffs, and a perſon who had contracted to furniſh the ſaid hoſpital with meat, defendant, to recover a penalty annexed to a breach of performance of the contract. The defendant had undertaken by bond to deliver good ox beef, inſtead of which he had ſubſtituted bull beef, and bull-ſtag beef, both of which were ſaid to be of an inferior quality. To prove this, a late ſervant of the defendant was called, who poſitively ſwore, that he then often delivered the meat at the hoſpital from his maſter, and that amongſt it was a quantity of the two different inferior ſorts above mentioned. The counſel, after croſs-examining the witneſſes, contended, that, as the defendant's bills for the objectionable meat had been properly paſſed, it was thereby proclaimed to be agreeable to the contract, and had wiped away all imputation of fraud. But Lord Mansfield, in charge to the jury, combated this frivolous and evaſive plea with equal humanity and juſtice. He remarked upon the iniquity of practiſing a fraud, in the very article of life, upon ſo extenſive a charity. As to the defence ſet up, there was no colour to render it of any force; though the bills had been paſſed, it was evident, that thoſe who audited them were impoſed on; but however that might be, his lordſhip acquainted the jury, that it was no matter for their conſideration; if they were ſatisfied a fraud had been committed by the defendant upon the hoſpital, they would find a verdict for the plaintiffs. The jury, without going out of court, gave a verdict for one hundred pounds damages.

6th. At five o'clock in the morning, a violent ſhock of an earthquake was felt at Gibraltar, both aſhore and on board the ſhips in the harbour: it laſted about fifty ſeconds; but, happily, neither the houſes nor the fortifications received any damage.

Came on in the court of King's-Bench, at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield, a cauſe wherein Nathaniel Lane, of the city of London, grocer, was plaintiff, and a ſchoolmaſter, or maſter of an academy, near Barnard's Caſtle in Yorkſhire, defendant. The action was brought by the plaintiff againſt the defendant, to recover a ſatisfaction for the defendant's neglect of the plaintiff's ſon, who had been entruſted to his care, particularly with regard to a ſwelling in the child's arm, which happened while at his ſchool; by which neglect the child nearly loſt the uſe of it.—The jury, without going out of court, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 50l. damages and coſts of ſuit.

A dreadful fire broke out at Aſkeſund, ſituated in the middle of the province of Nericia, in Sweden. It reduced to aſhes all that little, but rich and populous, town, not excepting the public buildings, and the iron manufactories, even thoſe of Nagels. Two old women periſhed in the flames.

The Jews of the city of Mantua having aſſembled not long ſince in a

large room up three pair of ſtairs, to celebrate a wedding, and there being a great number of gueſts, the weight of them broke down that floor, and thoſe underneath, quite to the cellar, by which unhappy accident ſixty-ſix perſons were killed, and ſixteen or ſeventeen dangerouſly wounded. The bride and her mother were among the former; but the bridegroom, whoſe name was Finzi, not being arrived when the accident happened, eſcaped the fate of his relations and friends.

8th. The provincials failed in a very bold attempt to ſurpriſe the king's troops, at a place called the Three Rivers, in Canada, with the loſs of two hundred priſoners, beſides thoſe killed and wounded; and next day, the main body of them began their retreat from Canada, burning in their way, every fort through which they paſſed.

General Richard Smith, and Thomas Brand Hollis, Eſqrs. the late members for Hindon, were brought before the court of King's-Bench, in order to receive ſentence, having before been convicted of bribery at the laſt general election; when Sir Richard Aſton prefaced their ſentence with a pathetic ſpeech, in which he expatiated on the enormity of the crime, as, by violating the freedom of election, and corrupting the electors, the Britiſh conſtitution, the moſt perfect in the world, could only be undone; that the crime of which they had been guilty was aggravated by the tendency it had to lead the ignorant and unwary to the commiſſion of that horrid and foul ſin of perjury, the only barrier between God and man. From theſe and other reaſons equally forcible, he inferred the neceſſity of an exemplary puniſhment, and adjudged them to pay a fine of 1000 marks each (666l. 13s. 4d.) to the king, and to ſuffer ſix months impriſonment; and one of them, (General Smith) at the expiration thereof to enter into a recognizance of 1000l. himſelf, and two ſecurities in 500l. each, for his good behaviour for three years.

The day following, one of the voters at the ſame election was brought before the ſame court, to receive ſentence for wilful and corrupt perjury, in his evidence before the houſe of commons; when he received ſentence to ſtand on and in the pillory, with a paper on his forehead ſignifying his crime—Wilful and Corrupt Perjury—twice in the town of Hindon on market days, between eleven and two; the firſt time to-morrow ſe'nnight, and the ſecond the Thurſday following. And, accordingly, on Wedneſday the 19th following, he was brought from the King's-Bench priſon to Fiſherton gaol, Wiltſhire, and on Thurſday was carried to Hindon, where he was placed in the pillory for the firſt time. He was met on the road by a number of his friends, with two flags, and blue ribbons in their hats. The populace treated him very favourably, their attention being taken off, in a great meaſure, by a perſon mounted on a ſtool, who ſung and ſold an election ballad, much to their entertainment. He was brought back to Fiſherton gaol in the evening, and is to undergo the remainder of his ſentence the Thurſday following.

At Congleton, in Cheſhire, one Skelton,

Skelton, a journeyman ſaddler, after having been long in a ſtate of deſpondency, cut his throat. Though he had entirely ſevered his windpipe, he lived upwards of five hours in that deplorable ſtate; during which time he made ſigns for a pen and ink, and wrote in very legible characters, the following words: "I am to let you know, that I was not right when I did this: take care to ſerve God as you ought." He died in the greateſt agonies.

10th. A rule brought by the mayor of Cambridge to diſfranchiſe near fifty honorary freemen of that town was argued in the court of King's-Bench, when Lord Mansfield, after hearing the ſeveral arguments, was pleaſed to diſcharge the rule with coſts.

A countryman and his wife, who went to the bank to change a note of 50l. being obſerved by a ſharper to be ſtrangers, he clapped a pen behind his ear; aſked them what they wanted; took the note; and, bidding them ſtay where they were till he brought the money, walked off with it.

At night, Drury-Lane Theatre was cloſed, for the preſent ſeaſon, with the comedy of the Wonder, in which Mr. Garrick made his laſt theatrical appearance in Don Felix, generouſly giving the profits of the night, as a ſecond benefit this year, to the Charitable Fund for the ſupport of the players, &c. belonging to that houſe, when out of employment, ſick, or otherwiſe diſabled. His performance was inimitable; never were the paſſions of love, jealouſy, rage, &c. ſo highly coloured, or admirably ſet off; in ſhort, he finiſhed his comic courſe with as high a theatrical climax, as he had done the Saturday before, his tragic one.

At laſt, the play being ended, during which every performer ſeemed to exert his greateſt abilities, came the awful criſis, when the Roſcius of this country was to take leave of the town in his public capacity. The ſcene was too diſtreſſing to be deſcribed. Let the reader conceive this univerſal favourite, impreſſed with all thoſe nicer feelings which his peculiar ſituation muſt call forth, advancing forwards, to bid farewell to that public, which ſeemed univerſally to lament that they ſhould be the melancholy witneſſes of their own great loſs. Then, after a ſhort pauſe, as ſoon as he recovered a little from the firſt ſhock, he thus addreſſed the audience.

'Ladies and Gentlemen,

'It has been cuſtomary with perſons under my circumſtances, to addreſs you in a farewel epilogue. I had the ſame intention, and turned my thoughts that way; but indeed I found myſelf then as incapable of writing ſuch an epilogue, as I ſhould be now of ſpeaking it.

'The jingle of rhyme, and the language of fiction, would but ill ſuit my preſent feelings.

'This is to me a very awful moment; it is no leſs than parting for ever with thoſe from whom I have received the greateſt kindneſs and favours, and upon the ſpot where that kindneſs and thoſe favours were enjoyed.

[Here for a moment he was unable to proceed, until relieved by a flood of tears.]

'Whatever may be the changes of my future life, the deep impreſſion I have of your kindneſs, will always remain HERE, [putting his hand to his breaſt] fixed and unalterable.

'I will very readily agree to my ſucceſſors having more ſkill and ability for their ſtation than I have; but I defy them all to take more ſincere, and more uninterrupted pains for your favour, or to be more truly ſenſible of it, than is your moſt obedient and grateful ſervant.'

Here he retired, crowned with never-fading laurels, amidſt the blended tears and acclamations of the moſt brilliant theatre that ever was aſſembled.

As this retreat of Mr. Garrick's from the ſtage muſt ever be conſidered as an intereſting epocha in the Hiſtory of the Britiſh Drama, we have added, in our appendix, a ſhort review of Mr. Garrick's theatrical reign, with ſome particulars of the former part of his life, as it ſeems to have been drawn up by an able and impartial hand.

Mr. Garrick, ſome months before this, ſold his ſhare of Drury-Lane Theatre for 35000l. to Dr. Ford, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Linley, and Mr. Richard Sheridan; when the new proprietors, of their own accord, ſtipulated, that Mr. Garrick ſhould continue to keep that box which had of late years been ſet apart for the accommodation of his family. Theſe particulars Mr. Garrick intimated a few days after, by anſwering in the part of Abel Drugger, on being aſked if he had any intereſt at the theatre, "I *had* ſome; I don't know what I *may have*."

One Robert Knowles, confined in Newcaſtle gaol, 11th. for ſtealing a letter out of the poſt-office, in which were incloſed two bank notes, value 100l. found means to make his eſcape by a very ſimple ſtratagem. Being ill, he had been indulged by his keeper to ſleep without irons; in the mean time, the turnkey going in as uſual to ſee that all was ſafe before he locked up, and obſerving a bundle in Knowles's cell, began to examine it; but, while he was ſtooping with his back to the door, the priſoner ſlipped out and locked the door after him, leaving the turnkey priſoner, and ſetting himſelf at large.

A common wild duck was now ſitting upon nine eggs, 12th. in an oak-tree, near Mr. Newington's, at Etchingham, in Suſſex, about twenty-five feet from the ground. Upon a perſon's getting up to the eggs, which are ſupported by ſome ſmall twigs laid croſs-wiſe, the old duck left them, but ſoon after returned with the mallard, both of which kept hovering about the tree till the man had quitted it; when the duck immediately dropped on her eggs, and has continued to ſit very cloſe ever ſince.

The famous cauſe of Mr. 13th. Bruckſhaw came on before Lord Mansfield, when the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with five pounds damages; and the 21ſt following, the queſtion reſpecting the rule, upon which Mr. Bruckſhaw changed his venue from Lincoln to London, was argued in the ſame court, when Lord Mansfield declared, that the changing the venue did not entitle the defendant to a nonſuit.

14th. The

14th. The Coventry waggon going through Brick Hill, in Northamptonſhire, was ſet on fire by the friction of the axle-tree, and three barrels of gunpowder among the loading took fire, by which the goods were blown up in the air, and totally deſtroyed, to the amount of one thouſand pounds.

15th. The crew of a mackerel boat, which by an accident ſtarted a plank in her bottom, had a moſt miraculous eſcape. As the only means of ſaving their lives they cut away the maſts, &c. and had juſt got a raft of them knit together, when the boat ſunk. On this raft they remained nine hours, without being obſerved by the boats with which they were ſurrounded, who all went away without affording them any relief; when providentially a ſhip at three miles diſtance deſcried them, and bearing down to them, took them on board. Happily the ſea had been calm moſt part of the time; but, when they were taken on board, the weather altered.

His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has lately given orders to augment the pay of all the officers who were reduced in 1774, and to fill up the vacancies that may happen in the ſtanding regiments with ſuch of them as are found fit for immediate ſervice.

17th. About Antwerp and its neighbourhood, there broke forth a moſt violent ſtorm, with thunder, lightning, and hail of the ſize of a hen's egg, together with great pieces of ice, which not only broke all the windows to the ſouth, but deſtroyed all the fruit on the trees. The hail was ſo violent, that men, horſes, &c. were knocked down by it, and very much hurt. This ſtorm was alſo felt at Deſchel, Rethy, Arendork, and Dieſt, on the frontiers of the principality of Liege. Public prayers were ſoon after offered up to avert ſuch calamities for the future.

There was a great ſailing match on the Thames for a ſilver cup of twenty guineas, given by the Duke of Cumberland; and it filled the river like a ſecond regatta.

19th. A motion was made in a court of directors of the East-India Company, that the company ſhould indemnify Mr. Vereliſt for any damages he may have become liable to, on account of the action brought againſt him by Mr. Raſael and another Armenian; when, after ſome debates relative to forms, (for the court was almoſt unanimous in the propriety of indemnifying Mr. Vereliſt, it being evident that he acted merely in conformity to what he thought was his duty to the company, and from no motive either of intereſt or enmity to the Armenians), the matter was agreed to, and referred for confirmation to a general court, where it was accordingly propoſed on the 27th following. Mr. Creighton now objected to the propoſal, as a matter altogether unprecedented. The queſtion being, however, put, it paſſed unanimouſly in the affirmative.

Extract from a letter, of this date, to General Howe, from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of the 2d battalion of the 71ſt regiment of foot, then at Boſton, into which place he had been brought by ſailing into the harbour for want of knowing that the place had been evacuated by the king's troops.

'Since our captivity I have the honour

honour to acquaint you, that we have experienced the utmoſt civility and good treatment from the people of power at Boſton; inſomuch, Sir, that I ſhould do injuſtice to the feelings of generoſity, did I not give this particular information with pleaſure and ſatisfaction."

24th. Being Midſummer-day, a ſecond conteſt between Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Hopkins, for the chamberlainſhip of London, enſued at Guildhall. It was carried on, and terminated, in every reſpect almoſt, like the firſt. The voters amounted to 4542, of whom 2869 were for Mr. Hopkins, and 1673 for Mr. Wilkes; ſo that Mr. Hopkins had a majority of 1196. Mr. Wilkes was rather more bold and ſevere in his ſpeech after the preſent election, than in that after the former. Among other things, he ſaid, "By the late tranſactions, the moment ſeems at length arrived, ſo ardently wiſhed by every arbitrary adminiſtration, when a majority of the livery appear to have ſold and ſurrendered the capital to the miniſtry. By the creation of ſo many unneceſſary lucrative offices, the diviſion and ſubdiviſion of contracts, the threats of the opulent and inſolent to the neceſſitous and dependent tradeſmen, and all the captious promiſes of power, the greater number of the livery ſeem at preſent either lulled into ſupineneſs and a fatal ſecurity, or enrolled among the mercenaries of corruption and deſpotiſm. No longer worthy the name of freemen, they are ſunk into tame, mean vaſſals, ignominiouſly courting, and bowing their necks to, the miniſterial yoke. Such, gentlemen, it gives me pain to think is the faithful, but melancholy picture of this once free and independent city. All public ſpirit in the capital is viſibly decaying, and that ſtern, manly virtue of our fathers, which drove from this land of freedom the laſt Stuart tyrant, is held in contempt by their abandoned offſpring. A diſſolution of the empire, ruin, and ſlavery, are, I fear, advancing with giant ſtrides upon us. We are ripe for deſtruction. If we are ſaved, it will be almoſt ſolely by the courage and noble ſpirit of our American brethren, whom neither the luxuries of a court, nor the ſordid luſt of avarice in a rapacious and venal metropolis, have hitherto corrupted. Yet with ſome choſen friends, however few, I will, while I live, dare to oppoſe the alarming fatal progreſs of this deluge of corruption and court influence, and to protract at leaſt the impending ruin, by continuing firm and intrepid in the cauſe of public virtue, and the independency of the capital."

Accordingly, on the 5th following, when the new chamberlain was to be ſworn into office, Mr. Alderman Lee preſented a proteſt, (which, by the bye, would have equally militated againſt Mr. Wilkes) ſigned by about twenty liverymen, againſt Benjamin Hopkins, Eſq; being ſworn into the office of chamberlain. They founded their objection upon a bye-law of the court of common-council, made in the year 1572, which ſays, "That the lord-mayor, aldermen, ſheriffs, and common-council of this city, ſhould not have power to give away any office of honour or emolument in the city, to any perſon whatever, who is not a freeman by birth or ſervitude." Upon this proteſt being read, and a queſtion being put by

by Mr. Alderman Lee, which was ſeconded by Sir Watkin Lewes, that Benjamin Hopkins, Eſq; ſhould not be ſworn into his office, very warm debates commenced. Sir Watkin and Mr. Lee were the principal ſpeakers, except a new alderman, Mr. Woolridge, who took up the argument very fairly; objected to Mr. Lee's motion in terms that will ever do him great honour; and, in the courſe of the debate, fairly refuted the objection made by Mr. Alderman Lee; and ſhewed, that the bye-law, upon which the objection was founded, was made merely to prevent the lord-mayor and court of aldermen from giving away the offices of the city, which the livery of London alone had a right to beſtow.—Upon this Mr. Lee founded another objection; and attempted to prove, that the livery of London did not meet in common-hall for the purpoſe of elections prior to the year 1572. But, in this he was alſo miſtaken; the recorder declared, that the livery did elect all their officers before that time. Mr. Wooldridge then gave it as his opinion, that Mr. Hopkins would be entitled to ſuch damages as he could prove to have ſuffered by the refuſal of the court of aldermen to ſwear him in, when he had been declared by the preſiding officer of that court duly elected; that the court were highly cenſurable if they did not; and that, although he ſhould always wiſh to act with thoſe who were the real friends of the conſtitution, yet he would never vote againſt his conſcience for any man living. The whole court ſeemed to approve of his principles; and when the queſtion was put, Aldermen Alſop, Kennet, Plumbe, Rawlinſon, Thomas, Peckham, Plomer, Bull, Hayley, Newnham, and Clark, voted with Mr. Wooldridge for ſwearing Mr. Hopkins in his office; and only Sir Watkin Lewes and Mr. Lee oppoſed it.

After Mr. Hopkins was ſworn in, there were two proceſſions from Guildhall to the London tavern. Firſt an aſs decorated with ribbons, &c. with a fellow in an antick dreſs riding upon it, and ſome others of the like ſtamp following him, with light blue cockades. Then a numerous company of Mr. Hopkins's friends with purple cockades, headed by ſeveral aldermen, &c. with muſic playing and colours flying, on one of which was inſcribed, "A reward for honeſty."

Judgment was given in the court of King's-Bench againſt Francis Newman, Eſq; a juſtice of peace for the county of Somerſet, upon an information proſecuted by the Rev. Mr. Baily, for a miſdemeanor in his office, whereof he was found guilty at the laſt Taunton aſſizes; when the court, after a ſevere reprimand for the proſtitution of his office, was pleaſed to pronounce the following ſentence: That he ſhould pay a fine of 200l.: that application be made to the Lord-Chancellor, to ſtrike him out of the commiſſion of the peace for the ſaid county: that he ſhould find ſureties for his good behaviour for three years; himſelf to be bound in 500l. and his ſureties in 250l. each; and to ſtand committed till the above fine is paid. 25th.

Came on in the court of Common-Pleas, before Lord Chief Juſtice de Grey, and a ſpecial 27th.

cial jury, an action of damages brought by Stephen Sayre, Esq; againſt William Henry Earl of Rochford, for an illegal ſeizure of his papers, and falſe impriſonment of his perſon, for treaſonable practices, upon the information of Adjutant Richardſon, on the 23d of October laſt; when the jury, after a trial of ſix hours, gave a verdict for the plaintiff (ſubject to an after-determination, by the ſame court, of two queſtions) of one thouſand pounds damages.

1ſt Queſtion: Whether an offer of bail, and refuſal, was admiſſible evidence on the iſſue joined on the ſpecial plea?

2d Queſtion: Whether the evidence was a ſufficient proof of an offer and refuſal of bail to make the ſubſequent impriſonment illegal?

28th. Sir Peter Parker made an attack upon Sullivan's-Iſland, the key to Charles-Town, the capital of South-Carolina; but was repulſed with great damage to his ſhips, and great loſs of his men. Among the killed was the brave Captain Morris, commander of the Briſtol man of war, the particulars of whoſe death are truly affecting. We ſhall therefore give them here, as communicated by the ſurgeon of his ſhip.——After having the two bones of his fore arm ſhattered by a chain ſhot, and receiving a wound from a ball in his neck, he was taken into the cockpit, where he readily ſubmitted to amputation, which was performed juſt above the elbow. During the operation a red-hot ball went through the cockpit, which killed two of the ſurgeon's aſſiſtants, and wounded the purſer. After the confuſion which this circumſtance occaſioned was over, Captain Morris inſiſted on being carried on the quarter-deck to reſume his command; which being complied with, he continued the fight for a conſiderable time after, till he was ſhot through the body. A prodigious effuſion of blood following, and his diſſolution being apparently at hand, one of the officers aſked him, if he had any directions to give with reſpect to his family, to which he heroically anſwered, "None! as he left them to the providence of God, and the generoſity of his country!" His Majeſty accordingly, immediately on receiving an account of this affair, ſent the captain's widow an handſome preſent, and ſettled a penſion on her and her children.

The commotions in Virginia, where the governor, Lord Dunmore, had aſſembled a large body of black ſlaves, without previouſly providing for their ſubſiſtence, proved, about the ſame time, another very melancholy object of the public attention. His lordſhip was called upon to ſummon the houſe of aſſembly to meet, but he was afraid to truſt them. He deſerted his palace, and took refuge on board a ſhip; and was in the end driven from his government, after ſeeing moſt of the blacks who had repaired to him periſh for want of food.

29th. This morning a dreadful fire broke out at Mr. Booth's, one of the king's meſſengers, in Great Maddox-ſtreet, which entirely deſtroyed the ſame, and two houſes adjoining, and greatly damaged ſeveral others, as no water could be got for an hour after it broke out. Mr. Booth, with his wife and family, were obliged to make their eſcape out of the garret windows, over the tops of ſeveral houſes;

houſes; and Mrs. Whitwell, ſiſter to Sir John Griffin Griffin, and Lady Welderen, with her maid, unhappily periſhed in the flames. The latter loſt her life by going into her bed-chamber to look for her lap-dog; who, with two cats, was afterwards found burnt likewiſe to death by the remains of her body. This fire was near the back of the Lord-Mayor's houſe in New Burlington-ſtreet; and his Lordſhip attended the whole time, encouraging the people to work at the engine.

A fire likewiſe broke out in the houſe of the Rev. Mr. Thompſon, at Cranfield, in Bedfordſhire, ſuppoſed to have happened by his reading in bed, and falling aſleep while the candle was burning. Mr. Thompſon unhappily periſhed in the flames. Let this be a caution againſt ſo dangerous a practice.

30th. MARRIED lately, His Royal Highneſs Don Louis, of Spain, to Donna Maria Tereſa de Vallabriga e Roſas, deſcended from the ancient kings of Navarre. By this match, though contracted with the expreſs leave of his brother, and without loſing his favour, His Royal Highneſs forfeits for himſelf, and his iſſue by it, all pretenſions to the crown of Spain; and is, moreover, forbid to bring his wife to court.

George Harding of Cheſter, aged 104, to Jane Darlington, of Mollington, aged 84.

DIED, the 10th inſtant, the Rev. Mr. Lathwaite, at Newington, formerly a Diſſenting miniſter, aged 100 years and 2 months.

The 20th, A native of Gomoſac, in Saintonge, in France, by trade a goldſmith, aged 140 years, at Saintes in the ſame kingdom. He took a wife at 79, and had three children by her, all now alive. A few years before his death, he ſuffered a little weakneſs of ſight, which was the only complaint he ever knew.

The 28th, Doctor John Well, an eminent phyſician at Worceſter, and well known in the literary world.

Lately, Captain Gravener, who formerly commanded the York privateer; and in 1745 drove a fleet of flat-bottomed boats, deſigned for an invaſion, on ſhore, off Calais, at Dover.

Mrs. Brooks, aged 100 years, all but one month, at Wickham, Kent.

Mr. Benjamin Price, aged 104 years, at Chelſea.

Thomas Allen, a penſioner, in the hundredth year of his age, in the Royal Hoſpital at Greenwich. He always enjoyed ſo good a ſtate of health, as never to remember a day's illneſs. He has a daughter living aged 70.

Mrs. Sarah Brookman, widow, aged 106 years, at Glaſtonbury.

At Langres, in Champagne, aged 106 years and ſome months, a ſoldier, named Du Mets, born at Marle, in Picardie, who ſerved under Louis XIV. with great honour in the regiment of royal cravattes, as quarter-maſter, till the year 1712, when that regiment was diſſolved. He afterwards lived on a very ſmall income till he arrived at the age of 102, when he fell into the loweſt indigence, and continued ſo till 1774, when he found a friend in the colonel of his former regiment, at whoſe recommendation the miniſter of war procured for him a penſion of 300 livres, which was continued by order

der of the preſent king till his death.

At Weſthorpe, near Southwell, in Northamptonſhire, Mrs. Dorothy Clarke, aged 112 years; at the age of 102, ſhe ſheared wheat a whole day againſt a man, and performed her work with eaſe.

At Kill-James, near Thomas-Town, in Ireland, Martha Jackſon, aged 127 years. She retained her ſenſes to the laſt.

At Shiffnall, aged 128, Mary Yates.—She married a third huſband at 92, and was hearty and ſtrong at 120 years.

JULY.

1ſt. Lord Howe arrived off Halifax.

A poor woman, at Earls-Hilton, Leiceſterſhire, that could ſcarce crawl, was cruelly plunged in a pond, by way of trying if ſhe was a witch; and might have loſt her life, had it not been for the neighbouring gentlemen, merely becauſe her ſuffering blood to be drawn from her body, and bleſſing another poor woman, who was thought to be bewitched by her, had not the deſired effect.

2d. Mr. Kirkman, lately elected into the office of ſheriff for London and Middleſex, ſent a letter to the court of aldermen, wherein he pleaded the privilege of exemption, as a captain in the Warwickſhire militia. It ſeems, that, in a clauſe in the militia act of the ſecond year of the preſent king, cap. 20. it is enacted, "That no perſon, during the time he ſhall be acting as an officer in the militia, ſhall be compellable to ſerve the office of ſheriff." This plea being wholly unexpected, threw the court into ſome ſurprize; the common-ſerjeant was called upon, in the abſence of the recorder, to give his opinion; but he declined doing it without the aſſiſtance of his learned brother. The court therefore referred the matter to their joint conſideration; and within a few days, Mr. Kirkman's excuſe was admitted, and Alderman Plumbe choſen in his room.

3d. The declaration of independence, iſſued by the Continental Congreſs, was read at the head of each brigade of the continental army, poſted at and near New-York, and every where received with loud huzzas, &c.; and the ſame evening the equeſtrian ſtatue of his Majeſty, which had been erected in the year 1770, was laid proſtrate on the ground, and the lead of it deſtined to ſerve as bullets. The ſame declaration was read pretty much about the ſame time, in almoſt every other town of the united colonies, and every where received with equal demonſtrations of joy.

The Swiftſure, a bomb man of war on a new conſtruction, with two bomb-beds, and forty guns, was launched at Blackwall.

An action, brought by Lord Bolingbroke againſt the Printer of the Morning-Chronicle, for a libel in the ſaid paper, was tried before Lord Mansfield and a ſpecial jury in the court of King's-Bench, Weſtminſter. The damages were laid at 5000l. but the jury, after having been out near two hours, gave a verdict for only 20l.

Another action, in which Mr. Hill, of Tower-Hill, was plaintiff, and Mr. Pell, with other Middleſex juſtices of the peace, were defendants,

defendants, was tried before Lord Chief Juſtice De Grey in the court of Common-Pleas, Weſtminſter. The action charged the defendants with forcibly entering the plaintiff's houſe, under the pretence of ſearching for a printing-preſs, and certain papers reflecting on the proceedings of adminiſtration; ſhamefully ranſacking his papers; damaging his furniture; alarming his family; and expoſing himſelf, as an obnoxious character, to the inſults of a mob. Two reſpectable witneſſes aſcertained theſe facts; and ſeveral others were ready to confirm their evidence; but the chief juſtice was ſo clearly ſatisfied of the fact, that he waved all further examination of the matter. Not a ſingle witneſs was called on the part of the defendants. Upon this, the chief juſtice obſerved, with reſpect to the fact, that it ſtood uncontradicted; and that the defendants, therefore, acknowledged themſelves conſcious of having acted illegally; and only recommended to the jury to eſtimate the damages; which they accordingly did at ten pounds.

Came on to be heard, at Doctors-Commons, before Dr. Betteſworth, Chancellor of the dioceſe of London, a motion, on the part of the Earl of Briſtol, againſt the Counteſs of Briſtol, calling herſelf Ducheſs of Kingſton, purporting that the court ſhould decree a citation to be affixed on the Royal-Exchange, &c. for the ſaid Counteſs to ſhew cauſe why the ſentence pronounced againſt the earl, forbidding him to boaſt himſelf to be the huſband of the ſaid lady, ſhould not be declared null and void, as his lordſhip is now able to prove his marriage.

As there was no perſon to appear for the lady, the judge expreſſed his doubts in granting the motion. As the marriage with Lord Briſtol had been determined by a verdict, he could not ſee the reaſon for coming to that court; and, as every thing was new, he was apprehenſive of colluſion ſomewhere; and therefore was cautious how he proceeded. However, after hearing what Dr. Harris, as counſel, and Meſſieurs Major and Slade, as proctors, for his lordſhip, had to offer, and no appearance being made by her ladyſhip, or any proctor for her, he ordered the citation prayed for, returnable the firſt ſeſſion of next term, to paſs under ſeal, and to be executed on one of the pillars of the Royal-Exchange, after the manner of citing peers and peereſſes reſident out of the kingdom.

Came on before the ſame gentleman, in the ſame court, a cauſe brought by a gentleman againſt his wife, for criminal converſation with a clergyman; when the judge, after hearing the evidence read, and the advocates on both ſides, pronounced for a divorce. We have already mentioned the gentleman's obtaining a verdict for 3000l. damages in one of the civil courts of juſtice, on the ſame account.

The annual commemoration of founders and benefactors was celebrated in the theatre at Oxford. Among other gentlemen who received honorary degrees on this occaſion, were, Thomas Hutchinſon, Eſq; late governor of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, and Peter Oliver, Eſq; late deputy-governor. The prizes given annually by the Right Hon. Lord North, Chancellor of the ſame univerſity, were 4th.

this

this year adjudged to Mr. Lowth, ſon of the Lord Biſhop of Oxford, and Mr. Cummings, jun. both Fellows of New-College.

6th. Lieut. Col. Gordon was ſhot by a party of rebels, as he was taking the air on horſe-back near Chamblee.

A court of admiralty was held at the ſeſſions-houſe in the Old-Bailey, before Sir George Hay, judge of the admiralty court, and Mr. Juſtice Aſhurſt and Mr. Baron Perryn, when Alexander Kidd, late mate of the Atlantic, was tried for the wilful murder of Robert Jackſon, a foremaſt man, in the ſaid ſhip, by throwing him overboard in the river Tagus, near Liſbon, whereby he was drowned: and Thomas King, late Captain of the Soroy, for the wilful murder of John Warren, a mariner in the ſaid ſhip, on the coaſt of Africa, by kicking him in the ſide, whereof, it was alledged, he died. They were both acquitted.

Came on, in the court of Common-Pleas, before Lord Chief Juſtice De Grey and a ſpecial jury, a cauſe, wherein an engraver and printſeller was plaintiff; and an officer in the army, defendant. The action was for the defendant's ſeducing the plaintiff's daughter, a girl of ſeventeen, from the plaintiff, and detaining her under a promiſe of marriage. The jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with 800l. damages.

7th. On this and the next day, General Howe, with the troops under his command from Halifax, landed on Staten-Iſland.

8th. A very large body of journeymen carpenters having aſſembled in Stepney-fields, for the purpoſe of raiſing their wages, Mr. Juſtice Sherwood, who had had previous notice of ſuch meeting, with two other magiſtrates, Mr. Blackmore and Mr. Curtis, attended by the high-conſtable and peace officers, immediately repaired to the place of Rendezvous, when the men drew up in a ring, and received the juſtices with great reſpect, acquainting them with their ſuppoſed grievances, &c. and of the occaſion of their meeting. On this Mr. Sherwood told them, that if they would leave their caſe at his office, with any plan for the redreſs of their grievances, he, with the other gentlemen, would do all that lay in their power to forward it; though he feared nothing but a bill in parliament to regulate their wages would do, as in the caſe of the weavers. In the mean time, he recommended to them to have no more of theſe large meetings abroad, as they tended, notwithſtanding their pacific intentions, to many miſchiefs through inconſiderate drinking, and inſiſted on their immediately diſperſing; which they inſtantly and chearfully complied with, without the leaſt indecent or irregular behaviour. We thought it our duty to inſert this account, as it does honour to the magiſtrates, as well as to the poor men concerned in the affair; and may prove an uſeful leſſon on ſimilar occaſions.

In obedience to the act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſions of parliament, for building general workhouſes, an order was ſerved on the lord-mayor, to iſſue out his precepts to the officers of the ſeveral pariſhes of London, to deliver in to the ſecretaries of ſtate an exact account of the number of poor in their reſpective pariſhes, who are either in the workhouſes,

workhouſes, or receive alms; and the ſame order is to be ſent to every pariſh in the kingdom, in order that ſome regulations may be made for better providing for the poor, on the one hand, and eaſing the inhabitants of ſome part of the poor's-rates with which they are now loaded, on the other; by putting a ſtop to the practice of farming out the poor, and all other impoſitions. As a ſpecimen of the great good that may be expected from a cloſer inſpection of the preſent modes of managing the poor, and the committing of them to honeſter, or at leaſt abler hands, we ſhall give the reader, in the Appendix to this part of the work, a very curious paper, publiſhed in the courſe of this year, and addreſſed to the inhabitants of St. Andrew, Holborn, above the Bars, and St. George the Martyr, in the county of Middleſex, united.

10th. A ſlight ſhock of an earthquake was felt at Venice; and a very ſtrong one, of full fifteen minutes continuance, at Andreis, where its effects were proportionably terrible. Almoſt all the houſes were thrown down, and thoſe which remained ſtanding, were ſo ſhattered, that they daily fell in ruins. The pariſh church, and that of St. Daniel, were ſplit on all ſides, and threatened a ſpeedy fall. A number of perſons were buried in the ruins; and thoſe who eſcaped into the fields, had neither ſuccour, nor ſhelter to comfort them.

Came on in the court of Common-Pleas, Guildhall, London, the cauſe between Lord Chatham, plaintiff, and Mr. Henry Sampſon Woodfall, printer of the Public Advertiſer, defendant. The action was brought to recover ſome damages for the very great injury his lordſhip had ſuſtained by the defendant's printing a libel in his paper of the 22d of March laſt, declaring the noble lord's ſentiments and opinions to be hoſtile to the Americans, and ſuch as totally coincided with thoſe of the miniſtry. The plaintiff proved the printing of the piece by Mr. Woodfall; but, on the diſcovery of a variation of one letter between it and the record, he was nonſuited.

In the evening, a riotous mob of weavers, ſhearmen, &c. collected from the towns of Warminſter, Frome, &c. aſſembled together, and proceeded to the town of Shepton-Mallett, with intent to deſtroy, under cover of the night, a machine lately erected by the clothiers, for the advancement and benefit of the manufactory, and to pull down the houſes, and take away the lives of thoſe perſons who encouraged and promoted the uſe of it.

The clothiers, having notice of their intentions, applied to three neighbouring magiſtrates, who, for the conſervation of the peace, aſſembled at a public inn. After waiting there till two o'clock next morning, without any alarm, two of the three returned to their reſpective homes, but the other remained, leſt aſſiſtance might be wanted. The juſtices who left the town were ſcarcely out of it, when the mob, who had remained at a little diſtance from the town, reſtrained by the fear of their power, thinking there was no magiſtrate left to command the military, aſſembled, made an attack on the poor-houſe, where the machines were worked; and before the ſoldiery could be had to oppoſe them, broke into the ſame; and not only deſtroyed the particular objects of their

their reſentment (the machines,) but committed other injuries, to a very conſiderable amount. They had ſcarcely effected their purpoſe, when the military, preceded by the remaining magiſtrate, advanced, and ſecured five of the ring-leaders; but in conveying them to the priſon, they were attacked by the whole body with an intention to effect a reſcue.

The proclamation was then read by John Strode, Eſq; who very humanely advanced to the mob, accompanied by a principal clothier, and endeavoured, by all the arguments prudence could ſuggeſt, to convince them of the impropriety of their conduct, and perſuade them to diſperſe; but they, with the utmoſt effrontery, declared they would not leave the town till their companions were diſcharged. To ſave the effuſion of blood, even this demand was on the point of being granted them, on condition they would promiſe never to moleſt or diſturb the town again, when ſome of the moſt daring, at the inſtigation of the women, began moſt cruelly to ſtone the ſoldiers, who bore the attack with uncommon fortitude and moderation, firſt diſcharging two rounds over their heads, to deter them, if poſſible, from proceeding to greater extremities. This lenity had not the deſired effect, for they continued the attack with redoubled vigour, and very much wounded ſeven of the ſoldiers. Upon this, no alternative being left, the command to level their pieces was given, and one man fell, and ſix were wounded. This ſtruck ſuch a terror into the rioters, that they retired with the utmoſt precipitation; upon which the magiſtrate immediately ordered the men to ceaſe firing, and no further miſchief enſued. The Coroner ſat on the body of the man that had been killed, the next night, and brought in a verdict of accidental death by the military, under the command of the civil power.

At night, a man, in attempting to rob a gentleman's garden at Hampſtead, was caught by the leg in a trap, which tore it in ſo terrible a manner, that it was ſuppoſed he would loſe it. It were to be wiſhed, that theſe machines could be ſo contrived, as to ſecure the offender, without diſabling him, and thereby rendering him not only an uſeleſs, but a burthenſome, member of ſociety.

Mr. Foote, at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, appeared in the character of Lady Pentweazle, with a head-dreſs ſtuck full of feathers in the utmoſt extravagance of the preſent mode, being at leaſt a yard wide; and, to heighten the ridicule, the whole fabric of feathers, hair, and wool, dropt off as he waddled off the ſtage. Their majeſties, who were preſent, laughed immoderately at the ſight, as well as the reſt of the audience: but the elegant, becoming manner in which her majeſty's head was dreſſed, was univerſally allowed to be the juſteſt as well as the ſevereſt ſatire on the preſent filthy faſhion.

11th. A fire-ball fell at Oxford, which alarmed the whole city, but happily burſt without miſchief.

13th. Lord Howe, with the fleet and tranſports under his command, joined the army under General Howe, at Staten Iſland; and, the day following, a flag, with letters from Lord Howe for General Waſhington, was met by the adjutant-general of the provincial

cial army; but his letters were refuſed, on account of their not giving the General the title of Excellency; and the General's conduct on the occaſion was ſoon after approved of by the Continental Congreſs. Their contents, however, containing the powers by which the commiſſioners were authoriſed to treat, and the terms on which they were empowered to accept ſubmiſſion, were received by the congreſs, and by their orders circulated throughout America, but univerſally rejected.

15th. The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when four priſoners received judgment of death, viz. three, for houſe-breaking; and the fourth, for robbing a warehouſe of raw ſilk, to the amount of 130l. One of the houſe-breakers was executed the fourth of Auguſt; and the laſt of the capital convicts, ſent to Ireland to be tried for murder; nineteen were ſentenced to three years hard labour, in ſome ſervice uſeful to the navigation of the river Thames; eleven were branded in the hand, eight of whom were to be impriſoned ſix months; and three, three months, in Newgate; ſeven ordered to be whipped and impriſoned; three, for three years, in Bridewell; and two, for two months, in Newgate; four branded in the hand, and diſcharged; ten ordered to be whipped; and twenty-five diſcharged by proclamation.

Among thoſe acquitted, was one for the coining of ſhillings, &c. who had been tried and acquitted three times before for the ſame offence. His trial this time laſted four hours.

The court took down the age, ſtrength, &c. of thoſe convicted of ſuch crimes as were not of a capital nature; and the recorder, in paſſing ſentence on ſuch of them as were condemned to hard labour in ſome ſervice uſeful to the navigation of the river Thames, told them that the puniſhment, though very ſevere, nevertheleſs left them an opportunity to mitigate its heavineſs; becauſe, if they manifeſted ſigns of real contrition, and appeared truly deſirous of becoming uſeful members of ſociety, their conduct would be reported to the government by proper officers, and the term of their ſervitude abridged. Whereas, on the contrary, if they were incorrigible, they would be worked without remiſſion to the utmoſt of their ſtrength. The term of their ſervitude would be doubled upon the firſt attempt to eſcape; and upon the ſecond, they would be liable to ſuffer death without benefit of clergy.

The law for ſentencing the convicts to work upon the Thames is indeed ſevere, but we truſt it will be ſalutary. They are to be employed in as much labour as they can ſuſtain; to be fed with legs and ſhins of beef, oxcheek, and ſuch other coarſe food; to have nothing for drink, but water or ſmall beer; to be clad in ſome ſquallid uniform; never to be viſited without the conſent of the overſeers; and whoever gives them the ſmalleſt relief, incurs a penalty of forty ſhillings. The expence of keeping and maintaining them is to be paid by government, and not out of the county rates.

The firſt veſſel launched for the above purpoſe was conſtructed on a plan approved of by his majeſty in council. It cannot be called a ſhip or tender, neither is it ſo flat or open as a lighter; it is calculated to hold twenty-ſeven tons of

ballaſt; on the larboard ſide, the gunwail is conſiderably broader than in the common lighters; on the ſtarboard ſide, is a flooring about three feet broad, for the men to work on, and a machine called a david, with a windlaſs, for raiſing the ballaſt. Part of the veſſel is decked-in abaft, for the convicts to ſleep in; and another, in the fore-caſtle, is formed into a kind of cabbin for the overſeer. Her outward appearance differs very little from that of a common lighter. On the 5th of Auguſt, the convicts, chained by the leg, two and two, began to work in her, about two miles below Barking Creek, under the direction of Duncan Campbell, Eſq; who has been appointed the governor of this new kind of Bridewell. Their behaviour, in general, ſince they came on board her, and other lighters employed in the ſame ſervice, has been very becoming; the clauſe in the act, which ſays, that the time for which they were ſentenced to work may be ſhortened, on a repreſentation of their good behaviour, having operated very powerfully.

A few of them, indeed, employed a little below Woolwich, attempted to get off their chains, and were guilty of ſome ſlight outrages to their commander; when a ſevere flaggellation enſued on their being again properly ſecured.

Eight others, a ſhort time after, found means to ſeize on the armcheſt; and, preſenting piſtols to the heads of their keepers, threatened to blow their brains out, if they did not immediately go down into the hold, which they were obliged to comply with; upon which the villains jumped into a boat, which had been deſignedly brought along-ſide by ſome of their friends, and got clear off.

This day twelvemonth, a theatre was opened at Madraſs, with an ingenious and elegant introductory prologue, written by Mr. E. J. 16th.

Some ſhares of the Royal Bank at Edinburgh, ſold at the rate of 215l. being 14l. higher than was ever paid before, owing to the great plenty of money now circulating in Scotland. Above half a million ſterling, it was computed, was now lent out in Edinburgh alone, at three per cent. and more money, beſides, was ready to be lent on bond ſecurity, in Scotland, than was ever known at any former period.

Her Imperial Majeſty of Ruſſia dined on board Admiral Greig's ſhip in the harbour of St. Peterſburgh, at a table of one hundred covers; and in the afternoon reviewed her fleet; and even ſailed with it for ſome time; the whole under repeated ſalutes from the ſhips and batteries, eſpecially thoſe of Cronſtadt, mounting nine hundred guns. 18th.

In a letter lately received by the committee at the London Tavern appointed to conduct the voluntary contributions in favour of the ſoldiers ſerving in North America, their wives and children, from the committee of officers appointed by General Howe, to conduct it on the ſpot, is the following paragraph:

"This board, as well as the officers and ſoldiers in general, are ſenſible of the great attention which their countrymen have ſhewn them on this occaſion; and we flatter ourſelves that the future operations of the army, in reducing the deluded inhabitants of this country

country to a juſt ſenſe of their duty, will merit their approbation. The ſociety may be aſſured that the board will exert themſelves to render their benevolent deſigns as beneficial as poſſible. As we are convinced that you are deſirous of contributing to the utmoſt of your power towards the relief of the ſoldiers, &c. we beg leave to ſuggeſt to you, that the following articles will be particularly uſeful, to wit, ſoap, leather for mending ſhoes, combs, chalk or whitening for cleaning cloaths, leggings, horſe-radiſh, ground ginger, awls, wax, and coblers ends for ſhoe-makers."

21ſt. The grand Duke of Ruſſia, being on a viſit to his Pruſſian Majeſty, made his public entry into Berlin, accompanied by Prince Henry of Pruſſia, in the following order. Firſt, appeared twenty-four poſtillions, ſounding their horns, commanded by ſix ſecretaries of the poſt, all in uniform; after theſe came the company of butchers, then that of archers, after them a conſiderable body of merchants, diſtinguiſhed by the beauty of their uniform: after theſe companies came three ſuperb ſtate coaches, in which were the Lieutenant-General Lentulus de Buddenbrock, Count Werthern, miniſter of ſtate, the Major-Generals Sobeck and Prittwitz, with ſome other gentlemen: a detachment of life-guards, followed by a running footman, immediately preceded one of the king's coaches, with eight horſes, in which were the Grand Duke of Ruſſia, and Prince Henry of Pruſſia. This was one of the moſt ſuperb carriages ever ſeen, and was followed by three others, in which were the general field marſhal Count Romanzow Sadiomiſkoy, General Count Soltikow, and the chamberlain and gentlemen of his Imperial Highneſs. The proceſſion was cloſed by one hundred men of infantry, being the guard of honour. All the magiſtracy of the city received the princes under a triumphal arch, where upwards of ſeventy young maidens, dreſſed like nymphs and ſhepherdeſſes, preſented the grand duke with verſes and a garland of flowers. The cannon fired, and the trumpets and other muſic ſounded from the beginning, till the king embraced the grand duke in his apartments. The grand duke, at the king's approach, ſaid, "Permit me, O mighty monarch, to ſignify my reaſons for having travelled from the extremities of the North to theſe happy dominions: it is to aſſure you, myſelf, of the everlaſting tie of friendſhip and alliance which henceforth ſhall reign between Ruſſia and Pruſſia; to meet Ruſſia's future Empreſs, who will be dearer to myſelf and the whole nation for my having received her from your hands; and laſtly, and chiefly, to view with my own eyes Europe's greateſt hero, the admiration of the age, and the aſtoniſhment of poſterity!"—Here he was interrupted by the King, who replied, "Inſtead of which you behold, O Prince, a hoary-headed Valetudinarian, who could never have wiſhed for a ſuperior happineſs than that of welcoming within theſe walls the hopeful head of a mighty empire, and the only ſon of my beſt friend, Catharine the Great!" Turning to General Romanzow, he added, "Welcome, conqueror of the Ottomans! I find

a great likeneſs between you and my General Winterfeldt." "Sire, (replied the General) I am ambitious to reſemble, even outwardly, a General who diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much in your Majeſty's ſervice." The King made anſwer, "You have far more reaſon to be proud of your own glorious deeds, which will hand down, to the lateſt poſterity, your immortal fame!"

Prince Henry of Pruſſia, in the name of the Empreſs of Ruſſia, made the demand of the Princeſs of Wirtemberg Stutgard, in marriage for the Grand Duke; and the ceremony of the contract took place the ſame day. On the 3d of Auguſt, his Imperial Highneſs took leave of the Royal Family, when the King made him the following magnificent preſents: a deſert-ſervice, and a coffee-ſervice, with ten vaſes of China, of the manufacture of Berlin; a ring, with his Majeſty's portrait, covered with a diamond valued at 30,000 crowns; a ſet of Pruſſian horſes; and four pieces of rich tapeſtry.

After this there was an extraordinary court, at which were preſent all the foreign miniſters, and every perſon of diſtinction. The whole auguſt company ſupped with the Queen in great magnificence, and the next day dined with her Majeſty.

At night, ſome rogues broke into the houſe of a gentleman in Great Ruſſell-ſtreet, Bloomſbury, all whoſe family happened to be then in the country; and carried off plate to the amount of above 300l. We inſert this by way of caution to ſuch of our readers, as leave their town houſes for the ſummer ſeaſon, to lodge their plate at a banker's, and their houſehold furniture with an upholſterer, as the beſt way to ſecure whatever goods, &c. they may not think proper to take along with them.

The firſt ſtone of an obſervatory on Calton-hill, near Edinburgh, was laid with great ſolemnity, in the preſence of the Lord-Provoſt and magiſtrates of that city, accompanied by the heads of the univerſity. 22d.

At a court of common council held at Guildhall, the thanks of that court were unanimouſly voted to Sir Watkin Lewes, for his endeavours to ſupport the rights and liberties of the freemen of Worceſter in the late election for repreſentatives for that city. 23d.

The body of a coachman, found without any of the common ſigns of life, in a ſtable at Fulham, to which he went a few days before, in a ſeeming ſtate of good health, to put up his horſes, was buried at that place. But when the funeral was over, a perſon inſiſting that, during the performance of the ſervice, he heard a rumbling and ſtruggling in the coffin, the earth was removed, and the coffin taken out of the grave; when, on opening it, there appeared evident proofs, that the unhappy man, though then abſolutely dead, had come to himſelf, as his body was very much bruiſed in ſeveral places, ſome of which were ſtill bleeding; and there appeared beſides a quantity of blood in the coffin. Surely, it is high time to put the office of ſearchers into better hands; and who ſo fit for the purpoſe, as the gentlemen of the faculty belong- 24th.

ing to the Society for the recovery of perſons apparently drowned, &c. who might be allowed a ſuitable reward for their trouble, payable by the pariſh when the friends of the ſuppoſed deceaſed were too poor to pay it; and a ſtill greater reward, in caſe they ſhould bring to life any perſon given over as dead by thoſe they belonged to.

Sir Baſil Keith, Governor of Jamaica, iſſued a proclamation to put martial-law in force in that iſland, in order to prevent the ſpreading of what the proclamation ſtiles a rebellion of the negroes, in one of its pariſhes; and, next day, he iſſued another proclamation, to ſtop the departure of the ſhips bound for Europe, as it appeared that the negroes depended greatly on the iſland's being thereby thinned of whites, to carry their point. By this means, the inſurrection was ſuppreſſed; and, the ringleaders being diſcovered, thirty were executed; when, all things being made quiet and eaſy again, both the martial-law and the embargo were taken off the 7th of Auguſt following. [For ſome fine thoughts on the condition of the poor negroes in the Weſt-India iſlands, &c. and a fine poetical addreſs, to his wife, put into the mouth of one of them on the point of being burnt alive for aſſerting the natural rights of mankind, we beg leave to refer our readers to the ſecond part of this volume.]

Here, in the mean time, it is proper to remark, that, in theſe iſlands the whites themſelves were now on the point of being ſtarved, in conſequence of their not receiving the uſual ſupplies from North America; ſo that, perhaps, every thing attempted by the ſlaves, on the above occaſion, may be attributed to that almoſt-general innate deſire of prolonging even the moſt wretched exiſtence. The condition of the Weſt-India iſlands about this time, may be judged from the following picture of that of Barbadoes, as laid before his Majeſty, laſt May, in an addreſs on the occaſion from the inhabitants of that iſland:

"We have, Sir, near fourſcore thouſand black, and twelve thouſand white people daily to ſupport. Our ground proviſions (the internal reſource) have failed for the want of ſeaſonable rains; and the ſtock of ſalt proviſions on hand will not laſt many weeks, and we are without the hope of future foreign reſources."

Sir Thomas Rich, in his Majeſty's ſhip Enterprize, 25th. met with a French fleet, of two ſhips of the line, and ſeveral frigates, commanded by the Duke of Chartres. The French bore down upon her, and the Admiral hailed the Enterprize, and deſired the Captain to come on board immediately; to which he replied, that, if the Admiral had any thing to communicate to him, he might come on board the Enterprize, as he ſhould not go out of his ſhip. The Duke inſiſted that he ſhould, or he would ſink him; and the French ſhips accordingly pointed their guns at the Enterprize; but Sir Thomas Rich, regardleſs of their hoſtile threats and preparations, declared, that he never received any orders but from his *own* Admiral, and that they were at liberty to fire whenever they pleaſed, as he poſitively would not go on board; upon which the Duke of

Chartres, admiring his ſpirited conduct, begged it as a *favour* that he would do him the honour of coming aboard, as he wiſhed much to be acquainted with him. Sir Thomas immediately went, and was received with the utmoſt reſpect by the Duke and all his officers.

The magiſtrates of the city and liberty of Weſtminſter, met at their Guildhall, to hold the adjournment of their quarter-ſeſſion, received the picture of Lord Percy, which they had requeſted of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, to place in the council-chamber of their hall, as a teſtimony of their reſpect towards that young nobleman, and as a juſt ſenſe of their approbation of his ſpirit and perſeverance in the ſervice of his King and Country in America.

30th. A poor widow, immediately after being cleared at St. Margaret's Hill, in the Borough, by the Inſolvent Act, was arreſted by a Borough Clink Officer in her way home, and carried to the Borough jail. But, upon notice being ſent to Sir Joſeph Mawbey, he gave orders for the woman to be again brought into court, diſcharged her from the arreſt, and ſent the officer, who arreſted her, to the above priſon for three months, as the act of parliament directs that no perſon, coming to be cleared, or going home when cleared, ſhall be taken under arreſt.

About ten minutes after ten at night, began one of the greateſt eclipſes of the moon, that has happened theſe twenty-ſix years paſt; and a greater than will happen for many years to come. It was viſible to all Europe and Africa, the Iſland of Madagaſcar, all the leſſer iſlands of the Indian Seas, the Atlantic Ocean, Iceland, Greenland, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, the Caribbee Iſlands, Terra Firma, South America; to every place, in ſhort, above whoſe horizon the the moon then happened to be; and the weather here in London proved favourable enough to render it a moſt grand and awful ſpectacle; whereas, out of ſix total eclipſes of the moon, that could be viſible in this part of the globe for thirty-nine years paſt, three only are remembered to have been ſeen, the ſight of the other three having been intercepted by clouds. At the time of the preſent eclipſe, the moon was computed to be upwards of 222,000 Engliſh miles from the earth's ſurface; the diameter of the earth's ſhadow, in that part where the moon paſſed through it, about 6000 miles; and the moon's motion through this ſhadow, to have been at the rate of between thirty and forty miles a minute. The other particulars of this grand event in the hiſtory of nature, were, for London, and all other places at no great diſtance from it, nearly as follows:

	H.	M.	
Beginning of the eclipſe, 30th of July -	10	10	at night.
Beginning of the total darkneſs - - -	11	8	
Middle of the eclipſe - - - - - - -	12	55	
End of the total darkneſs, 31ſt of July -	0	42	in the morning.
End of the eclipſe - - - - - - -	1	41	
Digits eclipſed - - - - - - - - -	19°	2	

DIED,

DIED, the 1st instant, Richard Hare, Esq; an eminent brewer, remarkable for his son's having carried porter brewing to the highest perfection in Philadelphia.

The 7th, Mr. Jeremiah Markland, senior fellow of Peter-House, Cambridge, and one of the most learned critics of his age, aged 82 years. See the second part of this volume, for a further account of this gentleman.

Lately, Mr. James Ashley, aged 78, master of the punch-house on Ludgate-hill, which he had kept forty-five years. He was the first to introduce the selling of punch in small quantities; by which he not only made a large fortune, but greatly promoted the interest of the British islands, and the increase of the revenue.

AUGUST.

A light was exhibited on a cluster of dangerous rocks between England and Ireland, called the Smalls; but on such an improved plan, as to be seen and distinguished at nine leagues distance. 1st.

By the report of the committee directed to enquire into the city cash, and the probable expences attending the mayoralty, the receipts and payments of the last five gentlemen who served that office, stand, pursuant to accounts delivered in by themselves, as under, viz.

	Receipts.			Payments.		
Samuel Turner, Esq; - £.	5731	5	10	7349	12	4
Brass Crosby, Esq; - -	4251	11	6	6685	10	11
James Townshend, Esq; -	3896	0	0	7592	16	9
Frederick Bull, Esq; - -	5647	13	8	9292	10	0
John Wilkes, Esq; - -	4889	0	6	8226	13	0
And Mr. Beckford's first mayoralty	5578	17	0	6896	19	10

The committee having compared the said accounts together, and having likewise had laid before them a fair copy of the account of monies received by the Mayors for twenty-six years past, viz. from 1750 to 1775, both inclusive, for the sale of offices, places, &c. came to the following resolutions, viz.

I. That it appeared to the committee, that the annual income of the office of Mayor of this city amounts to about 4000l.

II. That the probable receipts arising from the sale of offices, places, &c. for twenty-six years past, amounted upon an average to 531l. 6s. 1d. per annum, and for the last ten years to 670l. per annum. And,

III. That the probable expences attending the mayoralty of this city, amounted to 7600l. per annum.

The committee therefore recommended, that, in future, the sums arising from the sale of all officers places of this city whatsoever, should be paid into the chamber of London, and that the court do allow the future Mayors 1000l. per annum, in lieu of the said places.

At a court of common council, Mr. Saxby having given notice, that he intended, at the first court of common-council to be held after the recess, to revive the motion for the compliment of a piece of plate to be presented to Sir Watkin

kin Lewes on the ſame ſcore that the thanks of the court had been lately voted him, Mr. Deputy Judd gave notice, that he ſhould, at the ſame time, make a motion for reducing the ſalary paid to the Recorder to 750l. the ſum which was paid to his predeceſſor. From theſe bickerings, the political temper of the city of London may be pretty well eſtimated.

2d. At Cuckfield in Suſſolk, there happened, in the afternoon, a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which threw the inhabitants into great conſternation. The new work belonging to the ſpire of the church, which had been almoſt deſtroyed by a violent ſtorm the beginning of the hard weather the laſt winter, and was nearly repaired, was beat down, and the inſide ſet on fire at three or four different places; where it was, however, though with great difficulty, extinguiſhed.

3d. Baron Deide Furſtenſtein, late Embaſſador from Denmark, having received his letters of recal, and previouſly taken leave of their Majeſties, ſet out on his return home.

A fire broke out in the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Wallace, biſcuit-baker, in Cinnamon-ſtreet, Wapping, by which that and ſix adjoining houſes were burnt to the ground.

5th. This morning, about ſix o'clock, a melancholy accident happened on board his Majeſty's ſhip Marlborough, Capt. Hood, which had come into Portſmouth harbour the day before to be docked, by the exploſion of ſome gunpowder in the fore part of the ſhip, which tore and much damaged her inſide works, and ripped up part of her decks; twelve ſeamen, three women, and three children were killed; and upwards of fifty, wounded, who were ſent to the hoſpital. And, on the 15th, at a court-martial held on board the Centaur man of war, on the Captain, officers, &c. of the Marlborough, to enquire into the cauſe of the above unhappy accident, the Captain and Lieutenant were cleared of any breach of duty, but the gunner was ſentenced to one year's impriſonment in the Marſhalſea, and rendered for ever incapable of ſerving his Majeſty; and one of the gunner's yeomen was condemned to receive three hundred laſhes. It ſeems that the latter, on removing the powder, had, through the negligence of the former, made a reſerve of ſome powder unknown to the reſt of the ſhip's crew. Two or three days after, another court-martial was held on two ſailors, for theft committed on board the ſaid ſhip in the height of the confuſion after the exploſion; when they were both convicted, and ſentenced to receive three hundred laſhes each; which ſentences, both on them and the gunner's yeoman, were the next morning carried into execution.

6th. At Evercreech, in Devonſhire, a farmer and two of his men running under an oak for ſhelter during a thunder-ſtorm, a flaſh of lightning ſtruck the tree, killed the farmer dead upon the ſpot, and greatly hurt the two labourers. We cannot too often put our readers on their guard againſt the danger of ſtanding under trees during thunder-ſtorms. It is ſeldom that perſons are much hurt in open fields.

There was growing in the gar-

den

den of Meſſrs. Perfect, in Pontefract, a curious cucumber, called the Snake Cucumber, (the ſeed of which was ſent in a letter from abroad,) which at firſt ſight ſtruck terror into the beholders, as it exhibited the appearance of ſeveral ſnakes twiſted, in various ſerpentine figures, among the plants, of which there were a great number, ſeveral of them meaſuring upwards of three feet, and one in particular four feet four inches, in length; and of a proportionable circumference.

The trade of the northern part of Europe appears, as it was expected, to have thriven greatly by the decay of the North-American trade, as, on this and the next day, no fewer than one hundred and ſeventy-three ſhips, from the Baltic, paſſed the Sound. Some people, however, alledge another reaſon for the augmentation of the commerce of the northern powers, which is, the paſſage the Ruſſians have opened to the Levant and Italy.

One of the firſt acts of the new Prince de Conti, ſince his acceſſion to his father's poſſeſſions in the Iſle of Adam, has been to give orders, that the game thereon ſhould be moſtly killed, on account of the damage done by it to the corn in that diſtrict, of which the inhabitants had for a long time complained, and given to the poor. Some time before this, when the general extirpation of rabbits in France happened to be on the carpet, it was found that the ſmell of lobſters, or craw-fiſh, would entirely deſtroy them in their burrows; and it has ſince been diſcovered, that lobſters have another property very uſeful to the farmer and corn-factor, which cannot be too univerſally known.

Monſ. de Broſſes, firſt Preſident of the parliament at Dijon, finding that the weevils had got among ſome wheat at one of his farms, tried almoſt every method to get rid of them, but in vain, for his granaries ſtill continued infeſted by this voracious inſect. At length, being informed of a method to deſtroy them, quite ſimple, and no ways expenſive or dangerous, and which it is ſaid had been practiſed in the province of Poictou, with equal ſucceſs, he went to work, in the following manner. He got ſome live lobſters, which he threw on the wheat that was infeſted; and, in four hours time, the weevils came out from all parts of it, (for the fiſh were ſtill alive) and diſperſed themſelves all over the walls in ſuch great numbers, that in many places they were quite black with them. At length, after endeavouring to eſcape by the chinks in the wall, they all periſhed.

The ſmell of this teſtaceous fiſh, particularly if left to ſtink, always proves fatal to theſe inſects, yet will nowiſe affect the corn. This remedy ſhould be uſed, as ſoon as there is reaſon to ſuſpect that the weevils begin to make their neſts.

A new road from Hun- 10th.
tingdon to Goodmancheſ-
ter, being nearly completed, was a few days ſince opened for carriages. It is a very noble addition to the pleaſure of travelling that way as well as an entire ſecurity againſt the floods which ſometimes overflowed the fine meads through which it paſſes; not to ſpeak of other advantages; it being ſhorter by

by ſeveral miles than the old road, and as ſafe for travellers as any road in England.

12th. Being the birth-day of the Prince of Wales, the ſame was obſerved at Windſor with unuſual ſplendor. At ſix in the morning the feſtivity was announced by the ringing of bells. At ſeven ſome ſmall guns were fired as a ſignal to prepare. Before nine, the Prince, with his attendants, came to the King's apartments. At ten o'clock, the King, Queen, and children, attended by the Duke of Montague, Lord Bruce, Lady Effingham, Lady Weymouth, Lady Charlotte Finch, &c. went in proceſſion to the cathedral; the Princeſs Royal and her two ſiſters walked after their Majeſties; the Prince of Wales and his ſix brothers (all dreſſed in blue and gold) following, with their attendants on each ſide. When they came to the church door, the Provoſt, Prebends, Canons, and Poor Knights received them; and as ſoon as they entered the cathedral, the organ ſtruck up and continued till the Royal Family were ſeated. His Majeſty, the Prince of Wales, the Biſhop of Oſnaburg, and the Duke of Montague, before the ſervice began, went to the altar and made their offerings of gold and ſilver; Doctor Boſtock and Doctor Lockman receiving the ſame in a gold diſh.

The arrangement of the Royal Family, when in the choir, was thus: the King ſat in the Dean's ſeat, the Queen under the Duke of Glouceſter's banner, with the Princeſſes ſtanding at her ſide; the Prince of Wales, and his brother the Biſhop, under their own banners; the reſt of the children, with the ladies of quality, and other attendants, in the upper ſtalls on the right hand of the choir. The Duke of Montague took his ſeat under his own banner.

The ſervice then began, and was read by the Provoſt; Mr. Kent's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* were ſung; and Doctor Green's anthem, "God is our hope and ſtrength, "&c." concluding with the grand chorus from the Meſſiah; the whole of which took up an hour and an half. The proceſſion from the cathedral was in the following order, viz. Poor Knights, two and two; Prebends, Canons, Provoſt, their Majeſties, the Princeſs Royal with her ſiſters, and their attendants, the Prince of Wales and the Biſhop of Oſnaburgh, the reſt of the Royal brothers, two and two; Duke of Montague, Lord Bruce, Ladies Effingham, Weymouth, Charlotte Finch, &c. on each ſide. The gentlemen of the cathedral took leave of them at the door; their Majeſties and the children then went into the caſtle, and afterwards upon the terrace. The party belonging to the 25th regiment was drawn up in the Park, upon a ſpot called the Bowling Green; and, as ſoon as the children appeared at the terrace, they gave three vollies. The King and Queen, Princes and Princeſſes, went afterwards into their own apartments to dinner, and at half paſt ſix o'clock, the Prince of Wales and the three eldeſt brothers returned to Kew.

There were now in circulation a number of counterfeit ſixpences, an imitation of the Lima money of George the Second, well executed, date 1746; not differing from the Tower money, but by a flatneſs

flatneſs on one part of the edge inſtead of being round.

19th. The ſon of a wealthy inhabitant of Grails, in Voigtland, having lately hanged himſelf, when delirious in a fever, the unhappy father petitioned the King, and eaſily obtained leave to bury him in the church-yard. But, when the corpſe was brought to the grave to be buried, a great mob aſſembled to obſtruct the putting of it into the ground; they even attacked the guards which were ſent to quell the riot with ſo great fury, that they were obliged to be reinforced to the amount of 600 men before they could reduce the mutineers, which was not done at laſt without much bloodſhed on both ſides.

20th. A powder-mill blew up in the province of Picardy, and ſeveral perſons were deſtroyed by the exploſion. Happily the Royal Arſenal did not ſuffer, though near the ſpot where the accident happened.

21ſt. One of the Grand Signior's ladies was ſafely delivered of a Prince, who was immediatcly named Sultan Mehemet, to the very great ſatisfaction of the Grand Signior and his ſubjects. The Porte communicated the news in form, the ſame day, to all the foreign miniſters, intimating, that, as illuminations would be ordered throughout the city for ſeven nights, it was hoped they would not omit to demonſtrate, as uſual in ſuch caſes, their friendſhip, by doing as others did, which requeſt was complied with. The illuminations began on the 26th, and were followed by three nights ſuperb fire-works on the canal oppoſite to the Grand Signior's ſeraglio.

22d. A bell was erected in the centre of Smithfield, on a high pyramid, conſiſting of four poſts. It is to be rung at twelve o'clock on Sunday nights, for cattle to be brought in; and at three o'clock in the afternoons of Monday and Friday, for the market to ceaſe; and, in failure of obedience to this ſignal, the cattle are to be ſent to the Green-yard.

A regatta was celebrated on the river Thames between Richmond and Kew in honour of the Prince of Wales's birth-day. Their Majeſties, and all the reſt of the Royal Family, with their attendants, were preſent, and received by all ranks with the greateſt marks of affection and reſpect; but, excepting the number of boats, and the crowds of people, the ſhow afforded very little diverſion. In the evening ſome very curious fire-works were diſplayed on an aite on the river Thames, which had a fine effect.

The army under General Howe, after he had made, on the 18th, ſome further propoſals to the provincials, but without effect, being previouſly joined by a large body of Heſſians, made good their landing on Long Iſland; and, on the 27th, part of the provincial army, commanded by General Sullivan, was totally routed; upon which the whole body, the next day, quitted their entrenchments on Long Iſland, and retreated to New York.—On this occaſion, the Generals Sullivan, Stirling, commonly called Lord Stirling, and Udell, with more than 1000 men, were made priſoners; the killed

and

and wounded were ſuppoſed to be about 2300.

As the name of the above-mentioned Lord Stirling is not in the liſt either of Engliſh, Scotch, or Iriſh peers, the following account of him may be acceptable to our readers. His father, Mr. Alexander, (for that is his real name) went over to America many years ago, where he acquired a conſiderable eſtate, and where the preſent Lord Stirling was, it is believed, born. Upon the death of Lord Stirling, a Scotch peer, whoſe name was Alexander, either the late or the preſent Mr. Alexander, came over to England, and laid claim to the title; when the cauſe was tried by the Houſe of Lords, and the claim rejected; the Lords forbidding him to aſſume the title on pain of being led round Weſtminſter-Hall, libelled as an impoſtor: but ever ſince, by the courteſy of his countrymen, he has been diſtinguiſhed by the title of Lord Stirling. The firſt Lord Stirling obtained a grant of Long-Iſland; was the firſt that ſettled it with Britiſh inhabitants; and was at a great expence in ſupporting them. He died in 1640.

There is a very remarkable plain in Long Iſland, about twenty-eight miles long, and between four and five broad. Not a ſingle tree grows upon it, and none of the natives can remember there ever were any; a thing which cannot be ſaid of any other known ſpot of ground in all North America.

At a general diet of the poliſh nobility, held at Warſaw, the members were obliged to ſign the following act of confederation, which the Poles think, if ſtrictly adhered to, would certainly be a bleſſing to their ruined country:

1. To preſerve the Roman church as predominant.—2. For the perſon of the king, and the dignity of his throne.—3. For the laws and liberties of both nations (Poland and Lithuania) which are guarantees to each other by many convention compacts.—4. To erect a free and independent republican government, which has a power of legiſlation at its diets, and a power to enforce its acts between one diet and another.—5. To fulfil and obſerve all the treaties hitherto concluded with foreign powers.—6. To introduce an harmony between the different courts of judicature throughout the whole kingdom, and to preſerve a due ſubordination among them.—7. To take ſuch meaſures as would leſſen the taxes and impoſts, and to aboliſh, or at leaſt to confine, all unneceſſary and extravagant expences.—8. That juſtice and right be adminiſtered to each individual ſubject, againſt the violations of the feudal lords.—And, 9. That every member of this diet be zealous to adopt ſuch meaſures as would eſtabliſh the public tranquillity, and tend to the happineſs of this kingdom in general, and every ſubject in particular.

Some perſons abroad having made it a practice to counterfeit Britiſh paſſes, and thereby give room to the piratical ſtates of Barbary to complain, that Great-Britain ſcreened the property of their enemies; his Majeſty has been pleaſed to iſſue a proclamation of this date, requiring all paſſes, formerly granted to ſhips and veſſels trading in the way of the cruizers belonging to the ſaid ſtates, to be returned

returned into the office of the admiralty of Great-Britain, and other paſſes of different forms to be iſſued.

A lady and her ſervant riding in the Phœnix-Park, Dublin, were ſtopped by a man on foot, very genteelly dreſſed in white cloaths, and a gold-laced hat. He demanded the lady's money, which ſhe gave him, amounting to 26 guineas; when, having put the caſh into one of his pockets, he took from the other a ſmall diamond hoop-ring, which he preſented to the lady, deſiring her to wear it for the ſake of an extraordinary robber, who made it a point of honour to take no more from a beautiful lady, than he could make a return for in value. He then, with great agility, vaulted over the wall, and diſappeared.

31ſt. About half paſt ten at night, a violent hurricane, accompanied with a vaſt torrent of rain, happened at Shepton-Mallet, and did conſiderable damage, by filling with water moſt of the cellars, and ſome dwelling-houſes in the lower part of the town, and ſpoiling or carrying off the furniture, &c. But what renders this event very extraordinary, is, it was followed the next night but one, by another ſtorm nearly as bad, which laid the flat lands adjacent to the town all under water, and did beſides very conſiderable damage.

They have a cuſtom at Rome of ſolemnly crowning extraordinary poetical geniuſes in the capitol; nor is the honour confined to the men. Petrarch and the Chevalier Perſetti were the laſt Italian poets who obtained it. This day it was conferred on a young lady of the name of Morelli Fernandez, called Corilla Olimpica by the academy of the Arcades, who had long gained the admiration of Italy by her extempore verſes on any ſubject propoſed. After undergoing the neceſſary literary examinations preceding that ceremony, the laſt in the preſence of more than twenty ladies of the firſt diſtinction, twenty-five foreigners of rank, and three hundred perſons of known erudition, with the greateſt applauſe, ſhe was this day, at length, conducted to the capitol, by the Counteſſes Cardelli, Dandini, and Ginnaſi: when ſhe entered, ſhe kneeled to the conſervators, who were ſitting under a canopy; and, after the uſual Latin forms, the Chevalier Jean Paul de Cinque placed the laurel crown upon her head; after which the Chevalier John Baptiſt Conci regiſtered the act of her coronation in the public regiſters, under the diſcharge of 100 pieces of cannon. Several members of the academy of the Arcades read pieces of their compoſition, and three queſtions were propoſed to Corilla, who anſwered in verſe, with an eloquence and vivacity which ſurprized all who were preſent.

The weather has been ſo exceſſively hot this ſummer in Sweden, as to occaſion many diſtempers, and among them putrid fevers, which have carried off great numbers of people.

The 12th inſtant, the wife of Capt. Perrington, at Rotherhithe, was delivered of two ſons and a daughter, all, at their birth, likely to live.

Some time, ago Mr. Powell, of Clearwell-hall, Glouceſterſhire, married Miſs Elizabeth Eaſt, being the

the fourth wife he has married of the ſame name.

Died, the 2d inſtant, Matthew Maty, M. D. principal librarian of the Britiſh Muſeum, and ſecretary to the Royal Society; a very learned and ingenious gentleman; and well known, as ſuch, in the literary world.

The 25th, The celebrated David Hume, Eſq; at Edinburgh. He had been ailing a long time, but never complained, nor was confined to his bed, till a day or two before his death. He appointed his brother his heir by teſtament, but has left ſome ſmall legacies to ſeveral of his friends, viz. to a ſervant 20l. per ann.; to Dr. Smith 200l.; to Dr. Ferguſon 100l. or 200l.; and 100l. to erect a monument to his memory, with an expreſs prohibition not to put any thing on it but the day of his birth and the day of his death. The reader will find ſome memoirs of this great, however in ſome reſpects miſtaken, genius, in the ſecond part of this volume.

Lately, at Glaſtonbury, Mrs. Sarah Brookman, widow, aged 106 years.

Mrs. Mary Yates, of Shiffnal, aged 128 years. She walked to London after the fire in 1666, married a third huſband in her ninety-ſecond year, and was hearty and ſtrong at 120.

SEPTEMBER.

3d. The lord-mayor, ſheriffs, and city officers, proclaimed Bartholomew fair in the uſual manner; but ſtrictly forbid all interludes, &c. Accordingly, none were exhibited, through the vigilance of the city-marſhals and their aſſiſtants, who have beſides cleared that noted ſpot of ſharpers and pickpockets, on market-days, and introduced ſuch order among the horſe riders, as to prevent their trampling on paſſengers, which heretofore but too often happened.

Extract of a Letter of this date from Palma, the capital of Majorca.

"Forty-ſix captives who were employed to draw ſtones from a quarry ſome leagues diſtance from Algiers, at a place named Genova, reſolved, if poſſible, to recover their liberty, and yeſterday took advantage of the idleneſs and inattention of forty men, who were to guard them, and who had laid down their arms, and were rambling about the ſhore. The captives attacked them with pickaxes and other tools, and made themſelves maſters of their arms; and, having killed thirty-three of the forty, and eleven of the thirteen ſailors who were in the boat which carried the ſtones, they obliged the reſt to jump into the ſea. Being then maſters of the boat, and armed with twelve muſquets, two piſtols, and powder, &c. they ſet ſail, and had the good fortune to arrive here this morning, where they are performing quarantine. Sixteen of them are Spaniards; ſeventeen, French; eight, Portugueze; three, Italians; one, a German; and one, a Sardinian."

5th. About two o'clock in the morning, the moſt dreadful fire that ever happened at St. Kitt's, began in one of the back rooms of John Gardner, Eſq; in what is called the Paſture, in the town of Baſſeterre, which for want of timely aſſiſtance

assistance at first, spread with unconquerable fury, conflagration succeeding conflagration, till the most valuable part of the town was reduced to ashes—so reduced, that not a stick of timber remained unconsumed. This fire was succeeded, the next day, by a hurricane, attended with a deluge of rain, which did nearly as much damage to the island as the fire did to the town. The damage to the shipping was likewise immense. Seven ships put out to sea; three foundered; two more drove on shore; and only one rode out the gale. This terrible hurricane was equally felt at Antigua, Montserrat, St. Kitt's, Martinico, Guadaloupe, and Marigallante; but, in the first of these islands, the rain providentially did as much good, as the wind had done harm.

6th. The lord-mayor of London, was robbed near Turnham-Green, in his chaise and four, in sight of all his retinue, by a single highwayman, who swore he would shoot the first man that made resistance, or offered violence.

At the fair held in Bristol this week, there was as great a demand for the articles in the cloathing trade, as had been known for some years past, especially those of a coarser sort, of which there was not a sufficient supply brought to town. It was universally acknowledged by the clothiers from the various parts of the country, that they had a sale for whatever goods they could make; but they grievously complained of the exorbitant price of wool.

A Russian house of trade, with a capital enabling them to serve their friends agreeably to their wishes, and let them partake of great advantages, independent of the house's transacting the affairs of the Russian government, has been lately opened at Constantinople, under the immediate protection of the empress, in order to take advantage of all the cessions made to her imperial majesty by the last treaty of peace between her and the Porte.

A system of toleration lately adopted by the empress of Russia, has proved an amazing source of population in her dominions. It is computed that twelve foreign colonies have settled upon the Wolga, which all together make 6091 families of different religions. A similar system, we have seen, had been lately adopted by the empress queen, with proportionable good effects.

Arrived in the river, the Queen East-Indiaman; which, though she had been out twenty months, had lost but one man. [For the methods of preserving the health of seamen, &c. in long voyages, please to turn to our second part.]

10th. About eleven in the morning, as Joseph Wright, a pilot, Joseph Totty, and —— Melville, were sailing in a boat opposite Dawpool, in the port of Chester, about a mile from shore, a violent storm arose, which overset the boat. Wright got upon an oar, and stripped himself, by which he reached the shore, after swimming about an hour and three quarters. How, in such a situation, he was able to disengage himself from his wet cloaths, is a matter of surprize, but an undoubted fact. He was so weak when he reached the shore, that he could give no

account of the matter. The other two, although they were excellent ſwimmers, being unable, through the violence of the current, to make land, were unfortunately drowned. Wright heard Melville ſhriek for aſſiſtance near an hour, which his father, who was a ſpectator of his dreadful ſituation, was unable to afford him. We inſert this as a proof of the great advantage which may be expected, in ſuch terrible ſituations, from the aſſiſtance of light bodies.

The runner to a ſet a ſharpers, who had, for the purpoſe of defrauding honeſt tradeſmen of their property, under ſpecious pretences, hired a great houſe in Groſvenor-ſquare, at the rent of 500l. a year, was convicted at the ſeſſions at Weſtminſter, and ſentenced to three years hard labour on the Thames. The reſt of the gang were lucky enough to eſcape for the preſent.

12th. A ſudden fire broke out in the dead of the night, at the Goat alehouſe, in Shire-lane, and burnt ſo furiouſly, that the miſtreſs of the houſe, who was juſt ready to lie in, attempted to ſave herſelf by getting out of the one-pair of ſtairs window; but fell upon the ſtones in the lane, and was miſerably bruiſed. A Mr. Tudor, who lodged in the houſe, being deaf, could not be waked till the ſtaircaſe was on fire; when, it is ſuppoſed, being involved in the ſmoke, and not knowing which way to turn, he periſhed in the flames. The reſt of the inhabitants were happy enough to eſcape over the tops of the neighbouring houſes. A great many other houſes were damaged; and, conſidering the cloſeneſs of that neighbourhood, it is very ſurprizing that the conflagration was ſo ſoon got under.

14th. A few days ſince, as two gentlemen, who live on the road between Dublin and Milltown, a village in the neighbourhood of that capital, were returning home, they were accoſted by a genteel man, gravely dreſſed, reſembling a clergyman, who begged they would ſtep with him into an adjacent public-houſe, as he had ſomething of moment to communicate to them. This being complied with, he aſked one of the gentlemen whether he was ever poſſeſſed of a gold watch, and being anſwered in the affirmative, he then enquired whether he could recollect the maker and number; the gentleman replied, that a ſpace of upwards of twenty-two years had intervened ſince he was robbed of his watch and ſome caſh by five men, and could not poſſibly know it again; but the other ſaying he remembered its conſtruction, the ſtranger produced the watch, which proved to be the ſame the gentleman had been robbed of, and alſo 25 guineas, the ſum taken from him. The owner of the watch then aſked the reſtorer of it how he came by theſe articles, as they were confident he only acted in an official capacity; he deſired to be excuſed giving a direct anſwer; but added, that three of the men who robbed him were now in opulent circumſtances, and the other two had died ſince. Happy are they, ſaid he, who, having the misfortune in their younger days to deſpoil their neighbour unjuſtly of his property, make ample reſtitution in their riper years: this ſhews their principles are not entirely vitiated, and that their repentance

pentance is ſincere; but thrice happy they who have no need of this repentance.

This night being the eve of a Sunday, on which a general communion was to be at the cathedral church of Zurich, in Switzerland, called Munſter Kirk; and many thouſands were expected there to partake of it; the wine was prepared and brought to the church, to be ready againſt morning; but, in the mean time, an incarnate devil dared to lay hands on the ſanctuary of the Lord, and poiſoned all the wine. In the morning, when the ſacrament was adminiſtered, there was a horrid confuſion; ſeveral fainted away on the ſpot; ſeveral vomited; ſeveral were taken with a violent cholic; and, in ſhort, the whole city was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. Upon this, an experiment was tried, and the poiſon diſcovered. About eight had died of the poiſon when this account came away; and had not the bad taſte of the wine given early notice of the intended miſchief, many more muſt have periſhed: ſtill ſome hundreds were dangerouſly ill. After a ſtrict examination, it was diſcovered, that one Wirtz, a gravedigger, was the perpetrator of this diabolical deed, with a view to promote his buſineſs, which had been ſlack for ſome time. The villain was immediately apprehended; but what is become of him, we have not as yet learned.

15th. The King's troops, under General Howe, landed at Kepps-bay, in order to attack New-York; but, on their approach, found the city abandoned, and the Provincials fled; upon which they took poſſeſſion of the city, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh with the rear of the provincial army, with the loſs of ſix or eight men killed and wounded.

A fire broke out at the corner of Rood-Lane, in Fenchurch-Street, which burnt three houſes in front, and damaged ſeveral others. Two men were killed, and one miſerably bruiſed, on the occaſion.

16th. This morning, a highwayman was ſhot dead, on Finchly-Common, in attempting to rob the Derby machine.

At the meeting of the three choirs at Worceſter, the collection amounted to 506l.

17th. The ſeſſions ended at the Old-Bailey, when eleven convicts received ſentence of death, viz. one, for coining; four, for houſebreaking; one of them while the family of the houſe was in the country; two women, for ſhoplifting; one, for horſe-ſtealing, of which he made a practice, in order to kill them, and boil their fleſh, &c.; one, for ſtreet-robbery; one, for forgery; and one, for returning from tranſportation; thirty-four were ordered to hard labour for three years on the river Thames, among whom were nineteen capital convicts, who had received his Majeſty's pardon on that condition; five were ordered to be ſent to the houſe of correction; twelve to be impriſoned in Newgate for different terms; three to be branded in the hand; fourteen to be whipped; and forty-eight were diſcharged by proclamation.

At this ſeſſions, a gentleman was tried for perjury, in polling twice for Mr. Wilkes at the late election for chamberlain; but it appearing that what he did was the effect of an habitual intoxication, or rather

permanent ſtupidity thereby produced, he was acquitted. At this ſeſſions were likewiſe convicted two more of the fellows concerned in the murder of the cuſtom-houſe officer (ſee May 25th), and executed the 16th. At the place of execution, they owned being of the company, but denied having any hand in the murder; and behaved with great compoſure of mind. Moſt of the other criminals were pardoned; ſome of them, on condition of working on the Thames; and the reſt were executed ſome weeks after.

19th. Lord Howe, and General Howe, cauſed a declaration to be circulated, promiſing, in his Majeſty's name, a reviſion of all ſuch inſtructions as might be conſtrued to lay an improper reſtraint on the freedom of legiſlation in the colonies; and alſo to concur in the reviſal of ſuch acts as they might think themſelves aggrieved by, &c. And ſoon after the iſſuing of this declaration, the people flocked in great numbers to his head-quarters, and made their ſubmiſſion.

20th. The greateſt and fineſt part of the handſome town of Geſle, the capital of the province of Geſtricia, in Sweden, was burnt to aſhes.

A perfect rainbow was ſeen at Lower-Halſton, in Kent, about nine at night.

23d. Between this and the next day, at midnight, a moſt horrid attempt was made by a number of wretches to burn the town of New-York, in which they ſucceeded ſo well, having ſet it on fire in ſeveral places with matches and combuſtibles that had been prepared with great art and ingenuity, that about one quarter of the town was conſumed; and the reſt muſt have ſuffered the ſame fate, had it not been for the exertions of Major-General Robertſon, the officers under his command in the town, and the brigade of guards detached from the camp.

A few days ago Capt. Don Daval, a young and gallant ſea-officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, in a frigate of 34 guns, in company with another Spaniſh frigate of 28 guns, fell in, near Tetuan, with four Mooriſh zebecs, when a bloody ſcene was exhibited. The barbarians boarded the Spaniards nine times, and, although ſuperior, almoſt three to one in number, were every time repulſed with great loſs. At length, after an engagement of ſix hours, the Moors were obliged to ſtrike to the Spaniſh flag. The loſs of the barbarians, in killed and wounded, was upwards of 260; and that of the Spaniards, 38 ſeamen and 3 officers killed, and 90 men and officers wounded; amongſt the latter was Capt. Daval.

23d. Lord North, in taking an airing in Buſhy-Park, had the misfortune to be flung from his horſe, and break one of his arms, which put a ſtop to ſome very material parliamentary buſineſs till he recovered. In the mean time, his Majeſty did his Lordſhip the honour to ſend daily to enquire after his health; and even frequently to go in perſon to ſee him, but without ever ſpeaking of buſineſs to him, leaſt any application of mind ſhould retard his cure.

28th. The Aldermen Plumbe and Thomas were choſen ſheriffs; and Alderman Halifax lord-mayor, for the year enſuing.

The Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel has returned the contribution which his

his ſubjects had paid to the military cheſt, and declared that he would do ſo as long, as the Heſſian troops continued in the Britiſh ſervice; and the hereditary prince, his ſon, willing to follow ſo good an example, publiſhed an ordonnance, by which he declared, that all the parents of ſoldiers, and the ſoldiers themſelves, of the regiment of Heſſe-Hanau, (the territory ſettled on his electoral highneſs, as an eſtabliſhment during his father's life) gone to America, ſhall be free from any duty, either in money or product, upon any land they may poſſeſs in that landgraviate, from the day that regiment ſet out till its return. Moreover, by the indulgence of the court of London, all the letters written by the officers or ſoldiers of the German troops employed in the ſervice of Great-Britain, in North-America, to to their friends in Europe, and to them from ſuch their friends, are to be exempted from poſtage.

30th. General Howe iſſued a proclamation, promiſing a full pardon to all deſerters from the Britiſh troops in America, who ſhould ſurrender themſelves on or before the 31ſt of the next month: And, towards the end of November, upwards of forty of thoſe who had ſurrendered in conſequence of the ſaid proclamation, arrived in London, in their way to the coaſt of Africa, to make part of the corps lately Colonel O'Hara's on that ſtation.

The French king had juſt received the collection of ancient medals, which the Sieur Pellerin had been ſo many years making for his majeſty, whoſe cabinet before this acquiſition was celebrated throughout Europe, but now may very truly be ſaid to be the richeſt and moſt uſeful; eſpecially for the aſſiſtance it may lend by throwing new lights on ancient hiſtory.

Died, the 7th inſtant, Eric Guſtavus Queckford, Knight of the Sword, and a lieutenant-general in the Swediſh ſervice, aged 88. He was the laſt ſurviving officer who attended Charles XII. at Bender.

Mrs. Kennedy, in the 110th year of her age, at Dumfries, in Scotland.

The 17th, Capt. Thomas Forbes of the royal navy, aged 102, at Harwich.

The 22d, Monſieur Lewis Chambaud, author of ſeveral uſeful works in French and Engliſh; particularly a French Dictionary in folio.

Maſter Chivers of Rotherhithe, of the bite of a mad dog. He had drank the ſalt water; been bathed in it; returned ſeemingly well; and continued ſo for more than a month; but, on the 17th inſtant, he was ſeized with the hydrophobia, for which no cure could be had.

William Dale, aged 101, at Auſtry in Warwickſhire.

The 27th, Francis Marſh, Eſq; at Lambeth, aged 84 years. At the age of 60 he had his coffin made, and kept it by him ever ſince.

The 29th, Alderman Ogden, of Leiceſter, aged 96.

Lately, At Chicheſter, Mr. George Smith, landſcape painter, and ſurviving brother of three, who all cultivated that enchanting art. He gained the premiums given by the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, &c. in 1760, 1761, and 1763.

Mr. Robert Weſt, father of Mr. Weſt, hiſtorical painter. He was

born at Long-Crandon, Bucks, in 1690; went in 1715 to Penſylvania, where he had three brothers ſettled, who went there with William Penn; married and raiſed a family of ten children in that province; and came over in 1764 to viſit his native country, and ſee his ſon, where he has continued ever ſince. He was one of the people called Quakers, univerſally eſteemed.

Joſiah Van Rochle, Eſq; who had made nine voyages to the Eaſt Indies.

At Chelſea, Edward Northorpe, Eſq; worth 40,000l. of which he has left 5000l. to portion ten maidens, in the choice of his executors.

In Spitalfields, Mr. James Pointhouſe, who ſerved with King George I. in the allied army, previous to that Monarch's ſwaying the Britiſh ſceptre.

At Greenwich, Thomas Randall, aged near 100, who was cabbin-boy on board Admiral Ruſſel's ſhip, in the famous battle with the French, under Tourville, in 1692, and continued in the ſervice of his country from that time to the concluſion of the laſt war.

Mr. Buck, aged 105, at Dublin.

Near Nancy in Lorrain, M. Lancelot Chambellan, in his 109th year; a few days before his death, he walked upwards of ten miles.

Mrs. Dorothy Clarke, aged 112, at Weſtorp, in Nottinghamſhire.

Mrs. Sarah Mendes Furtado, aged 109.

SUMMER ASSIZES.

At Dorcheſter, one was capitally convicted, but afterwards reprieved. At theſe aſſizes, Mr. Sykes, the late member for Shafteſbury, was convicted of bribery, and Mr. Mortimer, the preſent member, recovered penalties to the amount of 11,000l. This is the moſt deciſive cauſe ever yet determined in favour of the landed intereſt.

The following point of law was argued at the ſaid aſſizes: "Whether the ſetting out of graſs in cocks, from the ſwath, without teddding, was or was not a good ſetting out of tythes?" After a full hearing, the queſtion was determined in the affirmative, and a verdict given againſt the rector for not taking his tythe away.

At Cambridge, one was capitally convicted of horſeſtealing, but afterwards reprieved.

At Stafford, two were capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Nottingham, one, but reprieved.

At Buckingham, one, for murder.

At Litchfield, one, for forgery.

At Horſham, for the county of Suſſex, an old woman, aged 74, was found guilty of murdering her huſband, a butcher, at Brightling, in that county, and ſentenced to be burnt. She was generally ſuppoſed to be inſane; but from the clear, artful anſwers ſhe gave, and the defence ſhe made, Lord Manſfield was clearly of a contrary opinion.

At the aſſizes for the county of Devon, three were capitally convicted.

At Guildford, eleven; ſix of whom, viz. four women for a robbery, and two horſe-ſtealers, were afterwards reprieved; the other five were executed.

At Durham, two, one of whom, for a burglary, was executed.

At Newcaſtle, two, one of whom, for ſtealing two bank notes out of a letter, was executed.

At the aſſizes for the county of Northumberland, four, one of whom,

whom, for a highway robbery, was executed.

At Bridgewater, one.

At Bodmin, one, who was afterwards reprieved.

At Briſtol, only one cauſe, of a very trifling nature, was tried.

At York, two were capitally convicted, but reprieved. In the trial of one of them, John Sutcliff, for the murder of his wife and child, the Rev. Mr. Atkinſon depoſed, the reaſon Sutcliff gave for murdering his wife was, that, as ſhe was in a miſerable ſituation, he thought it was proper to put her out of miſery. When aſked, why he murdered his child, being in no miſery? he ſaid, he gave it in ſacrifice to God, in return for ſome bleſſings he had received a few days before. The jury brought in their verdict inſane.

At Maidſtone, four were capitally convicted, two of whom were reprieved, but the others for murder were executed.

At Shrewſbury, one, but reprieved.

At Saliſbury aſſize, Mary Bower was charged, on the oath of her ſiſter, with taking from her bank notes to the amount of 990l. It appeared to be a family affair.

At Norwich, two were capitally convicted.

At the aſſizes for the county of Norfolk, five; but all reprieved.

At Bury, two were convicted, but reprieved.

At Glouceſter, one.

At Carliſle, one; but reprieved. At the above aſſizes was tried, before Mr. Juſtice Aſhurſt, the long-depending cauſe between Sir James Lowther, Bart. plaintiff, and his Grace the Duke of Portland, defendant, relative to the foccage lands of Ingleſwood foreſt; when a verdict was given for the defendant.

At Lincoln, three were capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Appleby, one; but reprieved.

At Chelmsford, ten; eight of whom were reprieved.

At Oxford, two brothers, but reprieved.

At Abingdon, three, and reprieved.

At Northampton, one, for murder; and another, for a burglary; but were both reprieved; and the jurors verdict on the former referred to the opinion of the twelve judges.

At Worceſter, two, but reprieved.

At Brecon aſſizes, one, for wilfully and premeditatedly firing a loaded piſtol at an intimate acquaintance, in a fit of jealouſy, on account of a young woman whom they both courted, and dangerouſly wounding him in the hip.

At Lancaſter, two, of burglary, but both reprieved.

At Cheſter, four, and all executed.

The aſſizes at Bedford, Warwick, Coventry, Saliſbury, Huntingdon, Cowbridge, and Winchester, proved maiden.

At the laſt of the above aſſizes, an action was brought by farmer Maſkall, plaintiff, againſt a neighbouring farmer, defendant, for debauching one of his daughters, under the common pretence of marriage. Many learned arguments were uſed by the plaintiff's counſel, in relation to the nature, criminality, and conſequence of the offence; and the evidence being impartially ſummed up by the learned judge, the jury, without heſitation, found a verdict for the plaintiff, with 250l. damages, and all coſts.

OCTOBER.

3d. Was tried at Guildhall, before the Recorder, in the Mayor's court, an action brought againſt a lottery-office-keeper, to recover the chances ariſing upon the inſurance of lottery tickets, amounting to the ſum of 99l. After much inveſtigation, and argument of the counſel on both ſides, a verdict was given for the defendant, agreeable to the opinion of the Judge, who held, that, though there appeared, in the courſe of the evidence, an acknowledgment of the debt; yet, as the contract was illegal, and in violation of the Gaming Act, the plaintiff had no remedy againſt the defendant. The courts of law, he ſaid, had been ſo ſtrict for the ſuppreſſion of that ſpecies of traffick, ſo highly detrimental to commerce, that he remembered an inſtance, wherein the money paid for inſurance was returned.

4th. The delegates of the ſeveral North-American colonies and provinces, to the Continental Congreſs, not excepting thoſe of New York, though actually in the King's hands, ſigned articles of confederation and perpetual union, which the reader will find among our State Papers.

A cauſe was tried in the county court of Corke, in Ireland, before Mr. Juſtice Henn, between Mr. Godfreid Gerard Fehrman, plaintiff, and Mr. William Falkner, Surveyor of Robert's Cove, Charles M'Carthy and Samuel Philips, revenue-boatmen, defendants. The action was brought for unlawfully detaining at Kinſale, laſt January, Mrs. Fehrman, the plaintiff's wife, three hours, under pretence of her having ſome India goods about her, ſhe refuſing to admit herſelf to be ſearched; and, after a full hearing, the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff of ſixty guineas damages, and full coſts of ſuit. Mr. Fehrman, laſt ſummer aſſizes, obtained a verdict for ſixty pounds, from another revenue-officer, for unlawfully entering his cellar, under pretence of his having unlicenſed beer in it.

By letters from Liverpoole, the Duke of Bridgewater had already cleared, in one year, 950l. by carrying paſſengers betwixt Runcorn and Mancheſter; and 12,500l. by carrying goods betwixt Mancheſter and Liverpoole; all which the public muſt allow his Grace richly deſerves, when they are aſſured that his inland navigation has already coſt him 220,000l.

7th. The ceremony of marriage between His Imperial Highneſs, the Grand Duke of Ruſſia, and the Princeſs of Wirtemberg Stutgard, was performed, with great pomp, at Peterſburgh, by Her Imperial Majeſty's Confeſſor; but not till the Princeſs had been ſolemnly baptized into the Greek church, by the name of Maria Feſdorowna.

9th. The collegiate church of St. Peter, Weſtminſter, was opened for divine ſervice, after having been long ſhut up, to erect a new choir, and make ſeveral other neceſſary repairs, of which the following ſhort deſcription of that moſt venerable part of the building, in its preſent ſtate, will give the beſt idea. Upon entering the front gate of the choir, you aſcend three ſteps, the marble pavement, or floor, having been raiſed upwards of two feet. The ſeats belonging to the Dean and Sub-Dean, are brought ſeveral feet forward,

forward, in order that those who fill them may hear the preacher without being obliged to leave their places, as was the case before this alteration took place. The picture of Richard the Second is removed from the place in which it was hung, into the Chapter-house, and the pulpit is placed on the opposite side of the choir. The stalls for the clergy, and singing men, are not materially altered, but the places appointed for the gentlemen of Westminster school though plain and neat, are better constructed than the old ones.

11th. This day and the 13th, a fleet fitted out by the Provincials on Lake Champlain was entirely defeated, two of their vessels taken, and ten burnt or destroyed by another fleet partly built and rebuilt there, and partly carried there, some miles over land. The Provincials, on the news of their fleet being defeated, quitted Crown-Point, having first set fire to all the houses and buildings within it, and returned to Ticonderoga.

A few days ago, as Major Balfour, of the first or royal Scots regiment, and his brother, were out a shooting, near Fort George, in Scotland, the Major, having fired his piece at some birds, desired his brother to fire also, when, unfortunately, as he was preparing to do so, the Major stept forward before the muzzle of the gun, received the charge in his head, and expired a few hours after. The Major was universally esteemed. No words can express the agony of his brother upon this melancholy catastrophe.

Thirty-two convicts, who had lain six months on board a transport in Limehouse-hole, without knowing where they were to be taken, some days ago found means to put an end to a state of uncertainty, too bad, in a manner, for most crimes, by making their escape.

The Pope, though a great friend to the Ex-Jesuits, has been obliged, notwithstanding, to banish them his capital, on pain of having the Spanish ones left on his hands by the stoppage of their pension from the court of Madrid.

15th. An ancient piece of painting, by Holbein, representing an interview between King Henry VIII. and Francis I. of France, at Guines, near Ardres, and containing upwards of four thousand faces, which had been hitherto kept in the private apartments in Windsor Castle, was, by their Majesties command, placed for public inspection in the Royal Picture Gallery; as was likewise another ancient picture, a sea piece, representing the return of Henry VIII. and his nobility, from the said interview. The reader will find an account of the first of these pictures, in our last volume.

16th. In consequence of two declarations lately issued by Lord Howe and General Howe, one, on the 14th of July, purporting, that his Majesty was desirous to deliver his American subjects from the calamities of war, and other oppressions; and to restore the colonies to his protection and peace: the other, on they 19th ult. the purport of which the reader may see against that date; upwards of nine hundred persons, of respectable characters, inhabitants of the city and county of New York, presented their Excellencies with an address, in which, after the warmest expres-

sions

ſions of duty, affection, and gratitude for his Majeſty, and ſome compliments to their Excellencies, they expreſs their hopes, that the ſufferings of their abſent fellow-citizens, many of whom had been driven away by the calamities of war, and the ſpirit of perſecution which lately prevailed there; or ſent to New-England, and other diſtant parts; will plead in their behalf, and engage their Excellencies, on theſe their dutiful repreſentations, to reſtore the city and county of New York, to his Majeſty's protection and peace. Accordingly, ſoon after, Governor Tryon was re-eſtabliſhed in his government, and the ſeveral courts reopened for the adminiſtration of juſtice.

His moſt faithful Majeſty has lately publiſhed a general pardon to all his ſubjects who had fled their country for different crimes, on condition of their ſerving five years in the army.

Between eight and nine at night, the General Wolf Packet was run down, between Liverpoole and Dublin, by the Hawke tender, then going at the rate of ſix knots (miles) an hour; and, out of forty-three paſſengers, excluſive of the crew, but twenty perſons, in all, were ſaved.

18th. The King's forces encamped on New York Iſland, having got behind the Provincials ſtationed at King's-bridge, obliged them thereby to abandon their almoſt impregnable intrenchments at that place.

Lord Berkeley having been ſtopped in his poſt-chaiſe, about ten at night, near Salt-hill, and robbed of his money, watch, &c. one of his ſervants, who came up at that inſtant, purſued the highwayman; ſoon overtook him; and, diſcharging a piſtol at him, killed him on the ſpot.

19th. An addreſs of the Lord-mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Commons, of the city of York, in common council aſſembled, congratulating his Majeſty on the ſucceſs of his arms in North America; approving of his meaſures with regard to his colonies there; and aſſuring him that they are zealous friends to law, liberty, and order, and determined enemies to faction, licentiouſneſs, and ſedition; and that they regarded the honour and dignity of his Majeſty's crown, and the ſupreme authority of the Britiſh legiſlature, as the great pillar of that excellent conſtitution, on which depends the freedom and proſperity of every branch of the Britiſh empire, was this day preſented to his Majeſty, and moſt graciouſly received.

When, in the beginning of this year, the Houſe of Commons was moved to enquire into the methods uſed to obtain addreſſes in pretty much the ſame ſtile with the above, Sir William Baggot got up, and related to the Houſe the origin and conduct of the Stafford addreſs. He ſaid, that having, while in Warwickſhire, ſeen the addreſs to all the electors of Great Britain which was ſigned by Deputy Piper; and, not being willing that the gentlemen of the county which he had the honour to repreſent, ſhould dance to Deputy Piper's tune, he went home immediately; and at the ſeſſions an addreſs, containing ſentiments very different from that of Mr. Deputy Piper, was propoſed and agreed to, only one perſon, whom the Houſe

House well knew, (Mr. Wooldridge, who had last year spoken at their bar) objecting to it.

The Bishop of Ely took possession of an house in Dover-street, erected by act of parliament for the future town residence of the Bishops of that see, and to be called Ely-house for the future, in lieu of the old palace, on Holborn-hill.

21st. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when seventeen capital convicts received sentence of death, viz. three, for coining; one, for forgery; two, for horse-stealing; one, for sheep-stealing; one, for burglary; one, for a robbery in a house of ill fame; and eight, for various footpad and other highway and street robberies. Five more convicts were sentenced to hard labour on the Thames; and seven, to hard labour in Bridewell; seven, to confinement in Newgate; four, to be whipped; eight were branded in the hand; and twenty-two were discharged by proclamation.

And, on the 11th of December, two of the coiners, the forgerer, and five of the other capital convicts, were executed at Tyburn. The unhappy man, for forgery, having been once a tradesman in great credit, both for honesty and industry, was indulged with a mourning-coach. He made a very affecting speech to the populace, at the place of execution, of near a quarter of an hour's continuance, in which he attributed his unhappy fate, not so much to any extravagancy, as an indiscreet desire of being able to carry on a great trade. Before his death, he satisfied all his creditors to the utmost of his power, though by so doing he left his family in the most wretched circumstances.

During the mayoralty of the present Lord-mayor, John Sawbridge, Esq; eighty-eight persons received sentence of death, and thirty-nine were executed; six of them, for murder.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, by an edict of this date, has brought several places under the immediate dependence of his crown, which were formerly under that of the Camadule Hermites. The question is, under which jurisdiction the inhabitants of these places are likely to be happiest.

25th. His Excellency the Marquis de Noailles, Ambassador from France, had his first private audience of his Majesty, to deliver his credentials.

27th. The Marquis de Bernard Tanucci, who, for a great number of years past, had been Prime Minister, and chief or sole favourite, to the present and the late King of Naples and Sicily, was dismissed his employments, but in the most honourable manner. He is succeeded by the Marquis Della Sambacca, the son of Prince De Campo Reale, Counsellor of State, and President of the junto of Sicily.

The Registers of the Court of Chancery, and their clerks, took possession of their new office in Chancery-lane; and, next day, an elegant bust, in marble, of the present Lord Chancellor, executed by Mr. Nollekin, was put up in the said office, with the following inscription: "The Right Hon. Henry Earl Bathurst, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, 1776."

28th. About a quarter before eleven o'clock, a sudden shock of an earthquake was felt all over

over the town of Northampton, and in many adjacent villages, attended with a noiſe much like the violent jolt of a cart, which very apparently jarred the houſes, and threw the windows into a noiſy agitation for about two ſeconds; and a ball or balls of fire were ſeen at the ſame time by many perſons in the ſame town and neighbourhood. The like phænomena were felt and ſeen at Harborough, and as far as Loughborough, in the county of Leiceſter, about the ſame time. The concuſſion did not appear ſo great in thoſe parts; but the light, from various deſcriptions, ſeems to have been equal.

30th. His Majeſty was pleaſed, by two ſeveral proclamations, to order that a public faſt and humiliation ſhould be obſerved throughout England, and the kingdom of Ireland, upon Friday the 13th of December next, for the purpoſes, beſides the other uſual ones, of imploring the intervention and bleſſing of the Almighty, ſpeedily to deliver his loyal ſubjects within his colonies and provinces in North America, from the violence, injuſtice, and tyranny, of thoſe daring rebels, who had aſſumed to themſelves the exerciſe of arbitrary power; to open the eyes of thoſe who had been deluded, by ſpecious falſehoods, into acts of treaſon and rebellion; to turn the hearts of the authors of theſe calamities; and finally to reſtore his people in thoſe diſtracted provinces and colonies to the happy condition of being free ſubjects of a free ſtate, under which heretofore they had flouriſhed ſo long, and proſpered ſo much.

31ſt. His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a moſt gracious ſpeech; which, with the addreſſes in return from both houſes, and his Majeſty's moſt gracious anſwers to them, the reader will find among our State Papers.

The following humane order has been ſent from the War-Office, to General Howe, in America.

" State of Allowances and Regulations.

If a wound ſhall be received in action by any commiſſioned officer, which ſhall occaſion the loſs of an eye or a limb, he ſhall receive a gratuity in money of one year's full pay, and be further allowed ſuch expences relating to his cure (if not performed at the King's charge) as ſhall be certified to be reaſonable by the Surgeon General of the army, and Inſpector General of regimental infirmaries, upon examination of the vouchers which he ſhall lay before them.

If the wounds received ſhall not amount to the loſs of a limb, the charge of cure only ſhall be allowed, certified as above. When any commiſſioned officer ſhall loſe an eye or a limb as aforeſaid, the Commanding Officer of the corps in which he ſerves, ſhall deliver to him a certificate, ſpecifying the time when, and the place where the ſaid accident happened; a duplicate of which certificate ſhall likewiſe be tranſmitted with the next monthly returns.

When any commiſſioned officer ſhall be killed in action, his widow and orphan children (if he leaves any) ſhall be allowed as follows:

The widow, a full year's pay according to her huſband's regimental commiſſion; Each child under

under age and unmarried, one third of what is allowed to the widow; posthumous children to be included.

All persons dying of their wounds, within six months after battle, shall be deemed slain in action.

The commanding officers of the corps in which the slain officer served, shall, on demand, give a certificate of his being killed in action to his surviving wife and orphans respectively, specifying the time when, and the place where, the said accident happened; a duplicate of which shall likewise be transmitted with the next monthly returns."

His Majesty has besides been graciously pleased to order 100l. to each of the masters, and 50l. to each of the men of the undermentioned transports, who bravely exerted themselves in their country's cause in the late affairs at New-York island; viz. Robert Roughead, of the Good-Intent; Rickman Fowler, of the Symetry; John Randall, of the Grand Duchess of Russia; Thomas Brown, of the Savile; John Chalmers, of the Mercury; and James Stuart, of the America.

In the course of this month, the Continental Congress resolved to borrow eight millions of dollars, at four per cent. interest, and issued a proclamation accordingly.

In the course of this month, likewise, a great revolution happened in the government of Madrass; some of the gentlemen of the council there, having thought proper, by their own authority, to depose and imprison Lord Pigot the Governor, and confer the government on Colonel Stuart.

DIED, the 3d instant, Mr. Etheridge, a celebrated architect, who, among other public works, built Walton bridge.

The 4th, Mrs. Roslanley, the widow of Mr. Wells Roslanley, an ingenious designer in Oxford-street, who died the 1st instant; Mrs. Roslanley having refused to take any manner of sustenance, after his death, till she expired.

The 16th, the Rev. Dr. Pierre Francois Le Courayer, in the 95th year of his age, in Downing-street, Westminster.

The 18th, John Ellis, Esq; F. R. S. Agent for the province of West Florida, and for the island of Dominica; but better known, as the first discoverer of the properties of those curious substances, called corals and coralines, and still better, for his public-spirited endeavours to promote the study, and extend the benefits, of natural history; at Hampstead.

The 25th, Mr. Levy Marks, principal scribe of the Jews synagogue, and a gentleman of unblemished character, aged 96.

Lately, Sir William Yorke, late Chief Justice of Ireland, after retiring on a pension. His death was owing to a mistake of his servant. Sir William was grievously afflicted with the stone, and in his severe fits he used to take a certain quantity of laudanum drops. On calling for his usual remedy, during the most racking pains of his distemper, the drops could not be found; whereupon the servant was dispatched to his apothecary; but, instead of laudanum drops, he asked for laudanum. A quantity of laudanum was accordingly sent, with special charge not to give Sir William more than twenty-four drops.

drops. But the fellow, forgetting the caution, gave the bottle into his maſter's hand, who in his agony drank up the whole contents, and expired in leſs than an hour after. For the great efficacy of coffee, in counteracting the power of opium, &c. ſee the laſt article of our projects for this year.

The very celebrated Dr. Thomas Townſend, alchymiſt to his Majeſty; at his lodgings in Southwark.

Mr. Carey, of Dartford, Kent, who loſt both his legs, and one arm, in an engagement in the rebellion of 1745.

Mrs. Ann Simpſon, widow, aged 101, at Sunbury.

Joſeph Dobyns, a ſhepherd, aged 102, at Rickmanſworth, in Herts.

NOVEMBER.

1ſt. A motion being made by Mr. Saxby, at a court of common-council at Guildhall, that an additional ſalary ſhould be allowed the Lord-mayors, to enable them to ſupport that office with dignity, without expending any part of their own fortunes, after ſome warm debates, it was, at length, carried by a majority, that 1000l. per annum be added to their ſalary; on condition that the money ariſing from the ſale of all places be, for the future, paid into the chamber of London, the Lord-Mayors ſtill to retain the benefits of the Cocket-office. See the 1ſt of Auguſt.

4th. By a liſt of ſhips already in commiſſion, and put into commiſſion this day, it appears, that Great Britain had now a fleet of one ſhip, of one hundred guns; five, of ninety; one, of eighty-four; ſeven, of ſeventy-four; four, of ſeventy; and ten, of ſixty-four; in all, twenty-eight capital ſhips, ready to put to ſea at a very ſhort notice.

An elegant picture, painted by Mr. Gainſborough, of Lord Folkſtone, in his coronation-robes, was put up in the great room of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. as a juſt tribute of gratitude to his lordſhip, for his having been the firſt nobleman, both by his purſe and his perſonal attendance, to patronize that moſt uſeful inſtitution.

8th. An appeal to the Houſe of Lords, from the court of ſeſſion in Scotland, and of great conſequence to trade, in which Campbell, Robertſon, and Company, merchants in Glaſgow, were the appellants; and William Shepherd, and others, merchants in London, were the reſpondents, was this day determined by their lordſhips. The conteſt was for payment of a large ſum of money for thirty-five bags of cotton ſold by the reſpondents to one Rt. Vallance, which cotton was afterwards ſeized at Glaſgow by the appellants for money due to them from Vallance. The Lords affirmed the decree of the court of ſeſſion in favour of the reſpondents Shepherd, &c. with 100l. coſts.

9th. The entertainment given, at Guildhall, this day, being Lord-mayor's Day, when Sir Thomas Hallifax was ſworn into that office, was honoured with the preſence of the Lord Chancellor, four of the Judges, ſeveral of the principal officers of ſtate, many of the

the nobility, and an extraordinary number of other perſons of diſtinction, for the firſt time ſince the ſpirit of party took place in the city.

11th. David Hartley, Eſq; member for Kingſton upon Hull, made the ſixth and laſt public trial of his method of preſerving buildings from fire. But, as this is a matter not to be ſkimmed over, and too long, if treated at length, as it deſerves, for this part of our work, we ſhall reſerve what we have to ſay of it, for our Appendix.

13th. The ſtate-lottery began drawing at Guildhall.

14th. Their Majeſties went to the Earl of Derby's houſe, in Groſvenor-ſquare, and ſtood ſponſors, in perſon, with the Counteſs of Carliſle, to his Lordſhip's new-born daughter, who was baptized by the name of Charlotte.

15th. Mr. Dunning moved the court of King's-bench for an information againſt two juſtices of the peace for Middleſex, for refuſing to compel two perſons, charged with being Roman Catholicks, to take the oaths; when Lord Mansfield refuſed Mr. Dunning's motion; and, at the ſame time, expreſſed his diſapprobation of this attempt to revive the ſeverities of thoſe very penal laws.

Not many years ago, the government of Ireland thought proper to free, in a great meaſure, the Roman Catholicks of that kingdom from the galling yoke of the penal laws there, by framing a new oath for them, by which they might ſufficiently expreſs their loyalty and allegiance, yet without injury to their religious principles; and, accordingly, all the Roman Catholicks of that country, chearfully took it. Indeed, the ſpirit of toleration and humanity, improvement and diſcovery, ſeem to be now abroad. Of this we have already had occaſion to give ſome inſtances, and hope to be able to give more. Here let us add, that the court of Vienna has aboliſhed the uſe of the torture in her tribunals of juſtice, and the ſtate of villainage in her demeſnes; and growing every day more and more ſenſible of the advantages ariſing from the ſpirit of toleration, [ſee p. 146.] has publiſhed an edict, which gives permiſſion to all Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Jacobites, and other ſubjects of the Ottoman empire, to trade in the archduchy of Auſtria, provided they ſettle there with their families. The King of Sardinia has forbidden any perſon to be impriſoned by order of the inquiſitors, till the matter has been made known to his Majeſty, and one or more of his privy-council have examined the accuſed in perſon, and ſifted the accuſation to the bottom; as likewiſe to put any man to death in the priſons of the inquiſition. The Empreſs of Ruſſia, beſides effectually beginning to make ſeveral of her rivers navigable, and join them, and of courſe the ſeas bordering her vaſt dominions, by canals, and puſhing her diſcoveries towards Japan and North America; has planted ſeveral villages in the road to China, in order to render the long journey there leſs dangerous, dreary, and uncomfortable. The Emperor of Morocco treats ſome of his captives more like priſoners of war than ſlaves. And the Spaniards have begun to adopt inoculation. In 1771, Don Timothy Eſcanlan, principal phyſician

ſician to the department of the marine, introduced it into Galicia, and inoculated 115 children in the city of Corogui; among others, the ſons of Don Emanuel de Flores, Vice-roy of Santa Fe, and thoſe of Don Joſeph Anthony d'Armina, Intendant of Galicia, all of whom have done very well.

16th. Fort Waſhington, and, next day, Fort Lee, the only places on New York iſland which ſtill remained in the hands of the Provincials, ſurrendered to his Majeſty's arms.

19th. A motion was made in the court of King's-bench for a money-broker to ſhew cauſe, why an information ſhould not be granted againſt him, at the ſuit of Lord Mountſtuart. The money-broker, it ſeems, had made very free with his Lordſhip's name, to procure, without his orders, or even knowledge, two ſums of 2,100l. each, on annuities, at ſix years purchaſe, thinking, that his Lordſhip greatly wanted the money, and therefore, when it was ready, would be glad to accept of it, and on the above terms. But in this he found himſelf greatly miſtaken. Lord Mountſtuart, however, might have forgiven the affront, had not the affair reached Lord Bute's ears, and given him the greateſt concern, though his Lordſhip had too much delicacy to take any notice of it to his ſon. The rule was immediately granted.

At a court of aldermen at Guildhall, at which ſeveral aldermen were preſent, beſides the Lord-Mayor, the two Sheriffs, and the Recorder, John Sawbridge, Eſq; late Lord-mayor, received the unanimous thanks of the court, for his diligent and faithful diſcharge of the duties of that important office, for his ſteady and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, his zealous defence of the rights and franchiſes of this great city, and the conſtant protection he gave to all its inhabitants, by refuſing the ſanction of his authority to preſs-warrants; and for his politeneſs, deference, and attention, to the members of this court, during the whole courſe of his mayoralty.

This night, and the two following days, there blew the greateſt ſtorm of any that had happened for ſome time paſt, in the Low Countries, ſome part of France, and all over England. On the night of the 20th, it demoliſhed the vane of the cathedral of Ely, and all its appurtenances, with part of the ſtone-work of the turret upon which the vane was fixed; broke down a dyke at Delfthaven, in Holland; and, being at north-weſt, drove the water through the ſtreets like a river; ſo that, had it not been for the wiſe meaſures taken by thoſe who had the direction of the dykes, and the indefatigable labour of the workmen, the whole town muſt have been overwhelmed. In other places, many loſt their whole ſubſtance, which conſiſted in cattle; and ſome, their lives. Part of the city of Rotterdam was overflowed; and the water roſe there half an inch higher than laſt year; and continued riſing full four hours and an half longer than uſual. By theſe inſtances, the damage done to houſes and ſhips, in the above and other places, may be eaſily computed.

20th. His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to a bill entitled, An Act for granting to his Majeſty

jeſty a Land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound.

25th. A new baſon, thirteen hundred yards broad, and ſhut in with a large lock, was opened at Oſtend; when ſeveral ſhips entered it with the morning tide.

27th. About a quarter paſt eight in the evening, the ſhock of an earthquake was felt at Canterbury, Sandwich, Aſhford, and all over Eaſt Kent, particularly on the coaſt. Its direction was from ſouth to north; it laſted about eight ſeconds, and was attended by a diſtant rumbling noiſe. The morning was gloomy and perfectly calm, wind ſouth, Fahrenheit's barometer (at Sandwich) 29. 8. thermometer, within doors, at the ſide of an eaſt window on a ſtaircaſe, 37. 3. Some china on a cheſt of drawers at Folkſtone was moved an inch or two, each piece; and two bits of wood were ſhaken from under the feet of a table. The ſhock cauſed a bell in the church, at Dover, to ſound, as likewiſe a hand-bell on St. Martin's Hill, near Canterbury. The ſame ſhock was ſtill more ſenſibly felt at Calais, where it threw the loaves in the bakers ſhops from off the ſhelves, to the no ſmall conſternation of the inhabitants.

30th. Lord Howe and General Howe iſſued a proclamation, inviting all ranks of people in the North-American colonies and provinces, to receive a general pardon, on their ſurrendering themſelves to any of his Majeſty's General Officers, Admirals, &c. commanding any armed veſſels or ſhips in his ſervice, in any of the different ports, and, at the ſame time, teſtifying their obedience to the laws, by ſubſcribing a declaration, in words to the following effect, viz. "I, A. B. do promiſe and declare, that I will remain peaceable and obedient to his Majeſty and his government, and will not take up arms againſt either, nor encourage others to take up arms, in oppoſition to his authority."

Sir Robert Ainſlie, his Britannick Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the Porte, went in great ſtate, accompanied by the gentlemen of the factory and the drugomen, and had an audience of the Grand Vizir, who received him with all poſſible marks of eſteem and friendſhip. The next day, he went in the ſame ſtate, and had an audience of the Grand Signior, who was ſeated on a magnificent throne, attended by his great officers of ſtate, and received him with politeneſs, expreſſed great friendſhip and reſpect for his Britannic Majeſty, and was pleaſed to ſay, by the Grand Vizir, that his Majeſty's ſubjects ſhould be protected in the enjoyment of all the articles of the capitulations between the two ſtates.

Came on, in the court of King's-bench, the affair of John Tubbs, an impreſſed ſeaman, whoſe diſcharge was claimed, as one of the Lord-mayor's watermen, by the city of London. But, as this is a matter of too public and intereſting a nature not to be taken notice of in the Hiſtory of Europe, we ſhall refer our readers for an account of it, (as likewiſe, of the trial between Lord Rochford and Mr. Sayre, and for the ſame reaſons) to that part of this work.

At the anniverſary meeting of the Royal Society, their Preſident, Sir John Pringle, Bart. after an

elegant diſcourſe on the occaſion, preſented, in their name, James Cook, Eſq; Captain in his Majeſty's navy, with the gold medal, called Sir Godfrey Copley's medal, for his uſeful paper on the means of preſerving the health of ſeamen in long voyages, &c. which the reader may ſee in our ſecond part, with ſome intereſting extracts from Sir John's diſcourſe. The Society afterwards re-elected Sir John, for their Preſident; and Samuel Wegg, Eſq; for their Treaſurer; and elected Samuel Horſley, L. L. D. for their firſt, and John Planta, Eſq; for their ſecond, Secretaries.

In the courſe of this month, there happened a dreadful fire at Breſt, in which a great number of poor ſick in the hoſpital, and upwards of fifty galley-ſlaves, periſhed; and ſeveral more of the galley-ſlaves made their eſcape. To prevent the reſt from doing ſo, they were all ordered into a large court under the guard of five hundred ſoldiers, and there to lie down on their bellies, on pain of the firſt man's being ſhot, who ſhould attempt to lift his head. This method having the deſired ſucceſs, every thing was afterwards carried on with all the tranquillity that the natural confuſion of ſuch an accident would admit of; and by very great labour the progreſs of the flames was at length ſtopped.

DIED, the 11th inſtant, the Rev. Doctor George Wigan, Rector of Old Swinford, Warwickſhire, and Aſhbury, Berks; both which livings he had enjoyed fifty-four years; in the 86th year of his age.

The 16th, Mr. James Ferguſon, lecturer in natural philoſophy and aſtronomy; an excellent mechanic, and no bad miniature-painter, at his houſe, in Bolt-court, Fleet-ſtreet. He was a man, who, by mere force of genius, made a conſiderable progreſs in the mathematical arts and ſciences; wrote ſeveral uſeful works; and both projected and executed a great number of ingenious inſtruments and machines. [The reader will find a further account of this truly ſelf-taught philoſopher, in our ſecond part.]

Lately, Mr. Brice, commander of a ſquadron of armed ſhips fitted out by the Continental Congreſs, and ſtiled Admiral; at Boſton.

William Owagan, Eſq; ſenior alderman of Corke, in Ireland, aged 93. He was one of the pages who attended King James II. in 1689, when entertained by that city.

Read Peacock, Eſq; ſenior alderman of Huntingdon, as he was coming to London in the diligence.

Mr. Matthias Vento, a celebrated maſter of muſic.

Mr. Edward Shuter, the celebrated comedian, in Windmill-ſtreet.

Mr. John Cheſmeare, who, in the reign of George the Firſt, had an annuity of 100l. ſettled on him from Monſieur D'Ibberville, the French miniſter to the court of London, for having protected him from an Engliſh mob.

Mary Thompſon, at South-Benfleet, Eſſex, whoſe death was occaſioned by a piece of griſtle ſticking in her throat. She lived fourteen days after the accident, in the moſt miſerable condition, not being able to ſwallow any thing whatever, every attempt to remove the griſtle, particularly by a piece of

of whalebone repeatedly applied, having proved fruitleſs.

DECEMBER.

2d. His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the following bills, viz.

The bill for continuing the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry.

The bill for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion.

The bill for better regulating his Majeſty's marine forces while on ſhore.

And alſo to ſix road, incloſure, and private bills.

The Lords proceeded to hear and determine a cauſe of appeal from Ireland, the merits of which turned on the words of a clauſe in the will of a Mr. Jackſon, who, after mentioning a particular bequeſt in land to his mother Mary Jackſon, in a ſubſequent clauſe gives her all the reſidue of his effects real and perſonal. The heirs at law ſet up a claim to the landed eſtate of the teſtator, except that part of it which was particularly bequeathed to the deviſee; and the courts in Ireland determined in their favour. But the courts in England reverſed the decree of the Iriſh courts; and this day the Houſe of Lords confirmed the verdict of the Engliſh courts.

3d. Came on to be tried before Lord Mansfield and a ſpecial jury, a cauſe, wherein Mr. Bell, deputy town-clerk of Worceſter, was plaintiff, and Sir Watkin Lewes defendant. The action was brought for a further payment to the plaintiff for his time in attending the Houſe of Commons on the trial of the conteſted election of Worceſter. He laid his expences at upwards of 100l. and the jury gave a verdict for 36l. 19s.; 20l. of which had been previouſly paid.

4th. The payment for coals to the bringer without a receipt from the ſeller, was this day determined in the court of King's-Bench to be an improper payment; and a buyer, who had made ſuch a payment, was obliged to pay for his coals a ſecond time.

The commiſſioners for victualling his Majeſty's navy contracted with Mr. Melliſh for 2400 hogs, to be killed at the victualling-office, London, between this and the 31ſt inſtant, at 42s. per hundred weight.

5th. Came on before Lord Mansfield, at Weſtminſter-Hall, a cauſe wherein Mr. Legge, an attorney, was plaintiff, and —— Legge, Eſq; an American governor, defendant. The cauſe of action was, the plaintiff's ſerving the defendant as ſecretary, and being maltreated by him. The jury found 450l. damages, and full coſts.

Came on to be tried before Lord Chief Juſtice De Grey, a cauſe wherein Mr. Thorn was plaintiff, and Mr. Lowndes defendant. The plaintiff claimed an eſtate, as heir at law, of Mr. Selby, ſon of Serjeant Selby; and the defendant, as deviſee at will. The family of the Selbys could be traced no higher than the late Serjeant; nor could the kindred be traced higher, on the Thorn ſide, than the plaintiff's grandfather having married a

Selby, ſiſter of the Serjeant. The jury, after withdrawing ſome time, brought in a verdict for the defendant.

At a general court of the directors of the humane ſociety, inſtituted for the recovery of perſons apparently drowned, gold medals were diſtributed to the gentlemen who had been inſtrumental in forming the ſociety, and moſt active in promoting its views; among whom were Alderman Bull, James Horsfall, F. R. S. Dr. Cogan, Mr. Hawes, and Dr. Watkinſon. Silver medals were at the ſame time ordered to be prepared for thoſe gentlemen, who had been the happy inſtruments of reſtoring life. [The reader will find a full account of this moſt laudable inſtitution, with ſeveral inſtances of the moſt ſurprizing recoveries, and the means by which they were effected, &c. &c. in the ſecond part of our laſt volume]; to which, as the caſe of all perſons apparently dead is equally pitiable, and prevention is better than cure, we ſhall here ſubjoin the following benevolent advice:

As many perſons meet fatal periods in purſuing their ſubterraneous vocations, be pleaſed to publiſh (for their benefit) the under ſimple but certain preſervative: ——When a well, vault, or drain, has been incloſed a conſiderable time, to diſperſe and rectify the ſuffocating air at firſt opening, throw down ſix or more pails of water, and after waiting a quarter of an hour, any one may ſafely venture down. The like method ſhould be obſerved in ſinking new wells, eſpecially if the work has been diſcontinued any length of time, and is now conſtantly uſed by one whoſe profeſſion ſubjects him to accidents of the like kind.

Between nine and ten at night, departed this life, at Northumberland-Houſe in the Strand, on her birth-day, juſt as ſhe had compleated her ſixtieth year, her Grace Elizabeth Ducheſs of Northumberland, &c. &c. &c. who with a moſt princely fortune, devolved to her from her anceſtors, ſuſtained her exalted rank through her whole life with the greateſt dignity, generoſity, and ſpirit. Her extenſive charities to the poor; her encouragement of literature and the polite arts; and her generous patronage of every kind of merit; her warm attachment to her friends; her goodneſs to her ſervants, not to mention her tender affection for her family, make her death a public loſs, which will be long lamented. Her Grace's remains were interred the 18th, in Weſtminſter-Abbey, in as decent and ſolemn, though, by her own repeated deſire, as private a manner, as her rank would admit; notwithſtanding which, the crowd to ſee the funeral was ſo great, that it was with much difficulty the dean and chapter, with the choir, could convey the body from the weſt-door of the abbey, where they had been to receive it, to St. Nicholas's chapel, where it was to be depoſited. And then, when they had paſſed St. Edmund's chapel, adjoining to St. Nicholas's, but about three minutes, the whole front of the former, ſuppoſed to have been built between four and five hundred years ago, conſiſting of heavy oak, brick, and iron work, weighing, in the whole, above three tons, with part of the ſtone work, being overloaded by the men and boys who

who had climbed upon it to ſee the ſhew, came tumbling to the ground. The confuſion and uproar that enſued, may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. Numbers had their limbs broke, or were otherwiſe moſt terribly hurt: it is indeed ſurprizing, that any of thoſe upon the front, or under it, ſhould eſcape with life. This accident put an effectual ſtop to the ceremony; the dean and his attendants, after reſting the body in St. Edmund's chapel, were obliged to withdraw for ſome time; upon which the crowd, thinking no more was to be ſeen, thought proper to diſperſe, ſo as to give the Dean, &c. an opportunity of going through the ſervice between one and two o'clock, about two hours and an half after the body had entered the abbey; and even now, it was interrupted by the frequent cries of murder, raiſed by ſuch of the ſufferers as had not been removed.—Next day, the Duke of Northumberland, hearing of the great miſchief which had been done, with his uſual ſpirit, ſent a gentleman of his houſhold to enquire if any of the officers of the cathedral, attending in their places, had received any hurt; and, if they had, to acquaint them, that in conſideration of the manner in which they had received it, they ſhould be provided for by his Grace, and all indemnifications they might demand, be allowed by him: but happily none of the gentlemen belonging to the cathedral had received any injury.

At or about the ſame time, his Grace ordered 600l. to be given away in charity; 500l. of it, to the poor of the ſeveral pariſhes of Weſtminſter; and the remainder, to ſuch as reſided near the family ſeats and caſtles in the country; with a deſire, that thoſe who partook of it, ſhould conſider it as the donation of their late moſt generous benefactreſs.

6th. Came on in the court of Common-Pleas, before Lord Chief Juſtice De Grey, and a ſpecial jury, a long depending cauſe between the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the overſeers of the poor for the pariſh of Lambeth, in Surry, relative to a demand of poors-rates by the latter on his Grace, as an inhabitant of the ſaid pariſh. The jury went out, and, after ſtaying about five minutes, found a verdict for the Archbiſhop; it having been fully proved, in the courſe of the trial, that the palace, with all its appurtenances, were extra-parochial.

7th. Came on, in the court of King's-Bench, before Lord Mansfield, the trial of the printer of the White-hall Evening-Poſt, for printing and publiſhing in the ſame, on the 10th of June, 1775, an advertiſement from the Conſtitutional Society, reſpecting the payment of 100l. (ſubſcribed by that ſociety) to Dr. Franklin; when the jury, of which Sir James Eſdaile, Knt. Alderman, was foreman, after withdrawing for about five minutes, found the defendant guilty. See the 17th.

Ended the ſeſſions at the Old-Bailey, when twelve capital convicts received ſentence of death; viz. two for coining, one of them a woman; five, for highway or field robberies; two, for houſe-breaking; two, for theft within doors; and one, for a crime not to be named; not to mention ſeveral, as uſual, ſentenced to leſs puniſhments for leſs crimes; And,

on the 29th of January, 1777, one of the highway robbers, the two burglarers, and the two in-door thieves, were executed at Tyburn; as likewiſe the laſt-mentioned convict, who juſt before he and his fellow-ſufferers were turned off, threw a paper among the crowd, to the ſame purport with the following words, which he ſpoke with an audible voice: "I am as innocent as the child unborn of the crime which I am about to ſuffer for: however, as I hope to receive mercy from my gracious God, I forgive my proſecutors, and pray God to do the ſame."

The infernal ingenuity of James Aitken, alias John the painter, began to diſplay itſelf by a fire in his Majeſty's yard at Portſmouth: but, as he made other attempts, and theſe, with the tracing of him, his trial and voluntary confeſſion, make up but one object, too important to be ſlightly paſſed over, and too long for this part of our work, and moſt of which moreover falls to the ſhare of next year, we muſt take another opportunity to ſpeak of it.

8th. A detachment of his Majeſty's forces, under Lieutenant-General Clinton, from the grand army at New-York, eſcorted and ſupported by Sir Peter Parker's fleet, took poſſeſſion of Rhode-Iſland, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition.

9th. Came on to be heard, before the Right Worſhipful Sir George Hay, Knt. Doctor of Laws, Dean of the Arches Court of Canterbury, at Doctor's-Commons, the admiſſion of a libel in a cauſe of nullity of marriage promoted by Frances Mary Harford, falſely called Morris, ſpinſter, a minor, (natural daughter of the late Lord Baltimore) acting by Hugh Hamerſley and Peter Provoſt, Eſqrs, her curators or guardians, lawfully aſſigned againſt Robert Morris, Eſq; formerly of Lincoln's-Inn, but now of Swanſea in the county of Glamorgan; which cauſe was commenced in the Arches Court, in virtue of letters of requeſt from the Chancellor of the dioceſe of St. David's, in which libel were pleaded two marriages between Mr. Morris and Miſs Harford, the firſt in May 1772, when ſhe was only twelve years and an half old, by the chaplain to the Dutch garriſon at Ypres, one of the barrier towns of the Auſtrian Netherlands belonging to the Empreſs Queen; and the other, in Daniſh Holſtein, in 1773, in virtue of a ſpecial licence from the King of Denmark: both of which marriages it was pleaded in the libel were null and invalid, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the places where they were ſolemnized, on account of the minority of Miſs Harford, without the conſents required by law; and the opinions of ſeveral eminent civilians in thoſe countries were exhibited and annexed to the libel, in ſupply of proof of facts therein pleaded. The judge, after having heard counſel on behalf of Mr. Morris againſt the admiſſion of the libel, and four in behalf of the young lady in favour of it, was pleaſed to reject the whole thereof, and diſmiſs Mr. Morris from the ſuit, ſaying, that this was not a marriage provided againſt by the marriage-act; there being a proviſo in that act, which ſays, that nothing therein contained, ſhall extend to that part of Great-Britain called Scotland, nor to any part beyond the ſeas. The judge even dropped a hint, that he

he looked upon the marriage by the Dutch miniſter at Ypres, as a good marriage.

Came on, in the court of King's-Bench, Weſtminſter, before Lord Mansfield and a ſpecial jury, the trial of Samuel Foote, Eſq; for an aſſault on John Sangſter, his coachman, &c. when Lord Mansfield, after hearing the evidence and council on both ſides, got up and deſcanted on the nature of the crime alledged, the conſequences which would follow a conviction, and the duty of the jury to protect the innocent from unjuſt accuſations of ſuch a dreadful nature. His Lordſhip then went into the evidence, pointed out the inconſiſtencies in Sangſter's ſtory, and ſhewed that ſeveral of the circumſtances ſtated by him, were, if true, ſupportable by the teſtimony of various witneſſes, not one of whom were called on the part of the proſecution. His Lordſhip then examined the evidence of another evidence, with equal nicety, and as forcibly marked its palpable defects. Laſtly, his Lordſhip, after fully arguing upon the face of the whole matter ſworn in ſupport of the proſecution, took a view of that given on the ſide of the deſendant, and ſhewed its clearneſs, its cloſe relation, and its great credibility; inferring from the whole, that, if the evidence on the part of the defendant was to be believed, it was the moſt providential aſſiſtance to detect one of the fouleſt proſecutions that ever was ſet on foot, and which had been carried on in a manner uncommonly oppreſſive. Mr. Foote was moſt honourably acquitted.

10th. The Continental Congreſs, finding that the Britiſh troops were advancing to Philadelphia; and that the ſoldiers of the American army were leaving their ſtandards, on the plea of having ſerved the time for which they had enliſted, publiſhed a manifeſto, exhorting their countrymen to the ſupport of the cauſe of liberty; and aſſuring them, among many other things which time has not verified, that eſſential ſervices had already been rendered them by foreign ſtates; and that they had received the moſt poſitive aſſurances of further aid.

No fewer than ſeven country pariſh churches in Warwickſhire, Staffordſhire, and Nottinghamſhire, were robbed, or attempted to be robbed, within leſs than a fortnight paſt.

12th. A monument was opened in Weſtminſter-Abbey, to the memory of the late Dr. Pearce, Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Dean of that cathedral.

13th. Being the day appointed for the obſervation of a ſolemn faſt and humiliation, the ſame, it may be ſaid, was kept with uncommon marks of devotion, by people of all ranks and religions, not only throughout the cities of London and Weſtminſter, but England in general; at leaſt, it does not appear, that the miniſters and churchwardens of any but two adjoining pariſhes near Portſdown-Hill, Hants, have been called to an account for not attending their duty on the occaſion.

14th. Was tried before Lord Mansfield at Guildhall, an action of Trover, brought by the aſſignees of a bankrupt againſt two former ſheriffs of London, to recover the houſhold goods and ſtock in trade of the bankrupt, valued at 2000l. the ſum levied upon an execution iſſued by the defendants,

at the time the bankrupt was alledged to be in insolvent circumstances. The decision of the cause, on the part of the plaintiffs, depended upon a single proof of the bankrupt's distressed situation when the writ was executed. Among several witnesses, who were examined, one was a creditor, who calling, as he said, upon the bankrupt for a demand, was informed by him of his tottering state of credit, and appointed to call at a future hour, when he would certainly be at home, and pay the debt. The creditor accordingly attended, and was told that the bankrupt was not at home. This answer not satisfying him, he made use of a stratagem, which shews he thought that he had been imposed upon. To appearance he went away, but, in fact, secreted himself without the door, but so as to have a full command of the shop: in this situation he had not remained a minute, before he heard a servant call up stairs, "he is gone;" when the master immediately came down stairs. But Lord Mansfield did not hold this to be effective evidence of an act of bankruptcy; and, as to the confession of the bankrupt, it was, he remarked, totally out of consideration, and could not be received; for a man could not legally be permitted to prove himself a bankrupt; so the plaintiffs were nonsuited.

The cleansing of the bason of Cherbourg, destroyed by the English during the last war, being at last effected, a ship entered it this day.

18th. An action upon a breach of promise of marriage, in which Miss Ellis was plaintiff, and Mr. Cock, an attorney, defendant, was tried before Lord Mansfield, and a special jury, in the court of King's Bench, London. The declaration stated, that the defendant, before the death of his father, late a very considerable auctioneer, being then an indented clerk to Mr. Ellis, the plaintiff's father, paid his addresses to her, obtained her affections, and the consent of her friends, and promised to marry her upon the death of his father, which contract he ever since that event refused to comply with. On the part of the defendant it was urged, that his father, being a man of considerable property, indented him to her father, in order to make him competent to the protection of his own fortune, which chiefly consisted of houses in London and Middlesex; that he was then but a boy under sixteen years of age; that he being discovered to have too great an affection for the plaintiff's younger sister, it was insisted by his father that the young lady should be sent into the country, which was accordingly complied with; that she was no sooner removed, than the defendant made his professions to the present plaintiff, which, it was urged, her father, and, after his death, her brother, connived at, and encouraged; that being at age, he requested a private meeting, in order to consider of their situations; at which time, without his knowledge, and contrary to his expectations, the plaintiff's brother, Counsellor Ellis, appeared, and that he was, by the artifice of the parties, tricked into the promise upon which the action was grounded. Lord Mansfield, in his charge, opened the whole of the laws respecting such contracts, civil and ecclesiasti-

cal;

cal; obſerved that the young man's non-compliance ſeemed to be the conſequence of his father's dying injunction; and that any promiſe antecedent to his full age, was contrary to the law of the land. The jury, after conſulting near two hours, returned with a verdict for the plaintiff, and 1000l. damages.

17th. About a quarter paſt eleven o'clock, Sir John Fielding, with the high-bailiff, &c. aſſembled on the huſtings in Covent-Garden. When they had ſat there till twelve, ſilence was proclaimed, and the high-bailiff declared a ſeat in parliament for Weſtminſter to be vacant, by Earl Percy's becoming a peer in his own right, in conſequence of the death of his mother, the late Ducheſs of Northumberland; on which Lord Peterſham, now in America, was nominated a candidate, and, no other candidate appearing, declared duly elected.

About ten minutes after the election was over, Sir Watkin Lewes appeared on the huſtings, and was received with great applauſe. He declared himſelf a candidate, and demanded a poll, which being refuſed on account of his not appearing at the declaration, a warm diſpute aroſe in reſpect to the time allowed by act of parliament, before they proceeded to elect.

Sir Watkin afterwards invited ſuch of the electors as were deſirous of bringing this buſineſs before the Houſe of Commons, to the Swan in New-Street, for the purpoſe of drawing up and ſigning a proteſt againſt the proceedings of the day.

Came on before Lord Mansfield, and ſpecial juries, in the court of King's-Bench, Guildhall, the trials of Meſſieurs Miller, Wilkie, Randall, and Baldwin, printers of ſome morning and evening papers, for publiſhing, in the middle of the year 1775, an advertiſement from the Conſtitutional Society, ſigned by Mr. Horne, reſpecting the payment of 100l. ſubſcribed by that Society to Dr. Franklin. The Attorney-General, in opening the charge againſt each of them, expreſſed his abhorrence of the libel, and his judgment of the probable conſequences; ſaid, that it contained great encouragement to the moſt audacious and unnatural rebellion that ever diſgraced the annals of hiſtory, and charged thoſe heroic leaders, who, at the peril of their lives, were aſſerting the liberty of the conſtitution, and the law eſtabliſhed by king and parliament, with the worſt of all offences — murder! He ſaid, he hoped the jury would therefore in juſtice permit the laws to operate againſt the oſtenſible perſons with whom ſo foul and ungrateful an offence originated. On the part of the defendants, their counſel quoted ſeveral elevated periods, when the liberty of the preſs was unreſtrained; ſaid that all our preſent immunities were derived from thoſe ſources; and ended with a quotation from ancient hiſtory, to ſhew, that, as long as the Romans were allowed to ſpeak and write without reſtraint, their liberties remained, and no longer. They extenuated the accuſation in favour of the defendants, who, they ſaid, were not accountable for what came to them in the way of common advertiſements. To this the Attorney-General replied; and Lord Mansfield explained the law reſpecting

ſpecting libels in general, and ſaid, whatever opinion the defendants might have entertained of the fact which was proved againſt them, they were moſt certainly, under the law, criminal and accountable. His Lordſhip alſo remarked upon the conſequences of the libel in queſtion, as it related to the ſentiments of the people of America; and recommended a verdict againſt the defendants, which was complied with; but the ſentence put off till next Term. The council for the proſecution were, the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, Mr. Wallis, and Mr. Bearcroft; for the defendants, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Harding. See the 7th.

Mr. Miller's attorney had received, on the preceding Sunday, the following letter from Mr. Horne.

"SIR,

"In anſwer to your letter, which I this moment receive, informing me that—'The gentlemen under proſecution for printing and publiſhing my advertiſement, beg the *favour* of my attendance on the firſt trial at Guildhall, on Tueſday next, at nine in the morning.'—I muſt requeſt you to aſſure them, that I will moſt certainly do them the *juſtice* of attending. I have always been ready to avow that advertiſement; and it was my advice from the beginning, that the preſs ſhould throw the weight of this proſecution where it ought to fall, upon the author.

"Sir James Eſdaile's verdict has not changed my ſentiments.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN HORNE."

A grocer in Edinburgh has lately made ſuch improvements in the Diving-Bell, that the perſons in it may lower themſelves with the machine, from the ſurface of the water to the bottom, independent of all other aſſiſtance, and reaſcend at pleaſure. The dangers of being overturned by rocks, ſtumps of wrecks, &c. are hereby avoided. Beſides, except in rapid currents, or on a very unequal bottom, the men in the machine can proceed with it to a conſiderable diſtance from the line in which they go down. It is thought this improvement will be of great utility in locks and rivers, as well as at ſea, for the diſcovery of marle, mines, &c. And, accordingly, the ſociety in London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, have teſtified their approbation of it by an handſome bounty to the ingenious improver.

19th. A plot to kill the Pope and his attendants, by loading the guns of the Caſtle of St. Angelo with the beſt powder, and chain ſhot; and pointing them down a ſtreet, through which his Holineſs uſually paſſes every evening at ſeven o'clock, was diſcovered by mere accident, and of courſe fruſtrated; but the perſons concerned in it, have not as yet been found out.

25th. Being Chriſtmas Day, was every where obſerved as uſual. Particularly, their Majeſties went to the Chapel Royal; and, after ſermon, received the holy ſacrament, and made their offerings.

26th. Three battalions of Heſſians, poſted at Trenton, with ſix field pieces, were attacked by a body of Provincials, and all made

made priſoners, except a few, who eſcaped by a timely retreat, or cut their way through the enemy. The loſs on this occaſion, in priſoners and miſſing, was found, a few days after, to amount to about ſeven hundred, not to mention the field pieces, which the Provincials likewiſe carried off.

31ſt. The crew of the Hopewell, of Whitehaven, bound to Jamaica, were ſome time ago reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, that, after killing their cat and dog, they had caſt lots who ſhould be put to death for a ſupply of food for the reſt, when providentially a ſhip came in ſight, and let them have proviſions enough to reach Liſbon in queſt of a further ſupply.

The ſhock of an earthquake has been lately felt at Manheim. Worms, Spiers, and the neighbourhood of Mentz; but though rather violent, it happily did no damage. Its direction was from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, and laſted fifteen ſeconds.

In a liſt of all his Pruſſian Majeſty's forces, lately laid before him at Potzdam, the totals were as follow:

Horſe,	——	76,000
Foot,	——	152,000
Artillery,	—	7,500
Militia,	—	36,000
		271,500

Children marked, 87,500

The annual revenues of the Ruſſian empire now amount to the annual ſum of 17,130,618 roubles; and the annual expences, including penſions, preſents, &c. to 14,208,557.

By an authentic liſt of the hop duty for the year 1776, it appears to amonnt to 125,691l. 13s. 7½d.

In the courſe of this year, 4773 ſhips have been cleared at the cuſtom-houſe of Newcaſtle, of which 4343 were coaſtwiſe, and 430 for foreign parts, being, upon the whole, however, 270 leſs than laſt year.

If we have not, in the courſe of this our Chronicle, taken any notice of the various engagements between the ſhips of Great Britain and her North-American colonies, with the captures and recaptures on both ſides, it was becauſe a detail of them would fill a volume; and ſtill more, becauſe, the importance of theſe tranſactions, conſidering the nature of the quarrel, the condition of the parties, and their intereſting relation to one another, cannot but engage the able writer who favours the Public with the hiſtorical part of this work, to take ſuch a general ſurvey of the matter, as muſt more than ſuperſede any thing that could come from our feeble pen on the occaſion.

Died, the 10th inſtant, Mr. John French, painter and artiſt, long known for his beautiful ſcenery at Drury-lane Theatre.

The 11th, Mr. John Robertſon, formerly mathematical maſter at Chriſt's-Hoſpital; afterwards head maſter of the Royal Academy at Portſmouth; laſtly, for ſeveral years paſt, librarian to the Royal Society; and author of ſeveral ingenious mathematical pieces.

The 12th, Miſs Margaret and Miſs Judith Hodges, two maiden twin ſiſters. They died, as they were born, within a few minutes of each other, at the age of 53.

The 26th, Mr. Joſhua Platt, of Oxford, well known to naturaliſts by his Treatiſe on the Belemnite, publiſhed

published in the Philosophical Tranſactions, in his 88th year. His manners gained him the reſpect and eſteem of all who knew him; and he died univerſally regretted.

The 31ſt, Lately, in the South of France, Eglin Powes, Eſq; who, when Sir Robert Walpole impeached Lord Bolingbroke of high treaſon, impeached alſo the Earl of Oxford.

In Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Mr. Nathaniel Carden, aged 98, ſervant to the Duke of Marlborough during his laſt campaign in Flanders.

Mr. Dahl, firſt painter and ſcene director of the Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden.

William Pavorth, a tenant of the Hon. Mr. Dawney, at Hatton, near York; a village remarkable for the longevity of its inhabitants. Had he lived to the 27th of this month, he would have completed his 99th year. There were now in the ſame town, two widows; one, in her 96th; the other, in her 103d or 104th year; ſhe was not certain to a year. About four years ago, —— Wright, of Merſton, in the ſame pariſh, died at the age of 102.

—— Pattiſon, Eſq; in the hundredth year of his age, near Edinburgh.

Marie Magdaleine, at Bracke, near Mondidier, in France, aged 103. She had a ſiſter who died at the age of 104.

Marguerite de Coeg, of Trouleville, near Dieppe, in France, aged 104.

Mrs. Cahier, a relation of the late Duke of Ormond, in the 108th year of her age, in Charles-Street, Weſtminſter.

A General Bill of all the Chriſtenings and Burials, from December 12, 1775, to December 10, 1776.

Chriſtened.		Buried.	
Males	8859	Males	9499
Females	8421	Females	9549
In all	17280	In all	19048

Decreaſed in the Chriſtenings this year 51.	Decreaſed in the Burials this year 1466.
Laſt year's Chriſtenings 17629.	Laſt year's Burials 20514.

Of thoſe who died this year, there were,

Under two years of age			6857
Between	2	and 5	1670
	5	and 10	592
	10	and 20	688
	20	and 30	1350
	30	and 40	1615
	40	and 50	1893
	50	and 60	1673
	60	and 70	1325
	70	and 80	960
	80	and 90	367
	90	and 100	50
		100	1
		101	1
		102	2
		104	2
		105	1
		106	1

The kind and manner of *caſualties* among the foregoing deaths, were as follows:

Bit by a mad dog	1
Broken limbs	2
Bruiſed	2
Burnt	13
Choaked	
Drowned	112
Exceſſive drinking	5
Executed	

Executed — — —	16
Found dead — —	3
Killed by falls and ſeveral other accidents — —	60
Killed themſelves — —	32
Murdered — — —	6
Overlaid — — —	8
Poiſoned — — —	3
Scalded — — —	5
Smothered — — —	1
Stabbed — — —	
Starved — — —	3
Suffocated — — —	5
Total	277

We pay no regard to the accounts of the kind and number of diſeaſes given in the yearly Bills of Mortality, for the reaſons aſſigned in our laſt volume.

We cannot conclude this article without heartily wiſhing, that the great number of the drowned, among the above caſualties, may awaken the zeal of our readers to promote the views of the Beneficent Society inſtituted for the recovery of perſons apparently dead by drowning, &c. See p. 196.

BIRTHS for the year 1776.

Jan. 1. The Lady of Governor Vereliſt, of a daughter, in St. James's-Square.

15. Her Royal Highneſs the Ducheſs of Glouceſter, of a Prince, at Rome. See the Chronicle.

Lady Shelly, of a daughter, at Putney.

16. The Lady of Sir John Smith, Bart. of a daughter, in Pall-Mall.

31. The Lady of Sir Joſeph Mawbey, Bart. of a daughter, at Vauxhall.

Lately, the Ducheſs of Buccleugh, of a ſon.

Feb. 1. The Lady of the Hon. —— Achmoody, Eſq; Judge of his Majeſty's high court of Admiralty, in North America, of twins, in the Hay-market,

13. The Lady of Sir Edward Deering, Bart. of a ſon, in Mansfield-Street.

26. The Counteſs of Carliſle, of a daughter.

Mar. 2. The reigning Ducheſs of Deux-Ponts, of a Prince.

9. The Grand Ducheſs of Tuſcany, of a Prince.

10. The Princeſs conſort of Duke Charles, of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, of a Princeſs, at Hanover.

The Lady of the Right Hon. Thomas Townſhend, jun. of a ſon, in Cleveland-Court, Saint James's.

11. Lady Boſton, of a daughter, in Groſvenor-Square.

12. Lady Mahon, of a daughter, in Harley-Street, Cavendiſh-Square.

29. The Lady of Noel Hill, Eſq; member for Salop, of a daughter, in Cleveland-Court, St. James's.

31. The Lady of the Hon. Thomas Moſtyn, Eſq; of a ſon, at Uſton-Court, near Reading, Berks.

Lately, Lady Bagot, of a ſon, in Upper Brook-Street.

Lady Stormont, of a ſon and

and heir, at Lord Stormont's hotel, in Paris.

Apr. 6. Lady Lincoln, of a daughter, in Arlington-Street.

25. Her Majeſty, of a Princeſs. See the Chronicle.

30. Lately, The Lady of the Hon. Richard Walpole, of a daughter, in Great George-Street.

May 7. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Digby, of a ſon, at the Deanry, Weſtminſter.

The Lady of the Right Hon. Philip Yorke, of a ſon, in Great George-Street, Hanover-Square.

Lady Tankerville, of a ſon.

15. The Lady of Sir John Thorold, Bart. of a ſon, in Cavendiſh-Square.

26. The Counteſs of Galloway, of a daughter, in South Audley-Street.

June 8. Lady Algernon Percy, of a daughter.

11. The Hon. Mrs. de Grey, of a ſon.

12. The Lady of Sir Hungerford Hoſkyns, Bart. of a ſon and heir.

30. The Lady Mayoreſs, of a daughter, in New Burlington-Street.

The Lady of Commodore Charles Douglaſs, of a ſon.

July 6. The Princeſs of Naſſau Weilbourg, of a Princeſs, at Kirchkeim Pohland.

13. The Princeſs Amelia Frederica, conſort of the Hereditary Prince of Baden, of two Princeſſes.

29. The Lady of Commodore Fielding, of a daughter.

Aug. 1. The Lady of Sir Richard Sutton, Bart. of a ſon.

4. Her Royal Highneſs the Counteſs of Artois, of a daughter.

5. The Lady of the Hon. Mr. Acheſon, of a ſon, in Somerſet-Street, Portman-Square.

14. The Princeſs, conſort of Prince Charles of Heſſe, Governor of Holſtein, of a Prince, at Sleſwic.

20. The Lady of Sir James Cockburn, Bart. of a ſon, in Soho-Square.

21. The Lady of Sir James Langham, Bart. of a ſon.

One of the Grand Signior's favourite Sultanas, of a Prince. See the Chronicle.

26. The Hon. Mrs. Johnſon, of a ſon.

31. The Counteſs of Eſſex, of a ſon.

Sept. 4. The Lady of Monſ. Alexander, a near relation to the Prince of Condé, of a daughter, in David-Street, Berkley-Square.

6. The Marchioneſs of Carmarthen, of a daughter, in Groſvenor-Square.

12. The Lady of Col. Ogle, of a daughter, in Queen-Anne-Street, Cavendiſh-Square.

24. The Lady of Sir Thomas Mills, of a daughter, at his houſe on the Adelphi Terrace.

30. Lately, The Lady of Col. Pigot, of a daughter.

Lady

Lady Droghæda, of a daughter.

The Counteſs of Cowper, of a ſon, at Florence.

The Counteſs of Roſeberry, of a daughter.

The Hon. Mrs. Beauclerk, of a daughter.

Oct. 3. Lady Brownlow, of a daughter, in Bond-Street.

8. The Counteſs Dowager of Dumfries and Stair, of a ſon, at Rookville, in Scotland.

18. The Counteſs of Derby, of a daughter, in Groſvenor-Square.

31. Lately, The Lady of the Biſhop of Worceſter, of a daughter.

The Lady of the Biſhop of Peterborough, of a daughter.

The Lady of Sir Roger Moſtyn, Baronet, of a ſon.

Nov. 12. The Marchioneſs of Granby, of a daughter.

The Lady of Henry Seymour, Eſq; member for the borough of Eveſham, of a ſon and heir.

The Marchioneſs of Lothian, of a ſon, at Newbottle-Abbey, in Scotland.

16. Lady Aſhbrook, of a ſon, at Shillingford, in Berkſhire.

25. Lady Milſington, of a ſon, in Somerſet-Street, Groſvenor-Square.

29. Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Ferdinand of Pruſſia, of a Prince, at Fredericksfeldt.

30. Lately, the Lady of the Hon. Charles Vane, of a daughter.

Dec. 15. Lady Grimſtone, of a daughter, in Groſvenor-ſquare.

22. Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Brazil, of a Princeſs.

26. The Ducheſs of Gordon, of a ſon, at Fochabers, in Scotland.

MARRIAGES, 1776.

Jan. 2. The Right Hon. Sir John Blaqueiere, Knt. of the Bath, at Dublin, to Miſs Elinor Dobſon, heireſs of Robert Dobſon, of Ann Grove, in Yorkſhire, Eſq;

4. Sir Martin Folkes, Bart. of Hillington-hall, to Miſs Turner, youngeſt daughter to Sir John Turner, Bart.

Sir John Abdy, Bart. of Hanover-ſtreet, to Miſs Gordon, of Brewer-ſtreet.

6. Mr. Mackenzie, of the Exchequer, at Edinburgh, to Miſs Pennel Grant, daughter of the late Sir Ludovick Grant, Bart.

Feb. 4. Nigel Bowyer Greſley, Eſq; only ſon to Sir Nigel Greſley, Bart. to Miſs Greſley, of Drakelow, in Derbyſhire.

8. Edward Cary, Eſq; of Tarmohan, in Devonſhire, to Miſs Camilla Fleming, daughter of Governor Fleming.

13. The

13. The Hon. Charles Vane, of Mount Ida, in Norfolk, to Miſs Wood, eldeſt daughter of Richard Wood, Eſq; of Red-lion-ſquare.

18. Charles Warwick Bampfylde, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir Richard Bampfylde, Bart. and member of parliament for Exeter, to Miſs Moore, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Moore, Bart.

20. Sir James Harrington, Bart. of Bourton on the Water, Glouceſterſhire, to Mrs. Moore, relict of William Moore, Eſq; of Newton, in Somerſetſhire.

22. Lord Erne, to Miſs Hervey, eldeſt daughter of the Biſhop of Derry, and niece to the Earl of Briſtol.

Mar. 7. Governor Blackett, of Plymouth, to Miſs Brownjohn.

20. The Hon. Thomas Foley, Eſq; to the Right Hon. Miſs Stanhope, fourth daughter to the Earl of Harrington.

21. George Goſlin, jun. Eſq; one of the regiſters of the Prerogative court of Canterbury, to Miſs Lydia Newcome, daughter of the late Dean of Rocheſter.

22. Robert Lee Doughty, Eſq; of Hanworth, in Norfolk, to Miſs Powis, ſiſter of Thomas Powis, Eſq; one of the Knights of the ſhire for the county of Northampton.

26. —— Croſſe, Eſq; of Golden ſquare, to Miſs Newly, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Newly, Knight.

Apr. 7. Gore Townſend, Eſq; of Honington-hall, in Warwickſhire, to the Hon. Lady Elizabeth Windſor, ſiſter to the Earl of Plymouth.

13. Capt. George Handfield, to Miſs Smyth, only daughter of Sir William Smyth, of Hill-hall, Eſſex, Baronet.

18. John Preſtwich, Eſq; only ſon of Sir Elias Preſtwich, of Holm-hall, Lancaſhire, Bart. to Miſs Margaret Hall, eldeſt daughter of the late Alderman Hall, of Dublin.

20. John Wilmot, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of the Right Hon. Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Knight, to Miſs Sainthill, the only daughter and heireſs of the late Samuel Sainthill, Eſq;

22. Colonel Morgan, of the guards, to the Right Hon. Lady Frances Sherrard, only daughter of the late Earl of Harborough.

24. Paul Cobb Methuen, Eſq; ſon of Paul Methuen, Eſq; of Corſham-houſe, Wilts, to Miſs Gooch, daughter of Sir Thomas Gooch, Bart.

25. Richard Metcalfe, Eſq; to Miſs Stephenſon, daughter to the Right Hon. the Lord-mayor of York.

30. Lately, Joſeph Dimſdale, Eſq; M. D. ſon of Baron

ron Dimſdale, to Mrs. Mary Beck, relict of the late Mr. Joſeph Beck, merchant of Briſtol, at Briſtol.

May 5. Lord Stormont, nephew to Lord Mansfield, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at the French court, to the Right Hon. Miſs Cathcart, third daughter to Lord Cathcart.

7. The Hon. Mr. Talbot, nephew and heir to Earl Talbot, to Lady Charlotte Hill, youngeſt daughter to Lord Hillſborough.

9. Edward Winnington, Eſq; only ſon of Sir Edward Winnington, Bart. to Miſs Ann Foley, youngeſt daughter of Thomas Foley, Eſq; Knight of the ſhire for the county of Hereford.

18. Robert Shuttleworth, Eſq; of New Burlington-ſtreet, to Miſs Ann Deſaguliers, daughter of General Deſaguliers.

20. James Bruce, of Kinnaird, in Scotland, Eſq; to Miſs Mary Dundaſs, eldeſt daughter of Thomas Dundaſs, of Fingaſk, Eſq;

22. Lord Beauchamp, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Hertford, to Lady Iſabella Ann Ingram Shepheard, daughter of Lord Irwin.

24. Sir George Howard, K. B. and member for Stamford, to Lady Dowager Effingham.

John Tryton Fuller, Eſq; to Miſs Elliot, daughter of Lieutenant-General Elliot.

Henry Cecil, Eſq; nephew to the Earl of Exeter, to Miſs Vernon, daughter of —— Vernon, Eſq; of Worceſterſhire.

Col. Edmunds, of the foot-guards, to Miſs Kelly, of Queen-ſtreet, Weſtminſter.

June 3. Sir Roger Newdigate, Bart. member of parliament for the univerſity of Oxford, to Miſs Heſter Mundy, ſecond daughter of the late Edmund Mundy, Eſq; of Shipley, in Derbyſhire.

4. Robert Robinſon, Eſq; ſon of Admiral Robinſon, to Miſs Kirby, at Eltham, in Kent.

6. John Newton, of Staffordſhire, Eſq; to Miſs Kitty Seymour, daughter of Lord Francis Seymour, Dean of Wells, and niece to the Duke of Somerſet.

10. Nicholas Smith, jun. Eſq; of the Middle Temple, to Miſs Anderſon, daughter of the late Sir Edmund Anderſon, of Kildwick, in Scotland, Bart.

13. Richard Vere Drury, Eſq; an officer in the army, to Miſs Vandeput, of Queen-ſquare, daughter of Sir George Vandeput, Bart.

14. Thomas Wood, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Thomas Wood, Eſq; of Littleton, to Miſs Williams, daughter

ter of Sir Edward Williams, Bart. of Langoid Caſtle, South Wales.

18. Lord Maynard to Mrs. Norton, of Oxford-ſtreet.

25. The Hon. Henry Laws Lutterel, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Horſe Blues, in Ireland, to Miſs Boyd, daughter of George Boyd, Eſq; of Abbey-ſtreet, Dublin.

July 9. The Earl of Warwick, to Miſs Vernon, daughter of Richard Vernon, Eſq; member for Oakhampton, and brother-in-law to Earl Gower.

10. Sir William Gordon, Knight of the Bath, and Miniſter Plenipotentiary at the court of Bruſſels, to Lady Mary Phillips, of Gerrington Park, in the county of Leiceſter, widow.

25. Edward Smythe Stafford, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Hugh Stafford, Eſq; of Maine, in Ireland, to Miſs Palmer, ſiſter of Roger Palmer, Eſq; of Palmerſtown, in that kingdom, and niece to the late Counteſs of Derby.

Thomas Eyres, Eſq; of Haſſop, in the county of Derby, to the Hon. Lady Mary Belaſyſe, ſiſter to Lord Fauconberg.

The Hon. and Rev. James Hewett, eldeſt ſon of the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, to Miſs Pomeroy, daughter of Arthur Pomeroy, Eſq; one of the repreſentatives in parliament for the county of Kildare.

31. Lately, William Aked, Eſquire, of Lincoln's-inn, to Miſs Fawcit, daughter of Col. Fawcit, of the guards.

Aug. 1. Count Charles of Benthem Steinfurt, at Glucksbourg, in Denmark, to the youngeſt ſiſter of the reigning Duke of Holſtein Glucksbourg.

William Codrington, Eſq; ſon to Sir William Codrington, Baronet, of Dodington, to the Hon. Miſs Ward, daughter of the late Hon. William Ward.

Ambroſe Goddard, Eſq; one of the repreſentatives for the county of Wilts, to Miſs Williams.

15. Thomas St. George, Eſq; member of parliament for Clogher, to the Hon. Miſs Acheſon, daughter of Lord Gosford, at Gosford Caſtle, in the county of Armagh, Ireland.

16. The Hon. Charles Marſham, to Lady Frances Wyndham, daughter of the late Earl of Egremont.

25. Hugh Cane, Eſq; Lieutenant-Colonel of the fifth regiment of dragoon guards, to Lady Blackiſton, relict of the late Alderman, Sir Matthew Blackiſton, Bart.

30. Thomas Maitland, Eſq; of Hants, to Miſs Jane Matthew, eldeſt daugh-

ter

ter of General Matthew, and niece to the Duke of Ancaſter.

Sept. 7. Sir William Bowyer, Bart. to Miſs Baker, relict of the late Capt. Baker.

14. The Hon. Charles Dillon, to Miſs Mulgrave, daughter of the late, and ſiſter to the preſent, Lord Mulgrave, at Bruſſels.

George Maxwell, Eſq; to Miſs Lucy Gage, daughter of Sir Thomas Gage, Bart. of Coldham-hall, Suffolk.

20. Sir Robert Smyth, Bart. of Bere Church-hall, in the county of Eſſex, to Miſs Blake, of Hanover-ſquare.

Oct. 1. John Rogers, Eſq; of Penroſe, in Cornwall, member for Weſt Looe, to Miſs Baſſet, eldeſt daughter of the late Francis Baſſet, of Tehidy, Eſq; and niece to Lady Moleſworth, and the late Sir John St. Aubyn, Bart.

2. William Eden, Eſq; of Downing-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, Secretary to the Earl of Suffolk, to Miſs Elliot, daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart.

3. William Preſton, Eſq; of Moreby, in Yorkſhire, to Miſs Ann Foulis, ſecond daughter of the late Sir William Foulis, of Ingleby Manor, in the North Riding of the ſame county, Bart.

4. The Rev. Mr. Charles Shuttleworth, youngeſt brother of Robert Shuttleworth, Eſq; of Forcett, in Yorkſhire, to the Hon. Miſs Mary Cockburne, youngeſt daughter to the late George Cockburne, Eſq; and Lady Forreſter.

7. Sir Rowland Hill, of Hawkſtone, in Salop, Bart. to Mrs. Powys, of Hardwick in the ſame county.

Sir Thomas Tancred, Bart. of Brampton, in Yorkſhire, to Miſs Penelope Aſheton Smith, of St. Mary-le-Bonne.

15. Maurice Trent, of Pitcullo, in Scotland, Eſq; to Miſs Nancy Colquhoun, daughter of Sir George Colquhoun, Bart.

The Hon. James Ruthven, only ſon of Lord Ruthven, to Lady Mary Elizabeth Leſlie, ſecond daughter to Lord Leven.

17. William Chaſin Grove, Eſq; member for Weymouth, to Miſs Elizabeth Grove, of Ferne, near Shafteſbury.

18. George Pochin, Eſq; of Bourn, in Lincolnſhire, to Miſs Dixie, eldeſt daughter of the late Sir Wolſtan Dixie, Bart. of Boſworth Park, in Leiceſterſhire.

21. Archibald Menzies, of Culdairs, Eſq; one of the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms in Scotland, to Miſs Fanny Rutherford, only daughter of John Rutherford, Eſq; of North-Carolina.

Capt. Lutwyche, of the guards, to Miſs Thomas, only

only daughter of Sir Noah Thomas.

Nov. 1. Sir William Lorraine, Bart. to Miſs Hannah Algood; and Lambton Lorraine, Eſq; brother to Sir William, to Miſs Bell Algood; daughters of Sir Lancelot Algood, of Nunwich, near Newcaſtle.

22. Abraham Elton, Eſq; only ſon of Sir Abraham Iſaac Elton, Bart. to Miſs Durbin, daughter of John Durbin, jun. Eſq; at Briſtol.

30. Lately, Sir William Milner, Bart. to Miſs Sturt, eldeſt daughter of Humphry Sturt, Eſq; member for Dorſetſhire.

Dec. 4. George Paterſon, Eſq; to the Right Hon. Miſs Ann Gray, daughter to Lord Gray, at Kinfauns, in Scotland.

16. The Biſhop of Cloyne, to Miſs Benſon, of Dublin.

John Weir, Eſq; his Majeſty's Commiſſary General, in Dominica, to Miſs Elizabeth Bowman, daughter of John Bowman, Eſq; of Aſhgrove, near Glaſgow.

James Templer, jun. Eſq; to Miſs Mary Buller, niece to Earl Bathurſt.

20. John Lindeſay, Eſq; late Lieutenant-Colonel of the 53d regiment, to Miſs Margaret Halkett Craigie, ſecond daughter to the deceaſed Colonel Charles Halkett Craigie, of Law-hill.

23. The Hon. Thomas Onſlow, Eſq; ſon and heir of Lord Onſlow, to Miſs Elliker, only daughter of —— Elliker, Eſq;

26. The Earl of Radnor, to Miſs Duncombe, daughter of Thomas Duncombe, Eſq; member for Downton, in Wiltſhire.

Willam Smelt, Eſq; of Hanover-ſquare, to Miſs Stanhope, ſiſter to the Earl of Cheſterfield, at York.

George Mercer, Eſq; of the 4th Regiment of Dragoons, to Miſs Henderſon, daughter of Sir Robert Henderſon.

John Thomas Foſter, Eſq; a Member of the Iriſh parliament, to Miſs Hervey, daughter of the Biſhop of Derry.

31. Lately, The Earl of Caſtlehaven, to Mrs. Cracraft, widow of the late William Cracraft, Eſq;

Principal PROMOTIONS *for the Year* 1776, *from the* London Gazette, *&c.*

Jan. 1. Count Frederic Marie Giovanelli, elected Patriarch of Venice.—He was born in that capital the 26th of December, 1728, and created Biſhop of Chiozza the 12th of July, 1773.

— 13. The Hon. John Bathurſt, Eſq; to be Clerk of the Faculties and Diſpenſations in Chancery, in the room of Thomas Lawrence, Eſq; reſigned; and Will. Philips, Eſq; to be Clerk of the Briefs, in the room of Mr. Bathurſt.

Jan.

Jan. 16. Sir David Lindſay, to be Col. of the fifty-ninth regiment of foot.—Lieut.-Col. Henry St. John, to be Aid de Camp to the King. —Captain-Lieutenant James Eliot, to be Town-Major of Berwick.—Lieutenant-General George Auguſtus Eliott, to be Governor of Gibraltar, in the room of Edward Cornwallis, deceaſed.

— 24. Lord Dunmore was unanimouſly choſen one of the Sixteen Peers for Scotland in the room of Lord Caſſilis, deceaſed.

— 31. Lately, The Rev. Dr. Tarrant, to be a Prebendary of Rocheſter.—Pennel Hawkins, Eſq; to be one of his Majeſty's Principal and Serjeant Surgeons; and his ſon George Edward Hawkins, Eſq; to be Surgeon of his Majeſty's Houſhold in Ordinary.

Feb. 5. This day, in purſuance of the King's pleaſure, the following Flag Officers of his Majeſty's Fleet were promoted, viz.

Sir James Douglas, the Right Hon. George Lord Edgcumbe, Samuel Graves, Eſq; William Parry, Eſq; the Hon. Auguſtus Keppel, Vice-Admirals of the White, to be be Vice-Admirals of the Red.

John Amherſt, Eſq; His Royal Highneſs Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland, Sir Peter Dennis, Bart. Matthew Buckle, Eſq; Robert Man, Eſq; Vice-Admirals of the Blue; Clark Gayton, Eſq; Rear-Admiral of the Red, to be Vice-Admirals of the White.

John Montagu, Eſq; Sir Robert Harland, Bart. James Sayer, Eſq; Rear-Admirals of the Red; Right Hon. Richard Lord Viſcount Howe, Right Hon. Waſhington Earl Ferrers, Hugh Pigot, Eſq; Molineux Shuldham, Eſq; Rear-Admirals of the White, to be Vice-Admirals of the Blue.

John Vaughan, Eſq; Rear-Admiral of the White; John Lloyd, Eſq; Robert Duff, Eſq; Rear-Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.

John Reynolds, Eſq; Sir Hugh Palliſer, Bart. Rear-Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear-Admirals of the White.

— 10. Henry Earl Bathurſt, Chancellor of Great-Britain, to be High-Steward of Great-Britain, for the trial of Elizabeth, calling herſelf Ducheſs Dowager of Kingſton, upon an indictment of bigamy found againſt her by the grand jury of the county of Middleſex.—David Roſs, Eſq; to be one of the Lords of Seſſion of Scotland, in the room of Lord Alemoor, deceaſed.

— 15. James Wallace, Eſq; Captain in his Majeſty's royal navy, created a Knight. — Earl Falconberg, to be a Lord of the Bed-chamber.

— 27. Dr. Robert Knox, from half-pay, to be Phyſician to the forces in North-America. — Dr. Hugh Kennedy, from half-pay, to be ditto.

— 29. Lately, Dr. Pepys, to be Phyſician extraordinary, and Mr. Gunning and Mr. Hunter, to be Surgeons extraordinary to the King's perſon.

March 4. The Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate for Scotland, and Andrew Stuart, Eſq; of Craigthorn, to be Keepers of his Majeſty's Signet in Scotland.

— 13. The Hon. Henry Frederick Thynne, Eſq; to be Bailiff of the iſland of Jerſey.—Valentine Morris, Eſq; to be Governor of

the iſland of St. Vincent, in America.

— 26. Major-General Guy Carleton, to be General in America only. Major-General William Howe, to be ditto. Major-General Henry Clinton, to be Lieutenant-General in America only. Major-General John Burgoyne, to be ditto. Major-General Hugh Earl Percy, to be ditto. Major-General Charles Earl of Cornwallis, to be ditto. Colonel Eyre Maſſey, to be Major-General in America only. Colonel John Vaughan, to be ditto. Colonel Robert Pigott, to be ditto. Colonel Valentine Jones, to be ditto. Colonel James Grant, to be ditto. Colonel William Phillips, to be ditto. Colonel Richard Preſcott, to be ditto.

— 31. Soame Jenyns and Bamber Gaſcoyne, Eſqrs. the Hon. Robert Spencer, Eſq; commonly called Lord Robert Spencer, William Jolliffe, and Whitſhed Keene, Eſqrs; the Hon. Charles Greville, Eſq; and William Eden, Eſq; to be his Majeſty's Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations.—Edward Earl of Derby, to be his Majeſty's Lieutenant of the county of Lancaſter.—Admiral John Montagu, to be Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the iſland of Newfoundland, and of the iſlands of Madelaine in the gulph of St. Lawrence.—Fletcher Norton, Eſq; to be one of the Barons of his Majeſty's Court of Exchequer in Scotland, on the reſignation of George Winn, Eſq;—John Mackenzie, of Delvin, Eſq; to be one of the Six Ordinary Clerks of Seſſion in Scotland; and John Mackenzie, of Dolphington, Eſq; to be one of the four Commiſſaries of Edinburgh; both places vacant by the promotion of David Roſs, Eſq; to be one of the Lords of Seſſion.—Walter Sharp, Eſq; to be his Majeſty's Conſul-General in all the ports of the Ruſſian empire, in the room of Samuel Swallow, Eſq; deceaſed.—Dr. Proby, to be Dean of Litchfield.—The Earl of of Radnor, to be Recorder of the city of New-Sarum, Wilts.—Vincent Matthias, Eſq; to be Treaſurer to the governors of Queen Anne's bounty, in the room of Sir Jeffery Elwes, deceaſed.

April 2. Lieutenant-Colonel Gabriel Chriſtie, to be Quarter-Maſter General, in Canada.

— 5. Richard Perryn, Eſq; on his late promotion to be one of the Barons of his Majeſty's Exchequer, in the room of Sir John Burland, created a Knight.

— 30. Lately, James Wallace, Robert Pett, Eſqrs. Sir Roger Burgoyne, Bart. Jonas Hanway, Alexander Chorley, Thomas Colby, and John Bates, (Private Secretary to Lord Sandwich) Eſqrs. to be Commiſſioners for victualling his Majeſty's Navy.—Trevor Corry, Eſq; to be Commiſſary at the city of Dantzick.—Horace St. Paul, Eſq; to be his Majeſty's Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the court of Verſailles, during the abſence of Lord Stormont.—Doctor Harris, of the Commons, to be Chancellor of the Dioceſe of Wincheſter.—John Maddock, Eſq; to be one of the King's Counſel.—The Rev. Dr. Porteous, by option from the late Archbiſhop, to be Maſter of St. Croſs.—Gerard Levinge Van Henthuyſen, of the Chancery-Office, Eſq; to be a Commiſſioner of Bankrupts, in the room of Delme Van Henthuyſen, Eſq; reſigned.—William Boſcawen, of the Middle-Temple, Eſq; to be a Commiſſioner of

of Bankrupts.—The Rev. Dr. John Carne, to be Preſident of Trinity-College, Oxford, in the room of Dr. Huddesford, deceaſed.

May 6. Major Thomas Pigott, to be Chief Engineer of all his Majeſty's forts and garriſons in Ireland.

— 7. Richard Lord Viſcount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and the Hon. William Howe, Eſq; Major-General of his Majeſty's forces, and General of his Majeſty's forces in North-America only, to be his Majeſty's Commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to his Majeſty's colonies and plantations in North America; and for granting pardon to ſuch of his Majeſty's ſubjects there, now in rebellion, as ſhall deſerve the royal mercy.—Henry Strachy, to be Secretary to the above commiſſion.

— 10. The Rev. James Bandenell, B. D. of Jeſus College, Oxon, to be Public Orator of that Univerſity, in the room of the Rev. Dr. Nowell, reſigned.

— 11. Sir John Dalrymple, Bart. to be one of the Barons of his Majeſty's court of exchequer in Scotland, in the room of William Mure, Eſq; deceaſed.—Richard Moor, M. A. to be Dean of Emly, in Ireland, void by the death of the Rev. William Evelyn, Doctor of Divinity.

14. Francis Oſborne, Eſq; commonly called Marquis of Carmarthen, ſummoned up to the Houſe of Peers, by the ſtile and title of Baron Oſborne, of Kiveton, in the county of York.—The Ducheſs of Argyll, to be a Baroneſs of Great Britain, by the title of Baroneſs Hamilton, of Hameldon, in the county of Leiceſter, with the dignity of a Baron to her heirs male. And the dignity of a Baron of Great Britain was granted unto the following gentlemen, and their heirs male, viz.

Alexander Hume Campbell, Eſq; commonly called Lord Polwarth, by the title of Baron Hume, of Berwick.

John Stuart, Eſq; commonly called Lord Mount Stuart, by the title of Baron Cardiff, of Cardiff Caſtle, in the county of Glamorgan.

The Right Hon. Sir Edward Hawke, Knight of the Bath, by the title of Baron Hawke, of Towton, in the county of York.

The Right Hon. George Onſlow, by the title of Baron Cranley, of Ember Court, in Surry.

The Right Hon. Sir Jeffery Amherſt, Knight of the Bath, by the title of Baron Amherſt, of Holmeſdale, in Kent.

Sir Brownlow Cuſt, Bart. by the title of Baron Brownlow, of Belton, in Lincoln.

George Pitt, Eſq; by the title of Baron Rivers, of Stratfieldſay, in the county of Southampton.

Nathaniel Ryder, Eſq; by the title of Baron Harrowby, of Harrowby, in the county of Lincoln.

Thomas Foley, Eſq; of Great Witley, in Worceſterſhire, by the title of Baron Foley, of Kidderminſter, in the county of Worceſter.

On the 17th, by a warrant for the order of precedence of the ſaid new created Peers, and Peereſs, ſigned by the King, the Marquis of Carmarthen is firſt; the Ducheſs of Argyle, ſecond; Lord Polwarth, third; and Lord Mountſtewart, fourth. The patents were all

dated the 20th; and, on the 22d, the Peers took their places in the Houſe of Lords.

Major Gen. Simon Fraſer, to be Colonel of the 71ſt regiment of foot.

— 18. Walter Croſſer, Eſq; to be Comptroller of the duties of exciſe in Scotland.

— 20. Thomas Daws, Eſq; to be Secretary to Lord George Germaine, in the room of John Pownal, Eſq; who reſigned; and ſoon after, Mr. Pownal was appointed a Commiſſioner of the exciſe.

— 28. The Earl of Holderneſs, Governor to the Prince of Wales and Biſhop of Oſnabrug; the Biſhop of Cheſter, Preceptor; Leonard Smelt, Eſq; Sub-governor; and Charles Jackſon, Eſq; Sub-preceptor, reſigned their reſpective offices. Lord Bruce was immediately appointed Governor; but reſigned within a few days.

— 29. Trevor Corry, Eſq; Commiſſary and Conſul to the republic of Dantzic, created a Knight.

— 31. Lately, Sir David Dalrymple, Bart. to be a Lord Juſticiary, in Scotland, in the room of Lord Colſton, reſigned.—Francis Garden, Eſq; to be a Lord Juſticiary in Scotland, in the room of Lord Pitfour, reſigned.—George Hamilton, Eſq; to be a Baron of Exchequer in Ireland, in the room of William Scott, Eſq; deceaſed.—Jacob Reynardſon, Eſq; to be a Clerk of the Privy Seal, in the room of William Fleming, Eſq; deceaſed.

June 1. John Eliot, M. D. created a Knight.—The Rev. Joſeph Chapman, to be Preſident of Trinity College, Oxford.

— 8. The Duke of Montagu, to be Governor; Richard, Lord Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, Preceptor; Lieutenant-Colonel George Hotham, Sub-governor; and the Rev. William Arnold, B. D. Sub-preceptor, to their Royal Highneſſes George Auguſtus Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Prince Frederick, Biſhop of Oſnabrug.—The Right Hon. Thomas Bruce, created an Earl of Great Britain, by the name, ſtile, and title of Earl of Aileſbury, in the county of Buckingham.—The Right Hon. Thomas Lord Hyde, the ſame, by the name, ſtile, and title of Earl of Clarendon.—The Right Hon. Robert Lord Trevor, created a Viſcount of Great Britain, by the name, ſtile, and title of Viſcount Hampden, of Great and Little Hampden, in the county of Buckingham.

— 13. The Earl of Eglinton was choſen one of the ſixteen Peers for Scotland, in the room of John Earl of Strathmore.

— 30. Lately, the Right Hon. Lord Bruce, to be of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council.—Chriſtopher D'Oyly, Eſq; to be Commiſſary-General and Chief Muſter-Maſter of all his Majeſty's forces.

July 2. The following dignities were granted, viz. The dignity of an Earl of the kingdom of Ireland, to them and their heirs male, unto

Wilmot Lord Viſcount Liſburne, of the ſaid kingdom, by the title of Earl of Liſburne, in the county of Antrim.

Edward Lord Viſcount Ligonier, by the title of Earl Ligonier, of Clonmell, in the county of Tipperary.

Lord

Lord Viſcount Clanwilliam, by the title of Earl of Clanwilliam, in the county of Corke.

Robert Lord Viſcount Clare, by the title of Earl Nugent, with remainder to George Nugent Grenville, Eſq; of Wotton under Barnwood, in the county of Buckingham.

William Lord Viſcount Croſbie, by the title of Earl of Glandore, in the county of Corke.

The dignity of a Viſcount of the kingdom of Ireland, to them and their heirs male, unto

The Right Hon. Thomas George, Baron Southwell, by the title of Viſcount Southwell, of Caſtle Mattreſs, in the county of Limerick.

The Right Hon. Thomas Baron Knapton, by the title of Viſcount de Veſci, of Abbeyleix, in the Queen's county.

The Right Hon. William Willoughby, Baron Mount Florence, by the title of Viſcount Enniſkillen, in the county of Fermanagh.

The Right Hon. Francis Baron Orwell, by the title of Viſcount Orwell.

The Right Hon. John Baron Baltinglaſs, by the title of Viſcount Aldborough, of the palatinate of Upper Ormond.

The Right Hon. William Henry Baron Clermont, by the title of Viſcount Clermont, of Clermont, in the county of Louth; with remainder of Viſcount and Baron unto the Right Hon. James Forteſcue, of Ravenſdale Park in the county of Louth, and brother to the ſaid Lord Clermont.

The dignity of Baron of the kingdom of Ireland, to them and their heirs male, unto

The Right Hon. Sir Thomas Maude, Bart. by the title of Baron de Montalt of Hawarden, in the county of Tipperary.

The Right Hon. Sir George Macartney, by the title of Baron Macartney, of Liſſanoure, in the county of Antrim.

The Right Hon. Sir Archibald Acheſon, Bart. by the title of Baron Goſford, of Market-hill, in the county of Armagh.

The Right Hon. Ralph Howard, by the title of Baron Clonmore, of Clonmore Caſtle, in the county of Carlow.

Sir Richard Philipps, Bart. by the title of Baron Milford.

Sir Thomas Wynn, Bart. by the title of Baron Newborough, of Newborough.

Sir Charles Bingham, by the title of Baron Lucan, of Caſtlebar, in the county of Mayo.

Sir Alexander Macdonald, by the name of Baron Macdonald, of Slate, in the county of Antrim.

Sir William Mayne, Bart. by the title of Baron Newhaven, of Carrick Mayne, in the county of Dublin.

James Agar, Eſq; by the title of Baron of Cliſden, in the county of Kilkenny.

William Edwarder, Eſq; by the title of Baron Weſtcote, of Balamare, in the county of Longford.

Robert Henley Ongley, Eſq; by the title of Baron Ongley, of Old Warden, in Ireland.

Molyneux Shuldham, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue ſquadron of his Majeſty's fleet, by the title of Baron Shuldham.

John Bourke, Eſq; of Palmerſtown, in the county of Kildare, by the title of Baron Naas, of Naas, in the ſaid county.

Sentleger

Sentleger Sentleger, Eſq; by the title of Baron Doneraile, of Doneraile, in the county of Corke.

Clotworthy Upton, Eſq; by the title of Baron Templetown, in the county of Antrim.

Hugh Maſſey, Eſq; by the title of Baron Maſſey, of Duntrylergue, in the county of Limerick.

— 6. Guy Carleton, Eſq; Captain-General and Governor in chief of his Majeſty's province of Quebec, General and Commander in chief of all his Majeſty's forces in the ſaid province, and on the frontiers of the provinces bordering thereupon, created a Knight of the Bath.—John Hamilton, of Marlborough-Houſe, Portſmouth, in the county of Southampton, Eſq; Captain of his Majeſty's ſhip Hector, created a Baronet of Great Britain.

— 9. Captain Charles Lyons, to be Town-Major of Hallifax.—Lieutenant William Spaight, to be Aſſiſtant Deputy Quarter-Maſter General in North America.—Lieutenant-Colonel James Paterſon, to be Adjutant-General in North America.—Doctor Jonathan Mallet, to be Chief Surgeon to the Hoſpital in North America.

— 16. John Udney, Eſq; to be Conſul at Leghorn, in the room of Sir John Dick, Bart. and Robert Richie, Eſq; Conſul at Venice, in the room of Mr. Udney.—Lieutenant-Colonel George Clerk, of the 43d, Foot, to be Barrack-Maſter General, in North America.—Lieutenant John Bowen, from half-pay, to be Fourier to the army, in North America.—William Cunningham, Gent. to be Provoſt-Marſhal, in North America.

— 31. Lately, John Bourke, John Beresford, John Monck Maſon, Richard Townſend, James Agar, Hercules Langriſhe, and Robert Waller, Eſqrs. to be Commiſſioners of revenue, in Ireland.—Henry Loftus, Edward Tighe, St. John Jefferyes, Richard Haly Hutchinſon, and Edward Bellingham Swan, Eſqrs. to be Commiſſioners of accounts, and alſo Commiſſioners of ſtamps for that kingdom.—William Chapman, Eſq; Clerk of the Crown; and Ponſonby Moore, Thomas St. George, Thomas Tiſdall, Hugh Henry Mitchel, William Burton, James Cavendiſh, and William Hardwick, Eſqrs. to be Commiſſioners of barracks.

Aug. 24. The dignity of a Baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain, to them and their heirs male, was granted unto

George Winne, of Little Warley, in the county of Eſſex, Eſq; and late one of the Barons of his Majeſty's court of Exchequer in Scotland.

Herbert Mackworth, of the Gnoll, in the county of Glamorgan, Eſq;

James Laroche, of Over, in the pariſh of Aldmondſbury, in the county of Glouceſter, Eſq;

Henry Peyton, of Doddington, in the Iſle of Ely, Eſq;

George Baker, Doctor of Phyſick, and Phyſician in Ordinary to her Majeſty.

Mr. Robert Halifax and Mr. Edward Holdich, to be joint Apothecaries to his Majeſty's houſehold.—Benjamin Wheeler, D.D. to be Regius Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Oxford, together with a Canonry of Chriſt Church

Church in the ſaid Univerſity, in the room of Doctor Edward Bentham, deceaſed.

Sept. 10. Robert Eden, Eſq; Governor of Maryland, &c. created a Baronet, with remainder to him and his heirs male.—William Dalrymple, Eſq; to be Captain Commandant of a corps of infantry.

— 13. The Rev. Mr. Bowyer, to be upper Grammar-Maſter of Chriſt's Hoſpital, in the room of Mr. Whally, reſigned; and Mr. Field, to be under Maſter.

— 20. The Right Hon. Henry Flood, Eſq; to be of his Majeſty's Privy Council.—The Right Hon. Hans Stanley, to be Cofferer to his Majeſty's houſehold, in the room of the late Right Hon. Jeremiah Dyſon, deceaſed.—Dr. Thomas Bray, to be a Prebendary of St. George's Chapel, Windſor, on the reſignation of Dr. King, promoted to the Deanry of St. Ennau, in the dioceſe of Raphoe, in the kingdom of Ireland.

— 30. Lately, the Rev. Dr. Jones, of Windſor, to be Biſhop of Kilmore, in Ireland.—William Hewitt, Eſq; a Commiſſioner for ſettling the differences in the late ſales of lands at the Grenades.—Samuel Black, Eſq; to be Recorder of Leeds.—Lord William Gordon, brother to the Duke of Gordon, to be Lord Vice Admiral of Scotland, in the room of the Earl of March.—John Clark, Eſq; to be Governor General of the province of Senegambia, and Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the African corps at Senegal, in the room of Colonel Charles O'Hara, who reſigns.—Edward Byam, Eſq; to be Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty in Antigua, in the room of Robert Chriſtian, Eſq; deceaſed.—Capt. Henry Bowyer, of the 19th regiment, to be Deputy Adjutant-General in Ireland, in the room of Lieutenant-Colonel Paterſon.——The Marquis of Lothian to be Colonel of the 2d troop of horſe-guards, in the room of Lord Cadogan, deceaſed.——The Right Hon. Charles Jenkinſon, Clerk of the Pells in Ireland, to be Maſter-worker of the Mint, in the room of the Hon. Sloan Cadogan, now Lord Cadogan.

Oct. 8. Lieutenant-General Lord Robert Bertie, to be Captain and Colonel of the ſecond troop of horſe-guards, in the room of Lord Cadogan, deceaſed.—Col. William Faucitt, to be Governor of Graveſend and Tilbury.—Major Henry Caldwell, to be Lieutenant-Colonel in America only.—Captain William Pawlett, to be Captain of an independent company of invalids at Jerſey.

— 11. John Home, Eſq; of the county of Berwick, was ſerved and returned heir male to the Earl of Dunbar, before the Sheriff and a reſpectable jury. This title had lain dormant for a great number of years.—The Marquis of Lothian, created a Knight of the order of the thiſtle, in the room of the late Lord Cathcart, deceaſed.

— 13. The Hon. Sir William Howe, Major-General of his Majeſty's forces, and General of his Majeſty's forces in North America, created a Knight of the Bath, in the room of Lord Onſlow, deceaſed.

— 18. Lord Mansfield, created Earl of Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham, with remainder to the heirs male of his father.

— 31. Lately, Morton Eden, Eſq;

Eſq; to be Miniſter Plenopotentiary to the Elector of Bavaria, and Miniſter to the Diet of Ratiſbon.—James Harris, jun. Eſq; to be Envoy Extraordinary, and Miniſter Plenipotentiary, to the Empreſs of Ruſſia.—Hugh Elliot, Eſq; to be Envoy Extraordinary, and Miniſter Plenipotentiary, to the court of Berlin.—Horace St. Paul, Eſq; to be Envoy Extraordinary to the court of Sweden.—George Cooke, Eſq; to be Agent and Conſul-General at Tripoli.—Lord Onſlow, to be Lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum of Surry.—William Matthew Burt, Eſq; to be Governor in Chief of the Leeward and Caribbee iſlands, in the room of Sir Ralph Payne, Knight of the Bath.—The Earl of Breadalbane, to be Vice-Admiral of Scotland.—The Earl of March, to be Lord High Commiſſioner to the General Aſſembly of the church of Scotland, and Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Police in Scotland, in the room of Lord Cathcart, deceaſed.—Alexander Kincaird, Eſq; to be Lord Provoſt of Edinburgh.—Robert Donald, Eſq; to be Lord Provoſt of Glaſgow.—The Rev. Dr. Horne, to be Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, in the room of the Rev. Dr. Fothergill, reſigned.—Welbore Ager, Eſq; to be a Commiſſioner of cuſtoms.—HeneageLegge, Eſq; to be a Commiſſioner of exciſe.—Henry Bunbury, and Thomas Rowlby, Eſqrs. to be Comptrollers of the army accounts.—Mr. Benſon, to be Clerk of the journals of the Houſe of Commons, in the room of Mr. Speed, deceaſed.—Edward Bayntun, Eſq; now his Majeſty's Conſul General at Tripoli, to be his Agent and Conſul General at Algiers.—William Cornwall, Eſq; Member for Leominſter, in the room of Thomas Hill, Eſq; deceaſed.—Dr. Cadogan, to be Inſpector-General of the mad-houſes.—Thomas Evance, Eſq; Barriſter at Law, of the Middle Temple, to be Recorder of Kingſton, in the room of Elliot Biſhop, Eſq; deceaſed.—Lord Powis, to be Recorder of the town and borough of Ludlow, in Salop.—His Excellency the Marquis de Noailles, Ambaſſador from France to this court.—Henry Pelham, Eſq; a Commiſſioner of the Victualling-Office, in the room of R. Pett, Eſq; deceaſed.

Nov. 14. The Earl of Caſſilis, to be one of the ſixteen Peers of Scotland, in the room of Lord Cathcart, deceaſed.

— 19. Major Nevinſon Poole, to be Lieutenant-Governor of Pendennis-Caſtle.—Richard Preſcott, to be Colonel of the ſeventh regiment of foot.

— 22. The Earl of Buckinghamſhire, to be Lieutenant-General and General-Governor of his Majeſty's kingdom of Ireland.

— 30. Lately, John Clavering, Eſq; Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's forces, to be a Knight of the Bath.—Dr. Charles Morton, to be Principal Librarian to the Britiſh Muſeum, in the room of Dr. Maty, deceaſed.—Wyrriot Owen, Eſq; to be Governor of Milford Haven, and all the forts dependent thereon.—Lord Cathcart, Secretary to Lord Stormont at the court of Verſailles, appointed Ambaſſador to the court of Ruſſia, in the room of Sir Robert Gunning.—John Collet, Eſq; to be his Majeſty's Conſul at Genoa, in the room of James Holford, Eſq;

Eſq; deceaſed.—Lord Powis, to be Lord Lieutenant of the county of Montgomery.----The Rev. Mr. Evans, to be Maſter of the Holy Ghoſt Chapel, near Baſingſtoke, Hants.

Dec. 19. The Rev. William Cooper, D. D. to be Archdeacon of the cathedral church of St. Peter, in York, and Prebendary of Northwell, in the ſaid cathedral, both in his Majeſty's gift, by the death of the Archbiſhop of York.

— 21. The Right Rev. Dr. William Markham, Biſhop of Cheſter, to be Archbiſhop of York, in the room of Dr. Robert Drummond, deceaſed.

— 31. Lately, the Rev. Dr. Beilby Porteous, Biſhop of Cheſter, in the room of Dr. Markham, tranſlated to the ſee of York.—The Right Rev. Dr. Shute Barrington, Biſhop of Llandaff, to be a Prebend of St. George's Chapel, Windſor, void by the reſignation of Dr. John Douglas, who ſucceeds the Biſhop, as Canon Reſidentiary of St. Paul's.—The Rev. Andrew Cheap, M. A. to be a Prebend in the cathedral of St. Peter, York, void by the death of Dr. Gilbert.—Dr. Lewis Bagot, to be Dean of Chriſt Church, Oxford, in the room of Dr. Markham.—John Aſhby, William Randall, and Thomas Kennerſley, Eſqrs. to be Prothonatories and Clerks of the Crown in the counties of Denbigh and Montgomery.—Welbore Ellis Agar and William Hay, Eſqrs. to be Commiſſioners of Cuſtoms, in the room of Henry Banks and Samuel Mead, Eſqrs. deceaſed.—Edward Whitehouſe, Eſq; to be Clerk of the robes and wardrobes to his Majeſty.—Mr. Heron, of Groſvenor-ſquare, to be Principal Secretary to the Earl of Buckinghamſhire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—Robert M'Queen, Eſq; Advocate, to be one of the Lords of Council and Seſſion of Scotland, in the place of the late Lord Coalſton.—John Day, Eſq; to be Advocate-General to the Eaſt-India Company in Bengal, with a ſalary of 3000l. per annum, and the ſum of 1500l. allowed him for the expences of his paſſage.—The Rev. Dr. Butler, Chaplain to the Hon. Houſe of Commons, to be one of the Chaplains to the King, in the room of the Rev. Dr. Beilby Porteous.—Dr. Horſley, to be Secretary to the Royal Society, in the room of Dr. Maty, deceaſed.—Mr. Planta, to be Under Secretary, in the room of Dr. Horſley.—Mr. Robertſon, to be Librarian to the Royal Society, in the room of his father, deceaſed.

DEATHS, 1776.

Jan. 1. Charles Milborne, Eſq; of Wonaſtow, in Monmouthſhire, brother-in-law to the Earl of Oxford.

3. Capt. Berry, of the royal navy.

5. Miſs Mary Anne Bunce, only daughter and heireſs of Sir James Bunce, of Keming, in Kent, Bart.

6. Andrew Pringle, of Alemoor, Eſq; one of the Senators of the college of Juſtice, in Scotland, at Hawkhill, in the ſame kingdom.

James Montreſor, Eſq; Engineer and Colonel in the army, at New Gardens, near Green-ſtreet, in Kent.

The Hon. William Hervey, ſon of John, Earl of Briſtol, and uncle to the preſent Earl.

11. John Barker, Eſq; Rear Admiral of the White, at Bath.

12. Chriſtopher Griffith, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for the county of Berks.

Capt.

Capt. Avery, formerly of the Royal Navy, but late on half-pay.

13. Lady Irwine, relict of the late Lieutenant-General Alexander Irwine, and mother to the present Lieutenant-General Sir John Irwine, K. B.

14. William Strode, Esq; Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces, and Colonel of the 62d regiment of foot, in Gerard-street, Soho.

The Hon. William Augustus Montague, second son of the Earl of Sandwich, and member for the town of Huntingdon.

The Hon. Edward Cornwallis, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces, Colonel of the 24th regiment of foot, and Governor of Gibraltar, at Bird-place, in Hertfordshire. He was brother to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and uncle to the Earl of Cornwallis.

16. Lord Blantyre, at Erskine, in Scotland.

John Owen, Esq; Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces.

17. Lieutenant-Colonel James Provost, Colonel-Commandant of the first battalion of the Royal American regiment of foot.

Prince Pio, a grandee of Spain, at Madrid.

18. The Countess of Westmeath, mother of the present Earl, in France.

22. Mrs. Catherine Blunt, sister of Sir Charles Blunt, Bart.

25. Sir Henry Chamberlayne, Bart. by whose death the title is extinct.

26. Charles Offspring Blackhall, Esq; son of Dr. Offspring Blackhall, formerly Bishop of Exeter.

27. Sir John Charlton, Bart. of Apley Castle, in Shropshire.

31. Lately, Captain Kenneth Mackenzie, son of the late Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, Bart. at Bengal.

Mrs. Honora Browne, mother of General Browne, in the Austrian service.

Feb. 1. The Earl of Radnor, in the 51st year of his age. His Lordship is succeeded in title and estate, by his eldest son, member for New Sarum.

3. Charles O'Hara, Esq; representative in parliament for Armagh, in Ireland.

4. The Lady of Sir Sydney Stafford Smythe, Knight, one of the Barons of Exchequer.

5. Sir James Kinloch-Nevoy, Bart.

The Hon. George West, brother to the Earl of Delawar.

7. John Delme, Esq; brother to Lady Ravensworth, at the Devizes.

11. Sir William Hanham, Bart. of Dean's-court, in the county of Dorset, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Dorsetshire militia, Deputy-Lieutenant, and one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said county, at Bath.

12. Charles Sigismond, Baron de Starck, at Oxford.

13. James Jefferies, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Customs.

Lewis Charles Montolieu, Esq; late Lieutenant-Colonel in the second troop of horse-guards.

14. Thomas Radcliffe, LL.D. Judge of the Consistory Court of Dublin, and member of parliament for the borough of Canice, in the county of Kilkenny.

Mrs. Tyrwhit, sister of the late Sir John Tyrwhit, of Stainfield, in Lincolnshire.

15. The Countess of Salisbury.

19. Mrs. Corbet, a maiden lady,

lady, daughter of the late Sir Richard Corbet, Bart.

20. The Rev. Dr. Addington, Dean of Litchfield, at his deanry-houſe in that city.

The Hon. Richard Rochford Mervyn, Eſq; brother to the Earl of Belvedere, one of the members for the borough of Philipſtown, and late Lieutenant-Colonel of the 35th regiment of foot.

Charles Dowdeſwell, Eſq; ſecond ſon of the late Right Hon. William Dowdeſwell, Eſq; at Marſeilles.

The Right Hon. Robert Carteret, Earl Granville, Viſcount Carteret, and Bailiff of the Iſle of Jerſey.

22. The Rev. James Gayer, D. D. grandſon of the late Sir Robert Gayer, Knight of the Bath, at Liſſon-green, Paddington.

23. The Right Hon. Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby, in the 86th year of his age. His Lordſhip is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by Lord Stanley, his grandſon, member in the preſent parliament for Lancaſhire.

24. Sir Richard Philips, Bart. at his ſeat at Picton-Caſtle, near Haverfordweſt.

Sir William Mannock, Bart. of Gifford's-hall, Suffolk.

28. Lord Hobart, only ſon of the Earl of Buckinghamſhire.

29. The Hon. Mrs. Barrett, ſiſter of the late Governor Fitzwilliam, and mother of Michael Barrett, Eſq; of Park-ſtreet, Weſtminſter.

Sir John Burland, Knight, one of the Barons of his Majeſty's court of Exchequer, ſuddenly, at his houſe in Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter.

Mar. 1. The Lady of Colonel Amherſt, at Bath.

6. Mrs. Mauger, wife of Joſhua Mauger, Eſq; member for Poole, in Dorſetſhire.

8. Lady Margaret Stanley, fourth daughter of the late Earl and Counteſs of Derby, at Knutsford.

The Hon. Mrs. Trefuſis, ſiſter to the late Lord St. John.

16. The Rev. Dr. John Hoadly, Chancellor of the dioceſe of Wincheſter, Maſter of St. Croſs, near that city, Rector of St. Mary's, in Southampton, and of Alresford, near that place, at Southampton.

17. Lady Pole, widow of Sir John Pole, Bart. and wife of George Clavering, Eſq; in Berner's-ſtreet.

18. Lady Curzon, relict of Sir Nathaniel Curzon, in Dover-ſtreet.

The Right Hon. John de Courcy, Lord Baron of Kinſale. The Lords of this barony have a privilege ſuperior to that of any nobleman in this realm, viz. that of keeping their hats on in the royal preſence: a privilege given to them ſome centuries ago.

21. Daniel Chenevix, Eſq; Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Royal Iriſh regiment of artillery, in Dominick-ſtreet, Dublin.

William Mure, Eſq; of Caldwall, in Scotland, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in Scotland, at Edinburgh.

Henry Knoller, Eſq; his Majeſty's Attorney-General for Quebec, and eldeſt ſon of Godfrey Knoller, Eſq; of Donheda-hall, Wilts, in Surry-ſtreet.

The Lady of the Biſhop of Ely, in Hertford-ſtreet, May-fair.

25. The Earl of Strathmore, one of the ſixteen Peers for Scotland, on his paſſage to Liſbon, for the recovery of his health.

28. The Rev. William Evelyn, D. D. Vicar of Trim, Rector of Clonallan, Chancellor of Dromore,

more, Dean of Emly, and Chaplain to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

29. Lady Ayſcough, ſiſter to the late Lord Lyttelton, and relict of the late Dr. Ayſcough, Dean of Briſtol, in Liſle-ſtreet, Leiceſter-fields.

William Gordon, Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the Victualling-Office.

Sir Edward Barry, Bart. M. D. F. R. S. Phyſician-General to his Majeſty's forces, in Ireland, and a Member of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons.

John Gower, Eſq; ſon to the late Sir Samuel Gower, in Gower's-Cardens, Goodman's-fields.

Joſeph Martin, Eſq; Member of parliament for Tewkeſbury. He ſerved the office of Sheriff for London and Middleſex in 1771.

April 1. John Forteſcue, Eſq; at Penwerne, in Cornwall, couſin-german to Lord Forteſcue, of Caſtle-hill, Devonſhire.

3. Count d'Oyenhauſen, Great Huntſman of the electorate of Hanover.

4. The Lady of Sir Archibald Edmondſtone, Bart. of Argyle-Street.

5. The Hon. Maſter Digby, ſecond ſon of Lord Digby, at Canterbury.

Lady Trevannion, widow of Sir Harry Trevannion, and daughter of Sir Rowland Watts, Bart. of Worceſterſhire, in the 76th year of her age, at Bath.

11. Wenman Coke, Eſq; member for Norfolk, and Surveyor of the Woods belonging to the Crown in the dutchy of Lancaſter.

18. —— Wellard, Eſq; Captain in the Navy, and one of the jurats of that town, at Dover.

19. The Hon. William Scott, Second Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland.

The Hon. Mrs. Hartpole, wife of Robert Hartpole, Eſq; eighth daughter of Lord Baltinglaſs.

20. The Right Hon. Lady Jane Bridges, of Charles-Street, Berkley-Square. Her Ladyſhip was daughter of John Marquis of Carnarvon, eldeſt ſon of James firſt Duke of Chandos.

The Rev. Dr. George Huddeſford, in the 80th year of his age, at Trinity-College, Oxford, of which he had been preſident forty-five years.

25. William Fleming, Eſq; a Colonel in the Guards, in Bentinck-Street.

The Right Hon. Richard Lord Viſcount Fitzwilliam, Knight of the Bath, a Privy-Counſellor of Ireland, and F. R. S. at Mount Merrion, in that kingdom.

26. Patrick Preſton, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir George Preſton, Bart. at Valleyfield, in Fifeſhire, Scotland.

Lady Vanbrugh, aged 90, relict of the celebrated Sir John Vanbrugh.

30. The Grand-Ducheſs of Ruſſia, Petrowna Alexiewna, at St. Peterſburgh.

Lately, Mrs. Hayter, daughter of Dr. Hayter, late Biſhop of London.

Jacob Weeden, Eſq; formerly Governor of Bombay, at Brentford.

Mrs. Anketall, ſiſter to Lord Bellamont, in Ireland.

Mr. Livingſtone, one of the heads of the Continental Congreſs, at New-York.

Frederick Hollingſworth, Eſq; late Lieutenant-Colonel of the third regiment of foot-guards.

John Dee, Eſq; an officer in the ſervice of the India Company, and

and colonel of a regiment of cavalry at Tanjour, in the East-Indies. His death was occaſioned by a wound he received at the ſiege of that city.

Mrs. Latton, wife of William Latton, Eſq; his late Majeſty's Envoy, and Conſul-General to the Emperor of Morocco.

Alexander Mackenzie, Eſq; who was upwards of thirty years Knight of the ſhire for the county of Roſs, in Scotland.

Lady Margaret Stanley, fourth daughter of the late Earl and Counteſs of Derby.

The Lady of Colonel Amherſt.

May 1. John Haynes, Eſq; of the Secretary of State's Office, and one of the Clerks of the Signet.

The Right Hon. Anthony Malone, repreſentative in parliament for the county of Weſtmeath, and one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, in Ireland.

4. Sir John Barrington, Bart. late member for the borough of Newtown, in the iſle of Wight, in James-Street, Bedford-Row.

7. Maria Joſephina Anna Auguſta, daughter of Charles VII. Emperor of the Romans, ſiſter to the Elector of Bavaria, and Dowager of Auguſtus George Simpert, Margrave of Bade Bade, of an apoplectic fit, at Munich.

9. Mrs. Foote, relict of the late Mr. Foote, and ſiſter to Sir Horatio Man, K. B. Envoy-Extraordinary at the court of Florence.

11. Sir Matthew Aylmer, Bart. of Balrath, in Ireland.

17. John Tempeſt, ſen. Eſq; who repreſented the city of Durham in three parliaments, at Sherburn, near Durham.

Lady Elizabeth Hattley, of the Hermitage.

Sir Chriſtopher Hales, Bart. at Hammerſmith.

27. Miſs Douglas, daughter of John St. Leger Douglas, member for Weobley, in Herefordſhire.

31. The Rev. Dr. William Cockburn, Archdeacon of Oſſory, in Ireland, at Bath.

Lately, Monſ. le Baron de Bulow, Commander in Chief of her Imperial Majeſty's Troops in the Low-Countries.

The Lady of Thomas Whitmore, Eſq; Member for Bridgenorth.

June 1. The Right Hon. Sarah Viſcounteſs Falkland, at Blackheath.

5. The Counteſs Dowager of Suffolk, at Tooting, in Surry.

Lady Charlotte Burgoyne, ſpouſe of General Burgoyne, at Kenſington-Palace.

9. Sir Robert Gordon, of Gordon-Town, Bart. at his ſaid ſeat, in the ſhire of Moray.

The Rev. Mr. Chambers, Rector of Cradley, in Herefordſhire, as alſo of Nanton, a Prebendary of Inkborough, and a Portioner of Bromyard, at Cradley aforeſaid.

14. The Right Hon. Samuel Lord Maſham, of Oates, in Eſſex, and a Baronet; one of the Lords of the King's Bed-Chamber, Remembrancer of his Majeſty's court of Exchequer, and F. R. S. in Cork-Street, Burlington-Gardens.

16. The Hon. Wm. Carmichael, Eſq; at Saltcoats, in East-Lothian.

17. Mrs. Margaret Menzies, relict of the Hon. William Carmichael, Eſq; of Saltcoats, in East-Lothian.

Miſs Mary Beauchamp Proctor, third daughter of the late Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, Bart. in New Bond-Street.

19. Edward Jekyll, Eſq; a Captain in his Majeſty's Navy, in Clarges-Street.

20. John Graham, Eſq; a member of the late council of Bengal, off Port-Mahon, on his way to Liſbon for the recovery of his health.

21. The Right Hon. Lady Frances Erſkine, wife of James Erſkine, of Grange, Eſq; Her Ladyſhip was daughter of the late Earl of Marr and Lady Frances Pierpont, daughter of Evelyn Duke of Kingſton. Her brother was the 18th Lord Erſkine, and the 11th Earl of Marr.

24. Sir William Denham, of Weſtſhield, in Scotland, Bart.

The Hon. William Byron, only ſon of Lord Byron, and member for Morpeth, in Northumberland.

The Hon. Miſs Mary Brown, ſecond daughter to Lord Viſcount Weſtport, aged 18, at Weſtport, in the county of Mayo, in Ireland.

25. Clarke Adams, Eſq; Col. of the Northamptonſhire militia, at Eaſt-Haddoe.

July 1. Maximilian Alexis de Bethune, Duc de Sully, in France.

Arthur Villettes, Eſq; many years Britiſh Reſident at the court of Sardinia, and the Swiſs Cantons.

6. Capt. Jenkins, formerly of the Royal Navy, at Twickenham.

The Hon. Mr. Somerville, of Dinder, near Wells, in Somerſetſhire.

9. Sir John Gibbons, Bart. and Knight of the Bath, at Stanwell, in Middleſex.

10. The Infanta Donna Maria, of Portugal, after an illneſs of a few days. She was born June 9, 1774.

Sir John Powell Price, of New-Town Hall, in the county of Montgomery, Bart.

11. Sir John Hall, of Douglas, in Scotland, Bart. at Douglas aforeſaid.

14. Colonel John Sabine, late of the Guards, at the Hot-wells, Briſtol.

16. Her Serene Highneſs Frances Chriſtina, Counteſs Palatine of the Rhine, Princeſs of the Roman empire, Abbeſs of Eſſen and Thorne, aunt to his Serene Highneſs the Elector Palatine, in the 81ſt year of her age.

22. Charles Gilbert de May de Termont, Biſhop of Blois, and Almoner to the French King, at Paris.

26. Lady Charlotte Hayes, at Clifton.

27. The Hon. Major Sandilands, at Contentibus, in Scotland.

28. The Ducheſs-Dowager of Newcaſtle. Her Grace was daughter to Lord Godolphin, by Henrietta, eldeſt daughter of the Duke of Marlborough, and was married to the late Duke of Newcaſtle April 2, 1717.

Lord Doune, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Moray, at Bath.

Auguſt 2. Lewis François de Bourbon, Prince de Conty, Grand Prior of France, and Generaliſſimo of the French King's troops, at Paris.

7. The Earl of Altamont, at his ſeat at Newport, in Ireland.

10. Samuel Shuldham, Eſq; brother to Admiral Lord Shuldham, at Kilkenny, in Ireland.

12. The Rev. Edward Bentham, D. D. Senior Canon of Chriſt-Church, Oxford, and Regius Profeſſor of Divinity in that univerſity.

13. Benoit

13. Benoit Veterane, Cardinal Deacon of the Roman church, at Rome. He was raiſed to the purple by Pope Clement XIII.

15. Sir Richard Bampfylde, Bart.

The Right Hon. William Maxwell, Earl of Nithſdale. He was ſon to the Earl of Nithſdale who made his eſcape out of the Tower.

Hugh Bailey, Eſq; Advocate, Doctor of Laws, and formerly Judge of the Admiralty Court in Ireland.

16. The Right Hon. Mary Viſcounteſs Dowager of Kenmore, at Terregles, in Scotland.

21. The Right Hon. Charles Shaw Cathcart, Lord Cathcart, Lord High Commiſſioner to the General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland, Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Police in that kingdom, Lieutenant-General, Knight of the Thiſtle, and one of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council, at his houſe in Groſvenor-Place.

Captain Adams, of Chambleſforth.

22. Thomas Dunbar, Eſq; brother to Sir James Dunbar, Bart.

23. Thomas Hill, Eſq; Member for Leominſter, at Court-Hill, near Ludlow.

The Hon. Mr. Damer, ſon of Lord Milton.

25. Lady Catherine Hay, wife of Captain William Hay, of the ſecond regiment of foot guards, daughter of the late Marquis of Tweedale, and niece to the preſent Marquis, at Briſtol.

27. The Hon. Andrew Leſlie, ſon of the deceaſed John, Earl of Rothes, at Haddington, in Scotland.

31. Lately, The Rt. Hon. John Weſt, Earl Delawar, Viſcount Cantaloupe, Colonel of the firſt troop of horſe guards, a Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's forces, and Chamberlain to the Queen's houſhold.

Sept. 5. John Lewis de Golſtein, Count of the Holy Roman empire, Chamberlain and Privy-Counſellor to the Elector Palatine, and Stadtholder of the dutchies of Juliers and Berg, at Duſſeldorp.

The Right Honourable William Knollis, Earl of Banbury, Viſcount Wallingford, Baron Knollis of Greys, and a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, at his brother's houſe at Burford.

Sir Michael Danvers, of Culworth, in Northamptonſhire, Bart. deſcended from one of William the Conqueror's officers, on whom that prince ſettled the ſaid manor. Sir Michael's fortune, which is very conſiderable, falls to a maiden ſiſter.

10. Lady Mary Archer, Lady to John Archer, Eſq; and aunt to the preſent Earl Fitzwilliam.

13. Captain Everet, of his Majeſty's ſhip the Bedford, of 74 guns, at Woolwich.

14. Lady Anne Monſon, wife of the Hon. George Monſon, one of the Supreme Council at Bengal, and ſiſter to the Earl of Darlington, in the Eaſt-Indies.

16. The Hon. Henry Hope, ſecond ſon of the Earl of Hopetoun, at Lyons in France.

Lady Dowager Barker, at Kilkenny, in Ireland.

Jeremiah Dyſon, Eſq; Cofferer of his Majeſty's houſhold, Member for Horſham, in Suſſex, and one of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

18. John Ellis, Eſq; F. R. S. Agent for Weſt-Florida, and for

the iſland of Dominica. See our Chronicle, p. 189.

23. Henry Banks, Eſq; Commiſſioner of Cuſtoms.

24. The Right Hon. Charles Lord Cadogan, Baron of Oakley, Colonel of the ſecond troop of horſe guards, Governor of Graveſend and Tilbury-Fort, a General of his Majeſty's forces, a truſtee of the Britiſh Muſeum, and F. R. S. in the ninety-ſecond year of his age.

29. The Right Hon. Stephen Fox, Earl of Ilcheſter, Lord Ilcheſter and Stavordale, Baron Strangeways of Woodford Strangeways, Baron of Redlynch, one of his Majeſty's Moſt Hon. Privy-Council, and Joint-Comptroller of the Army Accounts, at Melbury in Dorſetſhire. His Lordſhip was ſuddenly ſeized with the diſorder which occaſioned his death, on Sunday the 22d ult. and never ſpoke afterwards.

Francis Herne, Eſq; Member for Camelford, in Cornwall.

30. Thomas Whitchot, Eſq; who formerly repreſented the county of Lincoln in parliament thirty-ſix years, at Harpſwell.

Lately, Col. John Horton, of the firſt regiment of foot-guards.

The Right Hon. Anne Counteſs-Dowager of Abercorn, aged 86, in Groſvenor-Square.

Sir Robert Kerr, Bart. at Kelſo.

George Gibſon, Eſq; ſon of the late Biſhop of London, of that name. See our Characters for the year 1763, p. 12.

Mr. De Viſme, the Britiſh Envoy to the court of Stockholm.

Mrs. Mary Leighton, ſiſter of Sir Charles Leighton, of Leton, Bart. at Shrewſbury.

Philip Baron de Spiegel, Abbé of Corvey, and a Prince of the Holy Roman empire, of a fit of the apoplexy, at Francfort.

Oct. 2. Sir Alexander Don, Bart. of Newton, in Scotland.

3. The Hon. Col. Thomas Molyneux, Member for Haſlemere, and a Major in the third regiment of foot guards, in Manchester-Buildings, Weſtminſter.

4. The Right Hon. Lady Catharine Cochrane, daughter of Thomas late Earl of Dundonald, and wife to William Wood, Eſq;

7. Don Nuno Cajetan Alvares Pereira de Mello, Duke of Cadaval, and chief of a branch of the houſe of Braganza, in Portugal.

9. The Right Hon. Richard Lord Onſlow, Baron Onſlow and Clendon, and Baronet; Lord-Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Surry, High-Steward of Guildford, L L. D. a Privy Counſellor, and one of the Knights of the Moſt Honourable Order of the Bath. He is ſucceeded in title, and an eſtate of 18,000l. a year, by his couſin, Lord Cranley, ſon to the late Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

11. The Right Hon. Sir William Yorke, late Chief Juſtice of the court of Common-Pleas, in Ireland; but had retired on a penſion. See our Chronicle, p. 189.

13. Lady Ann Stirling, relict of Sir Henry Stirling, of Ardoch, Scotland, Bart.

14. Joſhua Seabrooke, Eſq; formerly a commander in the navy.

19. Robert Pett, Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the Victualling-Office.

John Smith, Eſq; Secretary to the Lord-Chancellor of Ireland.

21. Samuel Mead, Eſq; F. R. S.

and Commiſſioner of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms.

25. The Hon. Miſs Eliſabeth Foley, daughter of Lord Foley.

Miſs Jane Whichcote, daughter of Sir Chriſtopher Whichcote, Bart.

26. Lady Calder, relict of the late Sir James Calder, Bart. of Groſvenor-Square.

George Williams, Eſq; a commander in the royal navy, in James-Street, Weſtminſter.

—— Buckle, Eſq; brother to Admiral Buckle, at Bath.

31. Lately, Mrs. Elizabeth Cotton, a maiden lady, aged 90, daughter of the late Colonel Cotton, and niece to Sir Robert Cotton.

Lady Whitford, widow of the deceaſed General Sir John Whitford, of Whiteford, Bart.

William Parry, Eſq; ſon of Admiral Parry.

The Provincial General Thomas, at Chamblee, in North-America.

Mr. Reichie, Reſident at Copenhagen on the part of his Britannic Majeſty's Hanoverian dominions, in his 80th year. He had been in that ſtation 49 years.

Nov. 2. Lady Dalſton, relict of Sir George Dalſton, Bart. of Heath, in the county of York, at St. Omer's.

3. The Right Hon. Rob. Earl of Litchfield, Viſcount Quarendon, Cuſtos Brevium, in the court of Common-Pleas, aged upwards of 70, by a fall from his horſe, as he was hunting at Ditchley, in Oxfordſhire. As his Lordſhip has left no iſſue, the title is extinct: and the office of Cuſtos Brevium in the court of Common-Pleas, annexed to the title, devolves to the crown.

17. James Sayer, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the White.

19. The Hon. Mrs. Hervey, relict of the Hon. William Hervey, uncle to the Earl of Briſtol.

20. Peter Chriſtopher Algeht, Eſq; Swediſh Conſul, at the Hot-Wells, Briſtol.

24. Mrs. O'Brien, relict of the late Admiral O'Brien, in the iſle of Wight.

24. George Brown, of Coalſtoun, Eſq; one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice in Edinburgh.

30. The Rev. Robert Gilbert, D. D. brother of the late Dr. Gilbert Archbiſhop of York, one of the Canons Reſidentiary of the cathedral church of Sarum, and poſſeſſed of many other church preferments.

Lately, James Dunn, Eſq; late Lieutenant-Colonel in the firſt troop of horſe guards.

Mrs. Chapman, wife of the Rev. Dr. Chapman, Archdeacon of Sudbury, in Suffolk.

Admiral Brice, commander of a ſquadron of American veſſels of war, at Boſton.

The Hon. Mrs. Elizabeth Forreſter, at Colerne, Wilts.

The Cardinal Patriarch Archbiſhop of Liſbon.

The Dowager Lady Compton, at Hartpury, in Glouceſterſhire.

Dec. 2. Lady Windſor, relict of the late Lord Windſor, and mother to Lady Mountſtewart.

5. Her Grace Elizabeth, Ducheſs of Northumberland. She was in her own right Baroneſs Percy, Lucy, Poynings, Fitzpaine, Bryan, and Latimer; was heireſs and ſole repreſentative of many great families, being the only daughter of Algernon Seymour,

laſt Duke of Somerſet of his branch, and through him deſcended from the illuſtrious family of Percy, ancient Earls of Northumberland; his Grace's mother being the only child of Joſceline Percy, laſt Earl of Northumberland, who died in 1670. By the moſt happy marriage with his Grace the preſent Duke of Northumberland, ſhe has left two ſurviving ſons, viz. 1ſt, Hugh Earl Percy, one of the members for Weſtminſter, who is at preſent a Lieutenant-General in his Majeſty's ſervice in America, and who ſucceeds her Grace in her Baronial honours; and 2dly, Lord Algernon Percy, one of the Knights of the ſhire for the county of Northumberland. [For a ſketch of her Grace's character, pleaſe to turn to the Chronicle, p. 196.]

9. Sir James Porter, formerly his Britannic Majeſty's Ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, and Fellow of the Royal Society, in Great Marlborough-Street.

12. The Right Hon. William Lord Falconer, of Haulkerſton, at Groningen, in the United Provinces.

15. His Grace the Hon. and Moſt Rev. Dr. Drummond, brother to the Earl of Kinnoul, Archbiſhop of York, and Lord High Almoner to the King. He was conſecrated a biſhop in the year 1748, in the room of Dr. Liſle, Biſhop of St. Aſaph, from whence he was tranſlated in the year 1761, to the ſee of Saliſbury, on the promotion of Dr. Thomas to the dioceſe of Wincheſter, and was ſoon afterwards advanced to the Archiepiſcopal ſee of York, on the death of Archbiſhop Gilbert in 1761. His Grace preached the ſermon at the coronation of their Majeſties in Weſtminſter-Abbey, Sept. 22, 1761.

20. The Lady of Col. St. Leger, at Parkhill, in Yorkſhire.

22. The Hon. Miſs Iſabella Percival, eldeſt daughter of the Earl of Egmont.

Captain James Anſtruther, of the 58th regiment of foot, ſon of the late Sir Philip Anſtruther, of Balcaſkie, in Scotland, Bart. at Inergelly, in Fifeſhire, Scotland.

The Lady of Sir John Davy, Bart. of Creedy, in Devonſhire.

27. The Right Hon. Lady Charlotte Edwin.

29. Lady Cornwallis, relict of the late General Cornwallis, formerly Governor of Gibraltar, at her ſeat at Bird-Hall, in Eſſex.

31. Lately, Mrs. Friend, widow of the late Rev. Dr. Friend, Dean of Canterbury, at Chelſea.

Lady Elizabeth Berkeley, relict of Lord Berkeley of Stratton.

Mrs. —— Whalley, relict of the late Dr. Whalley, and mother to the Lady of Judge Aſhurſt, at Oxford.

The Hon. Lieut. William Sinclair, ſecond ſon of the Earl of Caithneſs, at New-York.

Mrs. Mary Foſter, relict of Thomas Foſter, Eſq; late Member for Dorcheſter, at Egham, in Surry.

Thomas Bayntun, Eſq; brother to Sir Edward Bayntun, Bart.

Henry Vernon, of Thurlow, Eſq; brother of Lord Viſcount Orwell, of Orwell-Park, near Ipſwich.

Mrs. Suſanna Dennis, ſiſter to Sir Peter Dennis, Bart.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Summary of the Trial of Elizabeth, *ſtiling herſelf Ducheſs of* Kingſton, *for Bigamy, before the Houſe of Lords of* Great-Britain, *in* Weſtminſter-Hall, *on* Monday *the* 15*th of* April, *and ſeveral ſucceeding Days, in the preſent Year* 1776.

THE peers being aſſembled by eleven, the commiſſion read, and the uſual formalities adjuſted, proclamation was made for the appearance of the Ducheſs of Kingſton in diſcharge of her recognizance. Her Grace, accompanied by the Duke of Newcaſtle, Lord Mountſtuart, and James Laroche, Eſq; entered the court, and made her obeiſance to the judges. The indictment was then read, after which the Lord High-Steward ſtated the nature of the offence with which the lady was charged. Her Grace then read a paper to the following purport:

That ſhe was not conſcious of having committed any act of a criminal nature. That ſhe had never intentionally violated the laws of her country. That ſhe had no ſooner been apprized of the charge alledged againſt her, than ſhe travelled from Rome to England, at the hazard of her life, in order to appear to the indictment, and thus defeat the malice of her enemies. It was true ſhe had been married to an illuſtrious perſonage. But, if it was a crime to have wedded a noble duke, it was a crime ſhe would always glory in, as ſhe might date the æra of her happineſs, and of her honour, from the hour of that marriage. She had not been wedded to the illuſtrious perſonage, without having previouſly taken every precaution NOT to violate the laws of her country. The court, which alone had competent juriſdiction of the matter, had pronounced a ſentence, whereby her Grace was decreed to be free from all matrimonial engagements; conſequently a ſingle woman; and, if a ſingle woman, ſhe had a right to accept the hand of the noble perſonage. Under ſuch circumſtances, therefore, ſhe had been married to the Duke of Kingſton; under ſuch circumſtances ſhe was intitled to marry him; and, if ſhe had erred, her error proceeding, not from any intentional violation of the laws, her conſcience bore teſtimony to the truth of the aſſertion, whilſt her lips pronounced her to be NOT GUILTY.

The council then, for and againſt the proſecution, entered into the arguments on both ſides, which took up two days, when the court

adjourned to Friday, April 19, on which day, the council having finiſhed their pleadings, Lord Gower moved to adjourn to their own houſe, and, as ſoon as their Lordſhips were ſeated in the parliament chamber, Lord Camden put the two following queſtions to the judges:

"Whether a ſentence of the Eccleſiaſtical Court againſt a marriage in a ſuit of jactitation of marriage is concluſive evidence, ſo as to ſtop the crown from proving the ſaid marriage on an indictment for polygamy."

And, "Whether, admitting ſuch ſentence to be concluſive upon ſuch indictment, the crown may be admitted to avoid the effect of ſuch indictment by proving the ſame to have been obtained by fraud or colluſion."

Lord Chief Juſtice De Grey delivered the opinion of the judges. He informed their Lordſhips, that, the reſt of his brethren being unanimous with him, it had of courſe fallen to his lot to declare to their Lordſhips their opinions; and at the ſame time to ſtate the general grounds on which it was founded.

The firſt queſtion he anſwered in the negative, becauſe no civil ſentence whatever can prevent a proſecution on an indictment in which the crown is the proſecutor. The ſecond he anſwered in the affirmative, becauſe it was neceſſarily included in the firſt; and becauſe no fraudulent act of any two parties can be binding or concluſive on a third, without their participation or conſent, even in a civil caſe, much leſs in a matter in which the general juſtice of the nation and execution of the laws are concerned. This was the whole ſubſtance of what the Chief Juſtice delivered.

In about an hour and an half their Lordſhips returned into court, when the Lord-Steward deſired Mr. Attorney-General to proceed in ſupport of the proſecution.

Mr. Attorney, after opening the caſe, ſtated the nature of the evidence he was inſtructed to lay before their Lordſhips. The firſt witneſs he called was

Anne Cradock. She ſaid ſhe knew the priſoner at the bar for upwards of 30 years; that, in July 1744, ſhe and Mrs. Hanmer, aunt to the priſoner, to whom ſhe was ſervant, were in London; that the lady, then Miſs Chudleigh, accompanied her aunt down to Hampſhire, where Mrs. Hanmer reſided, at a Mr. Merrill's; that, in a few days, there being races at Wincheſter, the lady with her aunt went there, where ſhe firſt ſaw Mr. Hervey, then a lieutenant in the navy; that that interview gave birth to a marriage, which took place between them on the 4th of Auguſt the ſame year, in Launceſton chapel, in ſaid county, at which ſhe herſelf was preſent; that every precaution was taken to render it as private as poſſible, on account of the then ſituation of the parties; that Mr. Hervey in a few days, during which time he and the priſoner at the bar cohabited as man and wife, repaired aboard Admiral Danvers's fleet, then deſtined for the Eaſt-Indies; that a Mr. Mountney, the lady's aunt, Mrs. Hanmer, and Mr. Merril, were preſent at the marriage; that ſhe the witneſs afterwards came to live with the priſoner, and that ſhe told her ſhe had a child by Mr. Hervey, and promiſed to take

take her out one day in the Prince's coach to Chelſea, where the child was at nurſe, to ſhew him to her, obſerving at the ſame time, that the child was extremely like Mr. Hervey, the father; that the evening appointed for that purpoſe, the lady informed the witneſs, that the child had died in the mean time, and was buried at Chelſea. On croſs examination ſhe ſaid, ſhe never ſaw the child; that the marriage was performed late at night, ſhe could not tell the hour; that the only light in the church was a wax taper, placed in the bowl of Mr. Mountney's hat; that ſhe never ſaid ſhe expected any advantage from the event of the trial. Being aſked by Lord Hillſborough if ſhe had not received a letter from ſome perſon, promiſing a reward relative to the evidence which ſhe might give in this trial? ſhe ſaid ſhe had, from one Foſſard, a ſtable-keeper in Piccadilly; and that, on receiving this letter, ſhe ſhewed it to a Mr. Harding; that he propoſed to communicate the contents of it to Mr. Hervey; that, after many converſations and meſſages between Mr. Hervey, Mr. Harding, and the witneſs, ſhe received a letter from Mr. Harding, who deſired her, as from Mr. Hervey, to keep it ſafe. That the letter contained a promiſe of a ſinecure place. Adjourned.

On Saturday morning the peers met again, when Ann Cradock underwent a further examination. The Lords Derby, Hillſborough, Buckinghamſhire, &c. putting various queſtions to her reſpecting her preſent ſituation—her future dependence;—whether ſhe was promiſed any ſum by the proſecutor, if ſhe gave ſuch teſtimony as would convict the lady at the bar, &c. —to all which ſhe gave rather evaſive anſwers, but at laſt confeſſed the agency employed to offer her pecuniary terms, if ſhe would appear againſt the priſoner.

Cæſar Hawkins, Eſq; Serjeant Surgeon, being next called upon, begged to be informed, whether he was bound to diſcloſe converſation imparted to him confidentially, and in the way of his profeſſion.

Lord Mansfield. My Lords, it is the duty of the witneſs to give every information in his power to this court, touching the matter in queſtion.

Cæſar Hawkins, Eſq; had known her Grace for many years, he believed 30—Had heard of a marriage between her and Mr. Hervey, which was mentioned to him by both of them before Mr. Hervey went laſt to ſea—that there was a child, as he believes, of that marriage—was in the room, at her Grace's deſire, when the boy was born, and ſaw it once afterwards before it died—was ſent for by Mr. Hervey after his return from ſea, and deſired by him to wait upon the priſoner with propoſals reſpecting a divorce; but that her Grace refuſed to liſten to any terms—that ſeveral meſſages paſſed on this point.—That ſome time after her Grace frequently honoured his wife with a viſit, and told him one day at his own houſe, that ſhe had inſtituted a jactitation ſuit in the Commons againſt Mr. Hervey; that, another time when ſhe came, ſhe was very grave, and deſired him to withdraw with her into the next room; where ſhe told him ſhe was very unhappy; for that at Doctors Commons they had

had tendered her an oath, which ſhe had long dreaded they would, to ſwear ſhe was not married, which ſhe would not do:—but, not long after, upon another viſit, told him, that ſhe had obtained a ſentence, which was irrevocable, unleſs in ſo many days Mr. Hervey took ſome certain mode, which ſhe did not expect he would. On hearing this, the witneſs aſked how ſhe got over the oath? She replied, that the matter of the marriage was ſo blended with ſuch a number of falſities, that ſhe could eaſily reconcile it to her conſcience, particularly as the ceremony was ſo ſcrambling and ſhabby a buſineſs, that ſhe might as ſafely ſwear ſhe was not married as that ſhe was.

Council. Was there no bond for a ſum or ſums of money paſſed between them to your knowledge on this occaſion?—Not any.—— Were not you a truſtee to ſuch bond?—Never.

The Duke of Grafton and ſeveral other peers put many queſtions to him relative to the child—whether he believed it to be the lady's at the bar?—To which he anſwered in the affirmative.—Whether he knew the child was really dead?—Could not ſay; was only informed ſo by the noble priſoner.

Lord Barrington was next called upon and ſworn. He was aſked, whether he knew any thing of a marriage between the lady at the bar and Mr. Hervey, now Earl of Briſtol. He deſired to be excuſed anſwering that queſtion, as it would be betraying private converſation, which as a man of honour and a gentleman, he could never conſent to.

Lord Mansfield obſerved, that he was now before a court of criminal judicature; that he was not obliged to give any teſtimony but what might be deemed legal evidence; but, as far as the queſtion related to matter of legal evidence, he was obliged to anſwer.

Lord Camden, the Duke of Mancheſter, Lord Radnor, and ſeveral other lords contended, that his lordſhip was bound to anſwer at all events, as he was upon his oath; therefore his lordſhip was called on by Lord Radnor to anſwer the queſtion, Whether he knew any thing of a marriage between the priſoner at the bar and Mr. Hervey? But he again declined to anſwer it.

A motion of adjournment was then made by Lord Radnor, and agreed to, and their Lordſhips accordingly adjourned to their own houſe. About five o'clock, their Lordſhips returned, when the Lord High Steward addreſſed the witneſs to the following effect:

"Lord Viſcount Barrington, it is the opinion of their Lordſhips that you ſhall anſwer all ſuch queſtions as may be put to you, reſpecting what you know relative to the marriage between the priſoner at the bar and Mr. Hervey."

Lord Viſcount Barrington. My Lords, I am ſorry to give this houſe a moment's unneceſſary trouble; yet I muſt again repeat, I have ſtill my doubts, whether I can in honour anſwer any ſuch queſtion, as that now put to me by the noble Lord; however, as I entertain a leſs opinion of my own judgment than that of others, I beg your Lordſhips will permit me to put a queſtion to the learned counſel—Whether, if I do not give an anſwer to theſe queſtions, I

ſhall

shall be guilty of perjury? [Here the Sollicitor-General whispered in his ear.]—My Lords, the Sollicitor-General has informed me, that, by the oath I have taken, I am bound to give evidence; I am therefore under the direction of the House; and beg pardon of your Lordships for having given the court so much trouble.

Duke of Richmond. If I understand any thing of the business of this House, no law question (notwithstanding his Lordship's nice conscience) is ever to be put to the counsel at the bar, but to the House, who only are to decide upon it; or, if they find it expedient, they take the opinion of the judges:—However, that being now unnecessary, I would ask the noble Lord a question or two.—Here his Grace and the Earl of Radnor asked him a few questions; his answer to which only proved, that he had heard Mr. Hervey and the lady at the bar say, that they were married, and that there was a child, the issue of that marriage; but that he did not know either, of his own knowledge.

The officer from Doctors Commons was next examined, to prove that the lady at the bar and the late Duke of Kingston were married in February 1769, by a licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

To prove the certificate of the marriage, a gentleman from the Chancellor's court, of the diocese of Winchester, was produced to prove the regular entry of it.

The court rose at seven o'clock, and adjourned to the chamber of parliament; after which their Lordships adjourned to their own houses, till ten o'clock on Monday morning, when the business again commenced, with the examination of several witnesses in behalf of the Duchess of Kingston.

Mrs. Pritchard was called to invalidate the testimony of Ann Cradock. She deposed, that the said Ann Cradock had frequently declared in her presence, that she expected a considerable fortune, in case the event of the prosecution should prove unfavourable to the Duchess of Kingston. Mrs. Pritchard further declared, that this same evidence, Cradock, had, at various times confessed, she did not hear a syllable of the marriage ceremony performed.

The evidence being finally closed, the Duchess of Kingston read her defence to the court, stated the facts alledged against her, and endeavoured to invalidate them by arguments of the strongest nature. If she had been culpable, whom had she to blame for that culpability? The crime charged in the indictment, was an offence against the law. Care had been taken throughout the whole of the process in the Ecclesiastical Court, that no offence should be committed against the law. Had she not conceived that an ecclesiastical sentence, in a jactitation cause like this, was equivalent to a divorce, as to all purposes of a second marriage, she never would have intermarried with the Duke of Kingston. Her Grace had endeavoured to obtain the best advice on the subject. The best advice she could obtain authorised her marriage. Thus sanctioned in the commission of a deed, could that be construed into a crime which the Ecclesiastical Court had authorised? If such was indeed the

the caſe, the Ducheſs had only to lament, that ſhe had been guided by falſe lights, hung out to allure the ignorant into the paths of deception.

Silence being proclaimed, the Sollicitor-General ſtated the ſeveral facts in the order in which they had been proved; and, forbearing to enlarge a tittle on the charge, he left their Lordſhips to ſubſtantiate, by their verdict, the criminality or innocence of the deed.

The Lords adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament, and, after their return to the hall, the Lord High Steward put to each Lord the following queſtion:

'How ſays your Lordſhip? Is the Lady at the bar guilty of the felony whereof ſhe ſtands indicted, or not guilty?'

The numbers having been counted, the Ducheſs of Kingſton was called to the bar, and informed, by the Lord High Steward, that the Lords had, by their ſuffrages, pronounced her to be—GUILTY.

The priſoner claimed her privilege of peerage, which gave riſe to a laboured ſpeech of the Attorney-General, wherein he attempted to prove, that, although Peers were, by ſtatute, exempt from corporal puniſhment for clergyable offences, yet Peereſſes had not the leaſt title to the ſame exemption.

Meſſrs. Wallace and Mansfield replied.

The Attorney-General defended his former poſition, and the Lords adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament to debate on the matter. On their return, the priſoner was called to the bar, and the Lord High Steward announced it to be the ſenſe of the Houſe, 'that the Ducheſs ſhould be allowed the privilege ſhe had claimed.' By conſequence, as a Peereſs, ſhe could endure no kind of corporal puniſhniſhment, and was diſcharged on this condition, that ſhe paid her fees.

Notice being then given that the Lord High Steward's commiſſion was at an end, he roſe, and broke his white ſtaff; and proclamation was made, ordering every perſon to depart, and repair quietly home in God's peace and the King's peace.

The counſel for the proſecution were, the Attorney and Solicitor-General; Dr. Harris, Serjeant Walker, Mr. Maddock, Mr. Dunning, and Mr. Hargrave; with Mr. Roger Altham, as Proctor. For the Ducheſs of Kingſton, the counſel were, Dr. Calvert, Dr. Wynne, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Mansfield, Serjeant Davy, Mr. Cox, Mr. Leigh, Mr. Buller, and Mr. Hardinge; with Mr. Biſhop, as Proctor.

A ſhort Review of Mr. Garrick's *Theatrical Reign, with ſome Particulars of the former Part of his Life, &c.*

MR. Garrick is the ſon of an officer of rank in the army. He was born at Hereford, in the year 1717. After receiving a very liberal and polite education, he engaged in commerce, as a wine-merchant, in which purſuit he continued for ſome years; but, not meeting with the ſucceſs he expected, he declined it; when, being perſuaded by his friends he had uncommon abilities for the ſtage, he appeared the firſt time in public

public at the theatre in Goodman's-fields, in the character of Richard III. when he met with ſuch uncommon applauſe, as convinced him his friends had not flattered him. This was in 1740, and he ſoon after quitted that part of the town for the more polite circle of Covent-garden, where he played to crowded houſes, and in every character received additional applauſe. His merits, as an actor, in almoſt every walk, are ſo univerſal, that it would be needleſs to enter into a detail of them here. Ireland, as well as England, having borne witneſs of his excellencies. Nevertheleſs, it muſt, in juſtice, be acknowledged, in ſome particular parts he has had his rivals, if not his ſuperiors. Mr. Barry, in Othello, ſurpaſſed Mr. Garrick; in Romeo, it was a nice competition for many ſucceſſive nights; but the elegance of Mr. Barry's figure, at that time, ſeemed to preponderate the ſcale in his favour. Mr. Powell's Jaffier, and his Caſtalio, it was judged by many Mr. Garrick could not reach. Weſton was, perhaps, the beſt Scrub that ever appeared upon any ſtage; and his Abel Drugger was pronounced, by the dramatic connoiſſeurs, nearly upon a par with Roſcius's. But then Mr. Garrick's univerſality rendered him ſuperior to any performer the writer of this article ever ſaw, or probably ever will ſee; and he can make no compariſons but from hearſay, between him and a Betterton, a Booth, a Wilks, &c.

In the year 1747 he commenced joint-patentee (with the late Mr. Lacey) and chief manager of Drury-lane Theatre. About the ſame time, he married the amiable and accompliſhed Signiora Violetti, who was poſſeſſed of a very eaſy fortune. This lady had danced upon the ſtage, but had retired from it for ſome time, to be the companion of the Counteſs of Burlington, who made her this ample proviſion upon her marriage.

We are now to conſider Mr. Garrick as a manager, and his conduct in this reſpect has not eſcaped from many ſevere animadverſions. He has often hit the taſte of the town, but has ſometimes miſtaken the ſenſe of the people. His ill-timed repreſentation of the Chineſe Feſtival, juſt at the breaking out of the laſt war, had the effect that moſt unprejudiced people thought; the galleries and pit took the alarm at ſuch a number of foreigners being imported upon the occaſion; and though all national prejudices ſhould be laid aſide, eſpecially in our amuſements, yet they failed not to prevail upon this occaſion, greatly to Mr. Garrick's detriment. However, it muſt be acknowledged, that this gentleman has conſtantly ſtudied to pleaſe the town, ſpared no expence to effect it, and has generally ſucceeded. If the erroneous taſte of the public has induced him to run into ſome abſurdities, it was to gratify their vitiated palates, which could not be pleaſed with rational entertainments. Had they been diſliked, they would have been *damned*; but, as they met with applauſe, this is the ſureſt teſt of their ſuiting the genius of the times.

In conſidering this gentleman as a writer, we muſt allow him conſiderable merit; and although moſt of his dramatic pieces are imitations from the French, he has always

always given ſuch a novel turn of wit, humour, and character, that they are far ſuperior to the home-ſpun manufactures of our modern writers. His Lethe, Lying Valet, Guardian, &c. are undeniable proofs of this aſſertion. His judicious alterations of many old plays have alſo evinced his taſte and delicacy. His prologues have conſtantly met with univerſal approbation—but there is one poetical piece, which has been generally aſcribed to him, and which he has never denied, that will do immortal honour to his pen; this is the Ode on the Death of the late Mr. Pelham.

Mr. Garrick may, upon the whole, be conſidered as a phænomenon of this age; and, in the collected character of actor, author, and the agreeable companion, we, probably, "ne'er ſhall look upon his like again." *Town and Country Magazine.* See our Poetry for laſt year, p. 199.

Heads of an Act paſſed on the 23d of May, 1776, being the laſt Day of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, for the Relief of Inſolvent Debtors.

THIS act extends itſelf only to perſons who are not indebted to any one creditor in a greater ſum than 1000l. and who ſhall ſurrender up, on oath, all their property and effects for the benefit of their creditors in general; after which, their perſons, and perſonal effects, which they may in future acquire, are to be for ever free from all claims or demands, on account of debts contracted before the twenty-ſecond day of January laſt; but all future acquiſitions of real property or money in the funds, are ſubjected to the claims of their ſeveral creditors.

Thoſe entitled to the benefit of this act are,

I. Perſons arreſted for debt, and held to bail, on or before the firſt day of January laſt, who ſhall ſurrender themſelves to priſon, on or before the twenty-ſixth day of June next.

II. Perſons who were arreſted for debt on or before the twenty-ſecond day of January laſt, and have remained ever ſince in the actual cuſtody of the keeper of one of his Majeſty's priſons; crown debtors excepted.

III. Fugitives for debt, who were actually beyond ſea on the twenty-ſecond day of January laſt, and who ſhall ſurrender themſelves within fourteen days next immediately after their landing in England to the keeper of the King's-bench, Marſhalſea, or Fleet priſons, or to the keeper of the priſon of any diſtrict, in which they laſt dwelt, for the ſpace of ſix months before they abſconded. But no diſcharge can be granted to fugitives after the firſt day of Auguſt, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight.

IV. Commiſſion or Warrant Officers, in his Majeſty's ſea or land ſervice, now upon the full or half-pay liſt, who, for fear of arreſts, have taken ſhelter in privileged places, or who have been thrown into jail, and are not under the deſcription of thoſe perſons who can take benefit by the other proviſions of this act, are to be conſidered as fugitives, and equally entitled to the benefit of this act, provided they ſurrender themſelves on or before the twenty-ſixth day of

of June next, to the keeper of any of his Majeſty's priſons, in the manner preſcribed for fugitive debtors returning from foreign parts.

V. Perſons, againſt whom commiſſions of bankruptcy have been iſſued on or before the twenty-ſecond day of January laſt, and who are now in priſon for debt only (not contumacy), or who are now ſecreting themſelves for fear of their creditors; or perſons who were in priſon for debt on the twenty-ſecond day of January laſt, and againſt whom commiſſions of bankruptcy have been ſince awarded, may ſummon their plaintiffs before one of the Judges of the court wherein the proceſs iſſued, on which they are or may be detained, or (if ſuch Judge live at a diſtance) before any Juſtice of the peace; and, on the plaintiff's not appearing, or not proving that ſuch bankrupts have concealed any part of their eſtate or effects, or have not duly conformed themſelves to the laws now in force againſt bankrupts, ſuch Judge or Juſtice ſhall diſcharge them on their taking an oath that the cauſe of action aroſe previous to the iſſuing of the commiſſion againſt them, and cauſing common appearance to be entered for them, where neceſſary, in every ſuch ſuit.

VI. Bankrupts againſt whom commiſſions have been iſſued on or before the twenty-ſecond day of January laſt, having fully conformed to the bankrupt laws now in being, and not having been committed to priſon for any act of contumacy, &c. may, if their creditors perſiſt in refuſing their certificates after the expiration of twelve months, apply to the Lord Chancellor, who, on the report of the Commiſſioners, has a diſcretionary power to order an advertiſement to be inſerted in the Gazette for the allowance of the certificates of ſuch bankrupts, in the ſame manner, and to the ſame effect, as if they had been ſigned by four-fifths in number and value of their creditors.

To prevent impoſitions, the different gaolers are immediately, after the paſſing this act, to give in to the Juſtices of the peace, at their firſt or ſecond General Quarter Seſſions, an alphabetical liſt of the priſoners who were confined in their ſeveral gaols for debt on the 22d day of January laſt, or ſince that date, under the terms and conditions of this Act, with the time when charged, and at whoſe ſuit. Theſe liſts to be ſworn to and ſubſcribed in court, and to remain in the poſſeſſion of the Clerk of the Peace; and three copies of the ſeveral liſts are to be fixed up in the moſt conſpicuous parts of the different priſons. And the gaoler is further to make oath, that the perſons whoſe names are inſerted in the ſaid liſts, have not, to his knowledge, cauſed themſelves to be arreſted with a view to obtain the benefit of this Act, or reſided out of the priſon with his privity ſince their commitment.

And that the creditors of perſons who intend to take the benefit of this Act, may have proper notice of their ſaid intention, they are obliged to publiſh three ſeveral notices (in the London Gazette, if they are confined in London, or within the bills of mortality; or, if they are confined in the country, in ſome news-paper publiſhed near the place where they are ſo in cuſtody),

cuſtody), containing their names, trades, occupations, and two laſt places of abode, (if ſo many) of each perſon, and mentioning ſuch notice in each Gazette, or news-paper, to be the *Firſt*, *Second*, or *Third* notice, according to the order of publiſhing them; the firſt to be inſerted at leaſt thirty days, and the third at leaſt ten days before the ſeſſions, at which they propoſe to apply for their diſcharge. For publiſhing each notice, two-pence only is to be paid by any ſuch priſoner. And every ſuch notice is to be ſigned by the priſoner, and counterſigned by the gaoler.

And, for the better information of creditors, a ſchedule of every ſuch debtor's eſtate is to be delivered to the gaoler for their inſpection, previous to the publication of the notices, and ſuch delivery ſpecified in the firſt notice; and if it ſhould be made to appear, at the ſaid ſeſſions, that any priſoner ſhould have neglected to deliver ſuch ſchedule to the gaoler, he ſhall be remanded to priſon by the Juſtices, until the above directions are complied with.

The gaoler is obliged to atteſt each priſoner's ſignature to his ſchedule, and give the priſoner a duplicate thereof; and is alſo to give a copy to any creditor who may deſire it, under a penalty of 20l.

Priſoners who want to procure their diſcharge, are to apply by petition to any of the Juſtices of the peace within whoſe juriſdiction they are confined, and deliver in with their petitions the ſchedules of their eſtates, to which they are to ſwear at the enſuing firſt or ſecond quarter-ſeſſions; upon which the Juſtice is to direct a warrant, under his hand and ſeal, to the Sheriff or keeper of the priſon, requiring them to be brought up, after the expiration of ten days, to the ſaid ſeſſions, with the warrants of their detainer, and copies of the cauſes with which they are charged; which warrants of the Juſtice all Sheriffs and gaolers are obliged to obey; and if any Juſtice ſhall neglect to tranſmit the ſchedules of ſuch priſoners to the Clerk of the Peace, for the inſpection of creditors, within ten days after he ſhall have received it, he is to forfeit ten pounds; one moiety to go to the party who proſecutes for the ſame, and the other to the poor of the pariſh where the offence ſhall be committed.

When the priſoners are brought up for their diſcharge, they are to make oath of the time of their confinement, or ſurrender, and that they have been ever ſince in actual cuſtody in the priſon or liberties thereof, and without any fraud or colluſion whatſoever; and that the ſchedules delivered in by them reſpectively, contain, to the beſt of their knowledge, a perfect account and diſcovery of their eſtates and effects, real and perſonal, except wearing-apparel and bedding for themſelves and families, working tools and neceſſary implements, together with a ſum of money not exceeding forty ſhillings, and theſe in the whole not exceeding the value of twenty pounds, each.

The ſeveral ſchedules are to be then ſubſcribed by them reſpectively in the preſence of the Juſtices in open ſeſſion, and ſhall be lodged with the Clerk of the Peace for the examination of the creditors; and, to exhibit the ſame to any creditor, or his attorney, on payment of

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one ſhilling, and give a copy thereof (not on ſtamped paper) at ſix-pence a ſheet, or forfeit ten pounds and treble coſts, one moiety to the poor, the other to the proſecutor.

At the requeſt of a creditor the court may examine the gaoler, or any under officer of a priſon, on oath, touching any thing contained in any of the oaths preſcribed by this Act; and if the oath taken by any priſoner in open court ſhall not be diſproved by good teſtimony, the court is to diſcharge him, on his paying a fee of one ſhilling to the gaoler.

Inſolvents diſcharged under this Act, convicted of perjury in any oath therein directed to be taken, ſhall be adjudged felons, and ſuffer death without benefit of clergy.

The eſtate and effects of priſoners upon their diſcharge to be veſted in the Clerks of the Peace, and their ſucceſſors, who are to make over the ſame to aſſignees to be named by the court, for which they ſhall be paid two ſhillings.—The aſſignees are impowered to ſue in their names for the inſolvent's eſtate, or execute any truſt or power for the priſoner, whoſe real eſtate they are to make ſale of, and make a dividend of the purchaſe-money within three months, firſt making up their accounts, and verifying them upon oath.

Thirty days notice to be given of making a dividend, and no perſons are to receive any ſhare until their debts are proved and allowed by the court. The ſurplus, if any, of the inſolvent's eſtate to be paid to him.

If there ſhould be any omiſſion in the inſolvent's ſchedule, his creditors are not to ſuffer thereby; and no ſuit in equity can be commenced but by conſent of the majority of them in number and value.

No aſſignment of the inſolvent can affect prior mortgages; and the power in priſoners of leaſing lands are to be veſted in the aſſignees.

Fugitives intending to ſurrender, and previouſly arreſted, are not thereby excluded from the benefit of this Act.

But perſons who have defrauded their creditors by taking up goods, money, or ſecurities, under falſe pretences, are poſitively excluded from any benefit, if the ſame be proved to the ſatisfaction of the Juſtices in ſeſſion. Thoſe alſo are excepted who ſhall be found to have ſold or aſſigned any part of their property with intent to defraud their creditors.

The diſcharge of a priſoner is no acquittal to his partners or ſureties.

Gaolers making falſe entries in their priſon books or liſts, to forfeit 500l. with treble coſts.

Every creditor has a right to demand an interview with his debtor in priſon, who, if he ſhall refuſe to tell the name and abode of the perſon at whoſe ſuit he is detained, ſhall be excluded the benefit of this Act.

Every creditor who ſhall oppoſe a priſoner's diſcharge, ſhall allow the priſoner 3s. 6d. or 4s. per week, in default of which for one fortnight, he may obtain a diſcharge.

Perſons owing more than 1000l. to one perſon, may obtain the benefit of this Act, if they can procure ſuch creditor's conſent. Or if

the debt was incurred by being ſureties for others, and that it be proved to the ſatisfaction of the court, that the priſoners had never applied any part of the money or property obtained on that ſecurity to their own uſe.

Twenty per cent. is allowed for the diſcovery of any part of an inſolvent's eſtate, not ſet forth in the ſchedule delivered, provided ſuch diſcovery be made within twelve months; and perſons convicted of concealing any part of an inſolvent's eſtate, are to forfeit 100l. with double the value of the eſtate or effects.

Diſcharges fraudulently obtained are declared to be void to all intents and purpoſes.

Aſſignees, with the conſent of a majority of the creditors, may compound debts, and ſubmit any diſpute relating thereto to arbitration: and if the heirs of aſſignees ſhould refuſe to act, others are to be appointed, and a freſh aſſignment executed by the Clerk of the Peace, as if no former one had been made. Aſſignees complained againſt for fraud, miſmanagement, or miſbehaviour, are to be ſummoned before the Juſtices in general quarter ſeſſion, who are to make ſuch order thereupon as they ſhall think fit.

Where mutual credit has been given, the balance is to be ſtated and allowed.

Priſoners on proceſs out of courts of conſcience are to have the benefit of this Act; alſo perſons confined only for their fees.

But perſons who have taken the benefit of any Inſolvent Act within eight years cannot receive any benefit from this Act; unleſs they can produce a certificate ſigned by a proper officer, ſetting forth that they are enliſted to ſerve in his Majeſty's ſea or land ſervice.

There is a particular clauſe in favour of a lunatic now in the King's-bench priſon, whoſe caſe does not come within the deſcription of thoſe who are generally entitled to their diſcharge under this Act.

This Act is not to extend to that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

Remarkable Addreſs of the preſent Governors and Directors of the Poor of the Pariſh of Saint Andrew Holborn *above the Bars, and* Saint George the Martyr, *in the County of* Middleſex, *united, to the Inhabitants of ſaid Pariſh; inſerted to ſhew the great Advantages likely to accrue to both rich and poor, by the former's placing the latter in able and honeſt Hands.*

Ladies and Gentlemen,

WE think it expedient to ſubmit to your inſpection the under-ſtated accompt for the laſt four years, by which it evidently appears, that a ſum not exceeding 4000l. per annum during the time we have been in the direction, has been found ſufficient for the maintenance and ſupport of the Poor of theſe pariſhes; inſtead of 555l. per annum, the average ſum raiſed for the preceding eight years. And there is no doubt, ſhould the preſent plan of management be continued, that the Poor's Rate will be ſtill lower.

We connot paſs over in ſilence the extraordinary aſſiſtance we have received from two gentlemen, (Meſſrs. Adkins and Criſpin) who

by their unwearied application to the buſineſs of theſe pariſhes, and their practical knowledge thereof, have been greatly inſtrumental in redeeming us, ſo ſpeedily, from a weight of taxes, annually increaſing; and in bringing about this long-wiſhed-for reformation, (ſo honourable to themſelves, and beneficial to us all) your poor in particular are at leaſt as well ſupplied with wholeſome food, and every other neceſſary as heretofore.—The children are ſent into the country in ſtrict conformity to the act of parliament, the tradeſmen's bills are regularly paid quarterly—and all this is done for 1550l. per annum leſs than the ſum annually raiſed during the management of the late directors, viz. from the year 1767 to the year 1775; notwithſtanding proviſions and every other article is, on an average, at leaſt as dear as during that period——beſides paying off a debt contracted to the amount of 3177l.

By examining the pariſh books (which are daily open to the inſpection of every houſekeeper) it will appear, moſt clearly, that theſe pariſhes ſuſtained a loſs of upwards of 12000l. during the time of the late direction; and that the preſent Governors and Directors have, in the two years you have intruſted them with the management, paid off the above debt, and reduced the Poor's Rate from 3s. in the pound to 1s. 9d. For your further ſatisfaction we are happy we can inform you, that there is not the leaſt doubt but 1s. 6d. will be ſufficient at the cloſe of the preſent year.

We are,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Your moſt humble Servants,

The Preſent GOVERNORS and DIRECTORS of the POOR.

State of Overſeers Accompts in the Four following Years.

Pariſh debt at Lady-day 1772 £. 619 s. 3 d. 0

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
ceived from Lady-day 72 to Lady-day 1773	4903	8	5	Pariſh debt increaſed to	2372	15	0	Expended this year	6656	6	2
m Lady-day 1773 to Lady-day 1774	6365	0	9	Pariſh debt increaſed to	3177	13	0	Expended	7168	6	6
m Lady-day 1774 to Lady-day 1775	6841	10	0	Pariſh debt reduced to	972	3	6	Expended	4635	19	6
m Lady-day 1775 to Lady-day 1776.	5316	2	6	Debt paid off, and above 500l. in hand				Expended	3841	19	0

Publiſhed by order of the Board the 6th of Nov. 1776.

T. WADE, Clark.

Some Account of the public Trials made by David Hartley, *Eſq; Member of Parliament for* Kingſton upon Hull, *to evince the Efficacy of a new, cheap, and eaſy Method invented by him, for preſerving Houſes, Ships, &c. built with the moſt combuſtible Materials, from Fire; with the Proceedings of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the City of* London, *in Common Council aſſembled, relative thereto, &c.*

FIRE, we need not obſerve, is an element of ſo fierce a nature, that there is no playing with it, without the utmoſt danger; ſo that every experiment tried by it, as an agent, or upon it, as a ſubject, may be truly ſtiled an *Experimentum Periculoſum*; that is, in the language of Medicine, an experiment not to be tried with impunity. One would, therefore, be apt to imagine, that even a ſingle trial of any one method to check its fury, might, on proving ſucceſsful, be pronounced equally deciſive. But the greateſt men are ſo far from being arrogant, that they ſeldom do themſelves common juſtice in their own eſtimation; and, perhaps, the truth of this maxim never ſhone forth more conſpicuous, than in the caſe of Mr. Hartley, with regard to this his equally grand, uſeful, and ſingular, invention. Though convinced, in his own mind, that he could not make it, either as beneficial to himſelf, as he had a right to expect, or as advantageous to mankind, as his benevolence prompted him to wiſh, unleſs he could retain the ſole property in it, and, of courſe, the ſole management of it, for ſome unuſual length of time, he, with a ſpirit which muſt ever do him the greateſt honour, took as much pains, and ſpent as much money, to obtain that favour, if we may be allowed to call it one, as the greedieſt adventurer in the needieſt circumſtances, on the one hand, or the moſt patriot Prince, with the moſt princely fortune, on the other, might be ſuppoſed willing to ſubmit to. He built a houſe, three ſtories high, with two large rooms on a floor, on Wimbledon Common, and tried no fewer than ſix experiments upon this houſe, for the ſatisfaction of the Public in general, and thoſe great bodies in particular, including his Majeſty, whoſe approbation was requiſite for his obtaining an extenſion of the term, to which royal patents are limited by law; and whoſe example beſides might be ſerviceable to induce the bulk of the people to open their eyes to their own good.

The firſt of theſe views, Mr. Hartley has already, with no leſs honour to the legiſlature than to himſelf, perfectly ſucceeded in; and we hope he will, ere long, equally ſucceed in the ſecond. But, conſidering the nature of our work, it would ill become us to confine ourſelves to ſuch barren things as hopes, or even vows, on the occaſion. We think ourſelves bound to contribute all in our little power to ſo deſirable an event; and, therefore, as the efficacy of his invention muſt beſt appear from ſome account of the trials already made of it, we ſhall proceed to a ſhort but faithful deſcription of one of them, which may do for all the reſt.

Mr. Hartley's third trial was exhibited with peculiar propriety,

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we might indeed ſay, elegance of choice, on the anniverſary day of the great fire of London, in 1666, before the Lord-Mayor of London, the gentlemen of the Corporation, and the Committee of City Lands; the fourth, on the 27th of September, before their Majeſties, their Royal Highneſſes the Prince of Wales, the Biſhop of Oſnabrug, and the two eldeſt Princeſſes, with their attendants, and ſeveral other noblemen, ladies, and gentlemen, who all, if we may uſe the expreſſion, ſhook hands with the fire, as familiarly as the meaneſt of their inferiors could be expected to do; the fifth, before a ſpecial committee of the city of London, attended by their builders, ſurveyors, and other proper officers. After the trial, at which the Lord-Mayor aſſiſted, his Lordſhip laid the foundation ſtone of a pillar, with the following inſcription:

The Right Hon. JOHN SAWBRIDGE, Eſq;
LORD-MAYOR of LONDON,
Laid the FOUNDATION STONE
Of this PILLAR,
One Hundred and Ten Years after
the FIRE of LONDON.
On the ANNIVERSARY
Of
That dreadful Event;
In Memory
Of
AN INVENTION
For SECURING BUILDINGS
AGAINST FIRE.

And ſoon after, viz. on the 5th of November, the Report of the Committee of City Lands, not only extremely favourable, we may be ſure, but highly honourable, to Mr. Hartley, having been agreed to in common council, the court unanimouſly reſolved, that the freedom of the city ſhould be preſented to him, in conſideration of the advantages likely to accrue to the Public from his invention, and for his reſpectful attention to the city in his repeated experiments, performed before many of the members of the court; the copy of the freedom, with the reſolutions of the court inſerted therein, to be delivered by the Chamberlain to Mr. Hartley, and the report and the reſolution to be fairly tranſcribed and ſigned by Mr. Town-Clerk, and by him, in like manner, preſented to Mr. Hartley. Moreover, the court ſeriouſly recommended the uſe of Mr. Hartley's method in all the houſes, &c. already built, or which might afterwards be built, on the extenſive eſtates belonging to the city.

In return for all theſe no leſs juſt than flattering marks of approbation, Mr. Hartley wrote the Chamberlain of London a letter, which, as it muſt fully exculpate us from the charge of fulſomeneſs in ſpeaking of Mr. Hartley's modeſty throughout the whole of theſe proceedings, we think it highly incumbent on us to inſert. It is as follows:

Golden-ſquare, March 25, 1777.

SIR,

"Give me leave, through your means, to return my moſt grateful acknowledgments to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, for the very diſtinguiſhing marks of their favour, which they have been pleaſed to confer upon me, in giving me admiſſion to the freedom of ſo reſpectable a corporation, with the additional honour of erecting a

pillar to commemorate the invention for ſecuring buildings from fire.

" The general reſpect which I entertain upon all occaſions towards the city of London, as the moſt important member of the community, and the peculiar propriety of offering an invention to their attention, which above all ſeems calculated for the ſecurity of great cities, were my motives for laying this matter before them. Their approbation of my conduct, and of the ſucceſs of my labours, is the higheſt ſatisfaction to me. As they have been pleaſed to recommend the uſe of the invention in their own buildings, they may be aſſured that nothing in my power ſhall be wanting to facilitate the execution.

" It has coſt me much labour and anxiety to bring the invention into that degree of forwardneſs in which it is at preſent; therefore I do more immediately and perſonally feel the kindneſs of the city of London, in giving me their aſſiſtance and countenance in the proſecution of ſo important an object. As I know the public good to be the object of their attention, it is a double ſatisfaction to me to labour with them in the common cauſe, and to contribute my beſt endeavours under their powerful and reſpectful patronage. I beg leave to aſſure them that the higheſt point of my ambition will at all times be, to merit the approbation of my fellow-citizens, and to obtain the good will of my country.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient
Humble Servant,
D. HARTLEY."

(To the Chamberlain of the City of London.)

But, to return to the experiments, Mr. Hartley's ſixth and laſt, was made on the 11th of November, before ſeveral of the moſt reſpectable members of both Houſes; and as, beſides all his trials being on the ſame plan, we may be ſure the laſt, ſuppoſing any difference between them, was the ſevereſt, as calculated to anſwer all the cavils, and conquer all the objections, which might have been made to his former trials, and obviate all thoſe, which he might be apprehenſive of, with regard to his future ones; and facts being moreover, on this occaſion particularly, the beſt, if not the only ſolid, arguments, we have fixed on this laſt trial, as the propereſt for our purpoſe.

On this memorable day, then, Mr. Hartley, after carrying his company, as uſual, round the houſe of trial, in order to ſee the marks of between twenty and thirty large fires, which, at former experiments, had been lighted in different parts of it; firſt, ordered a fire to be made on the deal flooring of one of the ground-room floors. Then, a large faggot of ſhavings, ſuſpended by iron to the upper part of the ſame room, was ſet on fire. Thirdly, the ſtaircaſe was ſet on fire, both above and below, without the fire's extending, in either caſe, beyond the ſpot on which it was lighted. Laſtly, the other room on the ground-floor, filled almoſt to the top with faggots, pitch, and other combuſtibles, was ſet fire to; but, though they all burnt with ſuch fury, as to vomit forth a perpetual torrent of flame and ſmoke, and thereby render all approach within thirty yards of the windows, on the outſide, abſolutely impracticable,

ble, the room adjoining to, and that immediately over, this little Ætna, continued as cool and as acceſſible, as if no fire had been in the houſe. Accordingly, Mr. Hartley and his company ſeem to have made it a conſtant rule to paſs, in theſe very rooms, a great part of the time, during which the fire burned with the greateſt fury in the other.

Nor was it walls, and floors, and cielings, alone, which, by means of Mr. Hartley's invention, were enabled to mock the rage of the otherwiſe all-devouring element; fixtures, and even furniture, were thereby rendered proof againſt it, though found at the ſame time ſufficient to prepare iron for the anvil, and water for the tea-pot; and, of courſe, anſwer all the neceſſary and uſeful purpoſes of life: particularly, a bed being purpoſely ſet on fire, little more of it was conſumed than what the fire had been immediately applied to.

Aſtoniſhing as the effects of this contrivance for ſecuring houſes, ſhips, and other buildings, of the moſt combuſtible materials, from fire, muſt appear, the means perhaps may be thought equally ſo. It is only nailing the thinneſt plates of iron to the joiſts, &c. and theſe plates may be plain, or painted of any colour. To crown all, as this method muſt be allowed extremely eaſy, there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, that it will be found equally cheap. We are aſſured, that the additional expence of building, created by the uſe of this invention, will ſcarce exceed three per cent. How would ſuch an happy event have rejoiced the good heart of the Great Berkley, who, in his equally ſenſible, ingenious, and benevolent queries, looked upon our houſes, conſidering their materials, as ſo many fire-ſhips; and our towns and villages, as ſo many fleets and ſquadrons of ſuch ſhips met together for the laudable purpoſe of mutual deſtruction. But, indeed, to ſay any thing of the expence of this method, may be conſidered as an inſult on the underſtandings and feelings of our readers. What is any money to life, to a limb, to health? and, above all, to that ſecurity of mind, in which this new method muſt enable every man who has recourſe to it, to live, and eſpecially lie down to ſleep, with regard to the ſafety of his perſon from the moſt painful of all deaths; and, of his property, from the moſt abſolute of all deſtructions; not not mention records, deeds, and other manuſcripts, with ſeveral highly uſeful and curious productions of nature and art, which, on account of the uncommon hazard from fire attending them in every other mode of preſervation, are not to be inſured at any price; and, as ſingle in their kinds, not to be replaced by any induſtry? We could ſay a great deal more on the ſubject, but that we find, on looking back upon what we have already ſaid, that our aſtoniſhment at the grandeur, uſefulneſs, and ſingularity, of Mr. Hartley's invention, our zeal for the welfare of mankind, and our gratitude, as making ſome part of it, to Mr. Hartley, has already hurried us beyond our uſual bounds. Still, we cannot prevail on ourſelves to ſtop, without making one remark more; viz. that, next to

the arts of ſupplying man with food, this of defending him againſt fire, muſt be ranked among the moſt capital; nay, we need not ſcruple giving it the ſuperiority over that of ſecuring him from water, ſince he can do infinitely better without expoſing himſelf to danger from the laſt, than from the firſt, of theſe elements. Accordingly, we ſhould have given an account of this noble invention, at the head of our article of Projects; but that we expected ſomething on the ſubject from the ingenious and beneficent Inventor's own pen, till, through the nature of our publication, the opportunity of placing it there ſlipt out of our hands.

TABLE,

TABLE, exhibiting, at one View, the SUPPLIES granted for the Service of the Year, 1776, with the WAYS and MEANS of raiſing them; each Article being accurately arranged under its ſeparate Head, &c. as ſtated by LORD NORTH, in the Houſe of Commons, on the 24th of April, 1776.

SUPPLIES.

ARMY.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
20752 land forces, with 3213 invalids	659200	2	10⅞			
Plantations and Africa	723432	11	7¼			
Iriſh and Britiſh pay for troops in America	42530	19	4			
General and ſtaff officers	11505	7	3			
Levy money for augmentation of Britiſh and Iriſh forces for 1776	104136	6	0			
5 Hanoverian battalions of foot at Gibraltar and Minorca, from the 1ſt Sept. to the 24th December, 1775	26783	15	2½			
Ditto for 1776	46838	1	9			
Charge of a regiment of Highlanders, conſiſting of two battalions	47400	12	0			
Charge of augmentation to his Majeſty's forces to Dec. 24, 1775	80984	13	2			
Ditto ex. ſaving grants laſt ſeſſions	7938	15	0			
Chelſea Hoſpital	107512	10	0			
Reduced officers	97575	12	0			
2 troops horſe-guards reduced	850	19	6			
Penſions to widows	608	0	0			
12394 Heſſians for 1776	381887	4	5½			
4300 Brunſwickers ditto	121475	12	1			
Regiment of Hanau, from March 6, to December 24, being 294 days	19006	19	3¼			
6 regiments of foot from Ireland, and other augmentations, to December 24, 1776	137448	7	0			
Land extras	845165	14	8½			
				3462282	3	3⅛

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
NAVY.						
28000 seamen, with 6665 marines	1456000	0	0			
Ordinary and Navy —	426904	19	6			
Building and repairing ships —	339151	0	0			
Greenwich Hospital	5000	0	0			
Towards discharge of navy debt	1000000	0	0			
				3227055	19	6
ORDNANCE.						
Ordinaries	249655	18	6			
Extraordinaries	223171	11	11			
				472827	10	5
MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.						
Roads and bridges in North Britain	6996	10	2			
Westminster bridge	2000	0	0			
African forts	13000	0	0			
American surveys	1885	4	0			
Commons' addresses	7406	0	3			
Nova Scotia	4346	10	5			
Georgia	3086	0	0			
East Florida	4950	0	0			
West Florida	4063	19	3			
Senegambia	6336	0	9			
				54070	4	10
Expence of and loss by coinage				92421	15	1
Exchequer bills discharged				1250000	0	0
DEFICIENCIES.						
Malt	189778	11	2			
Land	260221	8	10			
3½ per cents	44096	5	10½			
Coinage	7475	6	2			
Grants 1775	37348	12	8½			
				538920	4	9
Total of supply				9097577	17	10⅞
Excess of ways and means				56652	6	5⅞
				9154230	4	4¾
WAYS and MEANS.						
Land 4s.				2000000	0	0
Malt				750000	0	0

Surplus

	£.	s.	d.
Surplus in sinking fund, 5th Jannary	17869	4	11½
Ditto, ditto April 5	962571	16	2
Growing produce ditto	1837428	3	10
Gum seneca	2000	0	0
French prize money	17000	0	0
Certain savings in pay-office	23011	7	0
Sale of ceded islands	30000	0	0
New exchequer bills	1500000	0	0
Surplus of American revenues	2905	8	2
Sundry surpluſſes in exchequer, conſiſting of ſurplus of duty on rice, cambrick, apples, militia money, &c.	11444	4	3¼
Total of Ways and Means	7154230	4	4¾
Annuities and lottery at 3 per cent.	2000000	0	0
	9154230	4	4¾

SUPPLIES of 1775 and 1776 compared.

	1775. £.	s.	d.	1776. £.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
Navy	1674059	15	10	3227055	19	6	1552996	3	8	incr.
Ordnance	260807	6	10	472827	10	5	212020	3	7	ditto.
Army	1597001	9	9½	3462282	3	3⅜	1865280	13	6⅜	ditto.
Deficiencies	607974	10	7¾	538920	4	9	69054	5	10¼	decr.
Miſcellaneous Services	166559	19	9	54070	4	10	112489	14	11	ditto.

When Lord North had gone through the foregoing ſtate, he acquainted the Houſe, that he ſhould, on a future day, communicate to them a meſſage from his Majeſty for a vote of credit; and accordingly, delivered the following on the 2d of May.

" GEORGE R.

" His Majeſty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, and conſidering, that, during the preſent troubles in North America, emergencies may ariſe, which may be of the utmoſt importance, and be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, if proper means ſhould not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them, is deſirous that this Houſe will enable him to defray any extraordinary expences incurred, or to be incurred, on account of military ſervices for the year 1776, and as the exigency of affairs may require. And his Majeſty, having judged it expedient to iſſue his proclamation, in purſuance of an act of parliament, paſſed in the fourteenth year of his reign, for calling in the remainder of the deficient gold coin, doubts not but that his faithful Commons will enable him to make good the charges which ſhall be incurred in this ſervice, and which cannot at this time be aſcertained. G. R."

And, in conſequence of ſaid meſſage, the Houſe immediately paſſed a vote of credit for one million.

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

Petition of the City of London, preſented, ſeparately, to both Houſes of Parliament, with only the neceſſary Variation in the Title, &c. at the Opening of the Second Seſſion of the Fourteenth Parliament of Great-Britain.

The humble Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council aſſembled.

Sheweth,

THAT this court having taken into its moſt ſerious conſideration the preſent diſtreſſed ſituation of our fellow-ſubjects in America, are exceedingly alarmed for the conſequences of thoſe coercive meaſures, which are purſuing againſt them—meaſures that muſt (notwithſtanding the great uncertainty of their ſucceſs) eventually be productive of new and more burthenſome taxes, the increaſe of an enormous national debt; and finally, we fear the loſs of the moſt valuable branch of our commerce, on which the exiſtence of an infinite number of induſtrious manufacturers and mechanics entirely depends.

That his Majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed, in anſwer to a late humble and dutiful addreſs and petition to the throne, praying a ceſſation of hoſtilities with America for the purpoſe of obtaining time, and thereby giving an opportunity for a happy and laſting reconciliation with his Majeſty's American colonies, to declare, that *he ſhould abide by the ſenſe of his parliament*, this court conceived it to be their indiſpenſable duty, thus early in the ſeſſion, in the moſt reſpectful manner to apply to this Right Hon. Houſe, that it will be pleaſed to adopt ſuch meaſures for the healing of the preſent unhappy diſputes between the mother country and the colonies, as may be ſpeedy, permanent, and honourable.

Proteſt of ſeveral of the Lords againſt their Houſe's Addreſs, in anſwer to the King's Speech, at the opening of the foreſaid Seſſion of Parliament.

Diſſentient.

1ſt. BECAUSE we cannot, as Engliſhmen, as Chriſtians, or as men of common humanity, conſent to the proſecution of a cruel civil war, ſo little ſupported by juſtice, and ſo very fatal in its neceſſary conſequences, as that which is now waging againſt our brethren

brethren and fellow-ſubjects in America. We have beheld with ſorrow and indignation, ſeſſion after ſeſſion, and notwithſtanding repeated warnings of the danger, attempts made to deprive ſome millions of Britiſh ſubjects of their trade, their laws, their conſtitution, their mutual intercourſe, and of the very food which God has given them for their ſubſiſtence. We have beheld endeavours uſed to enforce theſe impolitic ſeverities at the point of the bayonet. We have, on the other hand, beheld ſo large a part of the empire, united in one common cauſe, really ſacrificing with chearfulneſs their lives and fortunes, and preferring all the horrors of a war raging in the very heart of their country, to ignominious eaſe. We have beheld this part of his Majeſty's ſubjects, thus irritated to reſiſtance, and ſo ſucceſsful in it, ſtill making profeſſions (in which we think it neither wiſe nor decent to affect a diſbelief) of the utmoſt loyalty to his Majeſty; and unwearied with continued repulſes, repeatedly petitioning for conciliation, upon ſuch terms only as ſhall be conſiſtent with the dignity and welfare of the Mother Country. When we conſider theſe things, we cannot look upon our fellow-ſubjects in America in any other light than that of freemen driven to reſiſtance by acts of oppreſſion and violence.

2dly. Becauſe this unnatural war, thus commenced in oppreſſion, and in the moſt erroneous policy, muſt, if perſevered in, be finally ruinous in its effects. The commerce of Great Britain with America was great and increaſing, the profits immenſe, the advantages, as a nurſery of ſeamen, and as an inexhauſtible magazine of naval ſtores, infinite; and the continuance of that commerce, particularly in times of war, when moſt wanted to ſupport our fleets and revenues, not precarious, as all foreign trade muſt be, but depending ſolely on ourſelves. Theſe valuable reſources, which enabled us to face the united efforts of the Houſe of Bourbon, are actually loſt to Great Britain, and irretrievably loſt, unleſs redeemed by immediate and effectual pacification.

3dly. Becauſe Great Britain, deprived of ſo valuable a part of its reſources, and not animated, either with motives of ſelf-defence, or with thoſe proſpects of advantage and glory which have hitherto ſupported this nation in all its foreign wars, may poſſibly find itſelf unable to ſupply the means of carrying on a civil war, at ſuch a vaſt diſtance, in a country ſo peculiarly circumſtanced, and under the complicated difficulties which neceſſarily attend it. Still leſs would we be able to preſerve by mere force that vaſt continent, and that growing multitude of reſolute freemen who inhabit it; even if that, or any country, was worth governing againſt the inclination of all its inhabitants. But we fear, that while we are making theſe fruitleſs efforts, refuſing to give credit to the declarations of our fellow-ſubjects, and blindly confiding in the inſidious profeſſions of the natural enemies of this country, we are preparing an eaſy prey for thoſe who prudently ſit quiet, beholding Britiſh forces, which, if united, might be in a condition, from their valour, numbers, and diſcipline, to carry terror into the very

very heart of their kingdoms, deſtroying each other. Every event, which ever way it turns, is a victory to them. Our very hoſpitals furniſh them with daily triumphs, the greater as they are certain, without any riſque to them of men or money.

4thly. Becauſe we conceive the calling in foreign forces to decide domeſtic quarrels, to be a meaſure both diſgraceful and dangerous; and that the advice which Miniſters have dared to give to his Majeſty, which they have avowed and carried into execution, of ſending to the garriſons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, the dominions of the crown of Great Britain, a part of his electoral troops, without any previous conſent, recommendation or authority of parliament, is unconſtitutional. That Hanoverian troops ſhould, at the mere pleaſure of the miniſters, be conſidered as a part of the Britiſh military eſtabliſhment, and take a rotation of garriſon duties, through theſe dominions, is, in practice and precedent, of the higheſt danger to the ſafety and liberties of this kingdom, and tends wholly to invalidate the wiſe and ſalutary declaration of the grand fundamental law of our glorious deliverer King William, which has bound together the rights of the ſubject, and the ſucceſſion of the crown.

5thly. Becauſe the miniſters, who are to be intruſted with the management of this war, have proved themſelves unequal to the taſk, and in every degree unworthy of public truſt. Parliament has given them every aſſiſtance they aſked; no unforeſeen accidents have ſtood in their way; no ſtorms have diſabled or delayed their operations; no foreign power hath, as yet, interfered; but notwithſtanding theſe advantages, by their ignorance, negligence, and want of conduct, our arms have been diſgraced; upwards of ten thouſand of the flower of our army, with an immenſe artillery, under four Generals of reputation, and backed with a great naval force, have been miſerably blockaded in one ſea-port town; and after repeated and obſtinate battles, in which ſuch numbers of our braveſt men have fallen, the Britiſh forces have not been able to penetrate one mile into the country which they were ſent to ſubdue; important fortreſſes are ſeized, the Governors are driven from their provinces, and it is doubtful, whether at this moment we are in poſſeſſion of a ſingle town in all North America. Whether we conſider its extent, or its commerce, England has loſt half its empire in one campaign. Nor can we impute the miſconduct of miniſters to mere inability, nor to their ignorance of the ſtate of America, upon which they attempt to juſtify themſelves; for while ſome members of adminiſtration confeſs they were deceived as to the ſtrength and condition of the provinces, we have from others received official information, that the inſufficiency of the navy was concealed from parliament, and part of adminiſtration, from a fear of not receiving ſupport from its members. We cannot, therefore, conſent to an addreſs, which may deceive his Majeſty and the Public into a belief of the confidence of this Houſe in the preſent miniſters, who have diſgraced parliament, deceived the nation, loſt the colonies, and involved us in a civil war

war againſt our cleareſt intereſts; and upon the moſt unjuſtifiable grounds, wantonly ſpilling the blood of thouſands of our fellow-ſubjects.

TORRINGTON
FITZ WILLIAM
ARCHER
THANET
CHOLMONDELEY
KING
PORTLAND
STAMFORD
PONSONBY
ABINGDON
MANCHESTER
DEVONSHIRE
CHEDWORTH
BOYLE
CRAVEN
SCARBOROUGH
EFFINGHAM
ROCKINGHAM
RICHMOND.

Letter from Commodore Sir Henry Parker, *to* W. Tryon, *Eſq*; *Governor of* New York, *and by His Excellency communicated to the Mayor of* New York.

Phœnix, at New York, Dec. 18.

SIR,

BEING ordered by my inſtructions from Vice-Admiral Graves, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in North America, publicly to ſignify to all towns acceſſible to his Majeſty's ſhips, that, in caſe any violences ſhall hereafter be offered to any of the officers of the crown, or other peaceably-diſpoſed ſubjects of his Majeſty; or if any bodies of men ſhall be raiſed and armed in the ſaid towns, or any military works erected, otherwiſe than by order of his Majeſty, or thoſe acting under his authority; or if any attempts ſhall be made to ſeize or deſtroy any public magazines of arms, ammunition, or other ſtores; in all or either of thoſe caſes, it will be my duty to treat the ſaid towns as in open rebellion againſt the King.

I am to requeſt that your Excellency will be pleaſed to let the above inſtructions be publicly made known in the town of New York, at the ſame time you will aſſure them, that I ſhall be happy in granting the town every protection in the power of his Majeſty's ſhips under my command.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient
and moſt humble ſervant,
H. PARKER.

Proclamation by General Carleton *for the Relief of the fugitive Provincials, after they had been driven from before* Quebec.

WHEREAS I am informed, that many of his Majeſty's deluded ſubjects, of the neighbouring provinces, labouring under wounds and divers diſorders, are diſperſed in the adjacent woods and pariſhes, and in great danger of periſhing for want of proper aſſiſtance; all captains and other officers of militia are hereby commanded to make diligent ſearch for all ſuch diſtreſſed perſons, and afford them all neceſſary relief, and convey them to the General Hoſpital, where proper care ſhall be taken of them: all reaſonable expences which may be incurred in complying with this order ſhall be repaid by the Receiver-General.

And, leſt a conſciouſneſs of paſt offences ſhould deter ſuch miſera-

ble

ble wretches from receiving that aſſiſtance which their diſtreſſed ſituation may require, I hereby make known to them, that as ſoon as their health is reſtored, they ſhall have free liberty to return to their reſpective provinces.

Given under my hand and ſeal of arms, at the Caſtle of St. Lewis, in the city of Quebec, this 10th day of May, 1776.

GUY CARLETON.

Subſtance of the Speech made by Sir Fletcher Norton, *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, to his Majeſty, previous to that, by which his Majeſty, on the 23d of* May, *put an End to the Second Seſſion of the Fourteenth Parliament of* Great-Britain.

THE Speaker obſerved, "that, ſince the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion, ſeveral wiſe, ſalutary, and neceſſary laws had been enacted, particularly the law for prohibiting all trade and commerce with America, the law for the more ſpeedy and effectual manning of his Majeſty's navy, and the law for eſtabliſhing a national militia: he obſerved, that his faithful Commons, with equal aſſiduity and attention, performed their duty, in the courſe of a very long and ſevere ſeſſion: that the buſineſs of America engroſſed the greateſt part of their time, and that nothing had been left undone, on their part, to bring that matter to a ſpeedy and happy concluſion: that the meaſures, neceſſary to effect ſo deſirable an end, had brought on a very heavy expence: that nothing had been wanting on the part of his faithful Commons in order to ſtrengthen the hands of government, for they had voted the moſt full and ample ſupplies: that, convinced of the juſtice and neceſſity of ſecuring the ſubordinate dependence of America, they had chearfully co-operated in every propoſition for ſecuring the duty of his Majeſty's ſubjects in that country, and their obedience to the legiſlative power of Great Britain: that his faithful Commons, whatever meaſures may have been taken for the ſecurity of both, by a proper exertion of the ſtrength of this country, did not wiſh for conqueſt, but were deſirous of peace and conciliation. And, on the whole, truſting to his Majeſty's parental attention to the intereſts of every part of the empire, they had a full reliance on his Majeſty's wiſdom and goodneſs, that the preſent diſputes with America would be happily terminated; and would be eſtabliſhed on ſo firm a baſis, and put on ſo permanent a footing, as to prevent a return of the ſame evil in times to come."

The King's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on Thurſday *the 23d of* May, *when His Majeſty put an End to the foreſaid Seſſion of Parliament.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE concluſion of the public buſineſs, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, make it proper for me to give you ſome receſs; but I cannot put an end to this ſeſſion without aſſuring you, that the freſh inſtances of your affectionate attachment to me, and of your ſteady attention and adherence to the true intereſts of your country, which

which you have ſhewn through the whole courſe of your important deliberations, afford me the higheſt ſatisfaction.

No alteration has happened in the ſtate of foreign affairs ſince your meeting; and it is with pleaſure I inform you, that the aſſurances which I have received of the diſpoſitions of the ſeveral powers in Europe, promiſe a continuance of the general tranquillity.

Gentlemen of the H. of Commons,

It is with real regret and concern that I find myſelf under the neceſſity of aſking of my faithful Commons any extraordinary ſupplies: I thank you for the readineſs and diſpatch with which they have been granted; and they are the more acceptable to me, as you have ſhewn, in the manner of raiſing them, an equal regard to the exigencies of the ſervice, and the eaſe of my people: and you may be aſſured, that the confidence you repoſe in me ſhall be uſed with proper frugality, and applied only to the purpoſes for which it was intended.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

We are engaged in a great national cauſe, the proſecution of which muſt inevitably be attended with many difficulties and much expence: but when we conſider, that the eſſential rights and intereſts of the whole empire are deeply concerned in the iſſue of it, and can have no ſafety or ſecurity but in that conſtitutional ſubordination for which we are contending, I am convinced that you will not think any price too high for the preſervation of ſuch objects.

I will ſtill entertain a hope, that my rebellious ſubjects may be awakened to a ſenſe of their errors, and that, by a voluntary return to their duty, they will juſtify me in bringing about the favourite wiſh of my heart, the reſtoration of harmony, and the re-eſtabliſhment of order and happineſs in every part of my dominions. But, if a due ſubmiſſion ſhould not be obtained from ſuch motives and ſuch diſpoſitions on their part, I truſt that I ſhall be able, under the bleſſing of Providence, to effectuate it by a full exertion of the great force with which you have intruſted me.

Circular Letter written by Lord Howe, *to the Governors of the* American *Provinces, on his Arrival on the Coaſt of* Maſſachuſet's Bay, *and an incloſed Declaration addreſſed to the Inhabitants; with the Reſolutions and Proceedings of the Continental Congreſs relative to both.*

The Circular Letter.

Eagle, off the Coaſt of the Province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, June 20, 1776.

SIR,

BEING appointed Commander in Chief of the ſhips and veſſels of his Majeſty's fleet employed in North America, and having the honour to be by his Majeſty conſtituted one of his Commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to his colonies, and for granting pardons to ſuch of his ſubjects therein, as ſhall be duly ſolicitous to benefit by that effect of his gracious indulgence; I take the earlieſt opportunity to inform you of my arrival on the American coaſt, where my firſt object will be an early meeting with General Howe, whom his Ma-

jeſty hath been pleaſed to join with me in the ſaid commiſſion.

In the mean time, I have judged it expedient to iſſue the incloſed declaration, in order that all perſons may have immediate information of his Majeſty's moſt gracious intentions: and I deſire you will be pleaſed forthwith to cauſe the ſaid declaration to be promulgated, in ſuch manner, and in ſuch places within the province of as will render the ſame of the moſt public notoriety.

Aſſured of being favoured with your aſſiſtance in every meaſure for the ſpeedy and effectual reſtoration of the public tranquillity, I am to requeſt you will communicate, from time to time, ſuch information as you may think will facilitate the attainment of that important object in the province over which you preſide. I have the honour to be, with great reſpect and conſideration, Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

HOWE.

The Declaration.

By Richard Viſcount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, one of the King's Commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to his Majeſty's colonies and plantations in North America, &c.

WHEREAS by an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, to prohibit all trade and intercourſe with the colonies of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſet's Bay, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and for other purpoſes therein mentioned, it is enacted, that "it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any perſon or perſons appointed and authoriſed by his Majeſty, to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or deſcription of perſons, by proclamation in his Majeſty's name, to declare any colony or province, colonies or provinces, or any county, town, port, diſtrict, or place, in any colony or province, to be at the peace of his Majeſty;" and that "from and after the iſſuing of any ſuch proclamation in any of the aforeſaid colonies or provinces, or if his Majeſty ſhall be graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify the ſame by his royal proclamation, then, from and after the iſſuing of ſuch proclamation," the ſaid "act, with reſpect to ſuch colony or province, colonies or provinces, county, town, port, diſtrict, or place, ſhall ceaſe, determine, and be utterly void." And whereas the King, deſirous to deliver all his ſubjects from the calamities of war, and other oppreſſions which they now undergo; and to reſtore the ſaid colonies to his protection and peace, as ſoon as the conſtitutional authority of government therein may be replaced, hath been graciouſly pleaſed, by letters-patent under the great ſeal, dated the 6th day of May, in the ſixteenth year of his Majeſty's reign, to nominate and appoint me, Richard Viſcount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and William Howe, Eſq; General of his forces in North America, and each of us, jointly and ſeverally, to be his Majeſty's Commiſſioner and Commiſſioners for granting his free and general pardons to all thoſe, who in the tumult and diſorder of the times, may have deviated from their

their juſt allegiance, and who are willing, by a ſpeedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour: and alſo for declaring in his Majeſty's name, any colony, province, county, town, port, diſtrict or place, to be at the peace of his Majeſty; I do therefore hereby declare, That due conſideration ſhall be had to the meritorious ſervices of all perſons who ſhall aid and aſſiſt in reſtoring the public tranquillity in the ſaid colonies, or in any part or parts thereof: that pardons ſhall be granted, dutiful repreſentations received, and every ſuitable encouragement given for promoting ſuch meaſures as ſhall be conducive to the eſtabliſhment of legal government and peace, in purſuance of his Majeſty's moſt gracious purpoſes aforeſaid.

Given on board his Majeſty's ſhip the Eagle, off the coaſts of the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, the 20th of June, 1776.

HOWE.

The Reſolution of the Congreſs.

In Congreſs, July 19.

RESOLVED, That a copy of the circular letters, and of the declaration they incloſed from Lord Howe to Mr. Franklin, Mr. Penn, Mr. Eden, Lord Dunmore, Mr. Martin, and Sir James Wright, late Governors, ſent to Amboy by a flag, and forwarded to Congreſs by General Waſhington, be publiſhed in the ſeveral gazettes, that the good people of theſe United States may be informed of what *nature* are the commiſſions, and what the *terms*, with the expectation of which the inſidious court of Great Britain has endeavoured to amuſe and diſarm them; and that the few who ſtill remain ſuſpended by a hope founded either in the juſtice or moderation of their late King, may now at length be convinced that the valour alone of their country is to ſave its liberties.

Extract from the Journals.

(Signed) CHA. THOMSON, Sec.

Lord Howe and General Howe iſſued a ſecond declaration, on the 19th of September; and a third, on the 30th of November following, the ſubſtance of which the reader will find in the Chronicle.

Singular Reſolutions agreed to, ſome Time about the Middle of the preſent Year, in the Council of Safety, at Savannah, *in* Georgia, *to deſtroy their Houſes and Shipping, rather than let them fall into the Hands of their Enemies.*

In the COUNCIL of SAFETY.

For the ſafety of the Province, and the good of the United Colonies, it is unanimouſly reſolved,

THAT the houſes in the town of Savannah, and the hamlets thereto belonging, together with the ſhipping now in our port, the property, or appertaining to the friends of America, who have aſſociated and appeared, or who ſhall appear in the preſent alarm to defend the ſame, and alſo the houſes of widows and orphans, and none others, be forthwith appraiſed.

Reſolved, That it be conſidered, as a defection from the cauſe of America, and a deſertion of property, in ſuch perſons, who have

and ſhall leave the town of Savannah, or the hamlets thereto belonging, during the preſent alarm; and ſuch perſons ſhall be precluded from any ſupport or countenance towards obtaining an indemnification.

Reſolved, That it be incumbent upon the friends of America in this province to defend the metropolis, as long as the ſame ſhall be tenable.

Reſolved, That rather than the ſame ſhall be held and occupied by our enemies, or the ſhipping now in the port of Savannah taken and employed by them, that the ſame ſhall be burnt and deſtroyed.

Reſolved, That orders ſhall be iſſued to the commanding officer, directing him to have the foregoing reſolution put in execution.

A true Copy from the Minutes,

ED. LANGWORTH, Sec.

The two following Papers ſeem to exhibit the Extremes of Zeal and Indifference, with which the Powers of Europe *regard the preſent Quarrel between* Great Britain, *and her* North-American *Colonies; and, therefore, cannot but be entertaining to the Reader.*

Decree of his Moſt Faithful Majeſty the King of Portugal, *dated the 4th of* July, 1776.

WHEREAS we have lately been informed, that the Britiſh Colonies of North America have, by an act of the Congreſs held on the 5th of May laſt paſt, not only declared themſelves entirely free from all ſubjection to the crown of Great Britain, but were moreover actually employed in forming and enacting laws by their own private authority, in oppoſition to the lawful rights of our brother, friend, and ally, the King of Great Britain: and whereas ſo pernicious an example ought to engage every Prince, even thoſe it intereſts the leaſt, not to abet, favour, or aſſiſt, by any means, directly or indirectly, ſuch ſubjects united in ſuch direct and open rebellion againſt their natural ſovereign: it is our pleaſure, and we do hereby ordain, that no ſhip, with lading or without, coming from any of the ports of the aforeſaid Britiſh America, ſhall be allowed any intercourſe with, or entrance into any of the ports of theſe our kingdoms, or of the dominions thereunto belonging; but that, on the contrary, they ſhall be forced away immediately on their arrival, without ſuccour of any kind whatever: and that as to the maſters of veſſels who have hitherto been ſuffered to enter (there not appearing reaſon for their being excluded) it ſhall be notified to them, that within the preciſe term of eight days, to be counted ſucceſſively, they ſhall quit the ſaid ports with their veſſels, which ſhall firſt be ſearched, in order to diſcover if they have gun-powder on board, or any other of thoſe warlike ſtores, the export of which was prohibited to them by our Royal Decree of the 21ſt of October laſt, directed to the officers of our arſenal and exportation duties: and that if any ſuch ſtores or ammunition ſhall be found put on board by ſtealth, the ſaid veſſels, as a capture from declared rebels, ſhall be confiſcated for the uſe of carrying on the public buildings; and ſo be it underſtood by the Council

Council of our Finances, which ſhall order printed copies of this our Decree to be taken off, and fixed up in all the public places of the city of Liſbon, and in all the ports of this kingdom, and that of Algarve, that it may come to the knowledge of all, and that no one may plead ignorance.

Palace of the Aejuda, fourth of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix.

With the royal ſignature.

Subſtance of a Letter, dated at St. Ildefonſo, *the 7th of* October, *written by the Marquis* De Grimaldi, *to the Governor of* Bilboa, *relative to an* American *Corſair, which had taken five* Engliſh *Ships, and had been detained thereupon at ſaid Port, at the Requeſt of the* Engliſh *Vice-Conſul; with the Proceedings of the Governor, in conſequence thereof.*

"THAT having received advice from the Governor of Bilboa, reſpecting the detention of an American ſhip, named the Hawke, Captain John Lee, and the ſeveral atteſtations of the perſons concerned, which had been laid before his Majeſty, he had been pleaſed to declare, "That in conſequence of the amity ſubſiſting between his Catholic Majeſty and the King of Great-Britain, he ſhould maintain a perfect neutrality during the preſent war; that he ſhould not give any aid to the Coloniſts; but ſhould not deny their being admitted into any ports of his dominions, while they conformed to the laws of the country."

In conſequence of the above letter, the Governor ſet at liberty the American veſſel, delivered her back her papers, and ſupplied her with ſuch proviſions, water, &c. (care being taken that no prohibited goods ſhould be ſent on board) as ſhould enable her to proceed on her voyage.

Reaſons aſſigned by the Continental Congreſs, for the North-American *Colonies and Provinces withdrawing their Allegiance to the King of* Great-Britain.

In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION *by the* REPRESENTATIVES *of the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA, *in* GENERAL CONGRESS *aſſembled.*

WHEN in the courſe of human events it becomes neceſſary for one people to diſſolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to aſſume among the powers of the earth the ſeparate and equal ſtation to which the laws of nature and of Nature's God intitle them, a decent reſpect to the opinions of mankind requires that they ſhould declare the cauſes which impel them to the ſeparation.

We hold theſe truths to be ſelf-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among theſe are life, liberty, and the purſuit of happineſs. That to ſecure theſe rights, governments are inſtituted among men, deriving their juſt powers from the conſent of the governed; and, whenever any form of government becomes deſtructive

of theſe ends, it is the right of the people to alter or aboliſh it, and to inſtitute a new government, laying its foundation on ſuch principles, and organizing its powers in ſuch form, as to them ſhall ſeem moſt likely to effect their ſafety and happineſs. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long eſtabliſhed ſhould not be changed for light and tranſient cauſes; and accordingly all experience hath ſhewn, that mankind are more diſpoſed to ſuffer, while evils are ſufferable, than to right themſelves by aboliſhing the forms to which they are accuſtomed; but, when a long train of abuſes and uſurpations, purſuing invariably the ſame object, evinces a deſign to reduce them under abſolute deſpotiſm, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off ſuch government, and to provide new guards for their future ſecurity. Such has been the patient ſufferance of theſe colonies, and ſuch is now the neceſſity which conſtrains them to alter their former ſyſtems of government. The hiſtory of the preſent —— of —— ———, is a hiſtory of repeated injuries and uſurpations; all having in direct object the eſtabliſhment of an abſolute tyranny over theſe States. To prove this, let facts be ſubmitted to a candid world.

He has refuſed his aſſent to laws, the moſt wholeſome and neceſſary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to paſs laws of immediate and preſſing importance, unleſs ſuſpended in their operation till his aſſent ſhould be obtained; and, when ſo ſuſpended, he has utterly neglected to attend them.

He has refuſed to paſs other laws for the accommodation of large diſtricts of people, unleſs thoſe people would relinquiſh the rights of repreſentation in the legiſlature; a right ineſtimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legiſlative bodies at places unuſual, uncomfortable, and diſtant from the depoſitory of their public records, for the ſole purpoſe of fatiguing them into compliance with his meaſures.

He has diſſolved Repreſentatives Houſes repeatedly, for oppoſing, with manly firmneſs, his invaſions on the rights of the people.

He has refuſed, for a long time after ſuch diſſolution, to cauſe others to be erected; whereby the legiſlative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exerciſe; the State remaining in the mean time expoſed to all the dangers of invaſion from without, and convulſions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of theſe States; for that purpoſe obſtructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refuſing to paſs others to encourage their migrations hither, and raiſing the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obſtructed the adminiſtration of juſtice, by refuſing his aſſent to laws for eſtabliſhing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their ſalaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and ſent hither ſwarms of officers to harraſs our people, and eat out their ſubſiſtence.

He has kept among us in times of peace ſtanding armies, without the conſent of our legiſlatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and ſuperior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to ſubject us to a juriſdiction foreign to our conſtitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his aſſent to their pretended acts of legiſlation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from puniſhment for any murders which they ſhould commit on the inhabitants of theſe States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For impoſing taxes on us without our conſent:

For depriving us, in many caſes, of the benefit of trial by jury:

For tranſporting us beyond ſeas to be tried for pretended offences:

For aboliſhing the free ſyſtem of Engliſh laws in a neighbouring province, eſtabliſhing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, ſo as to render it at once an example and fit inſtrument for introducing the ſame abſolute rule into theſe colonies:

For taking away our charters, aboliſhing our moſt valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

For ſuſpending our own legiſlatures, and declaring themſelves inveſted with power to legiſlate for us in all caſes whatſoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war againſt us.

He has plundered our ſeas, ravaged our coaſts, burnt our towns, and deſtroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, tranſporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, deſolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumſtances of cruelty and perfidy ſcarcely paralleled in the moſt barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has conſtrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high ſeas, to bear arms againſt their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themſelves by their hands.

He has excited domeſtic inſurrections amongſt us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the mercileſs Indian ſavages, whoſe known rule of warfare is an undiſtinguiſhed deſtruction of all ages, ſexes, and conditions.

In every ſtage of theſe oppreſ-preſſions we have petitioned for redreſs, in the moſt humble terms; our repeated petitions have been anſwered only by repeated injury. —A prince, whoſe character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our Britiſh brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts, by their legiſlature, to extend an unwarrantable juriſdiction over us; we have reminded them of the circumſtances of our emigration and ſettlement here; we have appealed to their native juſtice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to diſavow theſe uſurpations, which

would inevitably interrupt our connections and correſpondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of juſtice and conſanguinity. We muſt therefore acquieſce in the neceſſity which denounces our ſeparation, and hold them, as we hold the reſt of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Repreſentatives of the United States of America, in General Congreſs aſſembled, appealing to the Supreme JUDGE of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of theſe Colonies, ſolemnly publiſh and declare, that theſe United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, and that they are abſolved from all allegiance to the Britiſh crown, and that all political connection between them and the ſtate of Great-Britain is, and ought to be, totally diſſolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, eſtabliſh commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the ſupport of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our ſacred honour.

Signed by order, and in behalf of the Congreſs,

JOHN HANCOCK, Preſident.

Atteſt, CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſet's-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, Penſylvania, *the Counties of* Newcaſtle, Kent, *and* Suſſex, *on* Delaware-River, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, Georgia.

N. B. Theſe articles of Confederation, after having been long weighed and diſcuſſed, line by line, in the Congreſs, were at length reſolved upon and ſigned by all the Delegates, the 4th of October, 1776, at Philadelphia, ſuch as they are here ſet forth; and in conſequence were immediately ſent to the other States to be confirmed by them.

ARTICLE I.

THE Thirteen States above mentioned, confederate themſelves under the title of The UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

II.

They contract, each in their own name, by the preſent conſtitution, a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendſhip for their common defence, for the maintenance of their liberties, and for their general and mutual advantage; obliging themſelves to aſſiſt each other againſt all violence that may threaten all, or any one of them, and to repel in common all the attacks that may be levelled againſt all or any one of them, on account of religion, ſovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatſoever.

III.

III.

Each State reſerves to themſelves alone the excluſive right of regulating their internal government, and of framing laws in all matters that are not included in the articles of the preſent Confederation, and which cannot any way prejudice the ſame.

IV.

No State in particular ſhall either ſend or receive embaſſies, begin any negociations, contract any engagements, form any alliances, conclude any treaties with any king, prince, or power whatſoever, without the conſent of the United States, aſſembled in General Congreſs.

No perſon, inveſted with any poſt whatever under the authority of the United States, or of any of them, whether he has appointments belonging to his employment, or whether it be a commiſſion purely confidential, ſhall be allowed to accept any preſents, gratuities, emoluments, nor any offices or titles of any kind whatever, from any kings, princes, or foreign powers.

And the General Aſſembly of the United States, nor any State in particular, ſhall not confer any title of nobility.

V.

Two, nor ſeveral of the ſaid States, ſhall not have power to form alliances or confederations, nor conclude any private treaty among themſelves, without the conſent of the United States aſſembled in General Congreſs, and without the aim and duration of that private convention be exactly ſpecified in the conſent.

VI.

No State ſhall lay on any impoſts, nor eſtabliſh any duties whatever, the effect of which might alter directly, or indirectly, the clauſes of the treaties to be concluded hereafter by the Aſſembly of the United States with any kings, princes, or power whatſoever.

VII.

There ſhall not be kept by any of the ſaid States in particular, any veſſels or ſhips of war above the number judged neceſſary by the Aſſembly of the United States, for the defence of that State and its commerce; and there ſhall not be kept on foot in time of peace by any of the ſaid States, any troops above the number determined by the Aſſembly of the United States, to guard the ſtrong places or forts neceſſary for the defence of that State; but each State ſhall always keep up a well-diſciplined militia, ſufficiently armed and equipped, and ſhall be careful to procure, and keep in conſtant readineſs, in the public magazines, a ſufficient number of field pieces and tents, with a proper quantity of ammunition and implements of war.

VIII.

When any of the ſaid States ſhall raiſe troops for the common defence, all the officers of the rank

of

of colonel, and under, ſhall be appointed by the legiſlative body of the State that ſhall have raiſed the troops, or in ſuch manner as that State ſhall have judged proper to regulate the nominations; and when any vacancy happens in theſe poſts, they ſhall be filled up by the ſaid State.

IX.

All the expences of war, and all other diſburſements, that ſhall be made for the common defence or the general weal, and that ſhall be ordered by the Aſſembly of the United States, ſhall be paid out of the funds of a common treaſury.

That common treaſury ſhall be formed by the contribution of each of the aforeſaid States, in proportion to the number of inhabitants of every age, ſex, or quality, except the Indians exempt from taxes in each State; and in order to fix the quota of the contribution, every three years the inhabitants ſhall be numbered, in which enumeration the number of white people ſhall be diſtinguiſhed; and that enumeration ſhall be ſent to the Aſſembly of the United States.

The taxes appropriated to pay this quota, ſhall be laid and levied in the extent of each State by the authority and orders of its legiſlative body, within the time fixed by the Aſſembly of the United States.

X.

Each of the ſaid States ſhall ſubmit to the deciſions of the Aſſembly of the United States, in all matters or queſtions reſerved to that Aſſembly by the preſent act of Confederation.

XI.

No State ſhall engage in war without the conſent of the United States aſſembled in Congreſs, except in caſe of actual invaſion of ſome enemy, or from a certain knowledge of a reſolution taken by ſome Indian nation to attack them, and in that caſe only, in which the danger is too urgent to allow them time to conſult the other States.

No particular State ſhall give any commiſſion to veſſels, or other ſhips of war, nor any letters of marque or repriſal, till after a declaration of war made by the Aſſembly of the United States; and even in that caſe they ſhall be granted only againſt the kingdom or the power, or againſt the ſubjects of the kingdom, or of the power againſt which war ſhall have been ſo declared; and ſhall conform, reſpecting theſe objects, to the regulations made by the Aſſembly of the United States.

XII.

In order to watch over the general intereſt of the United States, and direct the general affairs, there ſhall be nominated every year according to the form ſettled by the legiſlative body of each ſtate, a certain number of delegates, who ſhall ſit at Philadelphia until the General Aſſembly of the United States ſhall have ordered otherwiſe; and the firſt Monday in November of each year, ſhall be the æra fixed for their meeting.

Each of the above mentioned States ſhall preſerve the right and power to recall, at any time whatever of the year, their delegates,

or

or any one of them, and to ſend others in the room of them for the remainder of the year, ; and each of the ſaid States ſhall maintain their delegates during the time of the General Aſſembly, and alſo during the time they ſhall be members of the Council of State, of which mention ſhall be made hereafter.

XIII.

Each State ſhall have a vote for the deciſion of queſtions in the General Aſſembly.

XIV.

The General Aſſembly of the United States, ſhall alone and excluſively have the right and power to decide of peace and war, except in the caſe mentioned in article XI. —to eſtabliſh rules for judging in all caſes the legitimacy of the prizes taken by ſea or land, and to determine the manner in which the prizes taken by the land or ſea forces, in the ſervice of the United States, ſhall be divided or employed;—to grant letters of marque or repriſal in time of peace;—to appoint tribunals to take cognizance of piracies, and all other capital crimes committed on the high ſeas;—to eſtabliſh tribunals to receive appeals, and judge finally in all caſes of prizes;—to ſend and receive ambaſſadors;—to negociate and conclude treaties or alliances;—to decide all differences actually ſubſiſting, and that may ariſe hereafter between two or ſeveral of the aforementioned States, about limits, juriſdiction, or any other cauſe whatſoever;—to coin money, and fix its value and ſtandard;—to fix the weights and meaſures throughout the whole extent of the United States;—to regulate commerce, and treat of all affairs with the Indians who are not members of any of the States;—to eſtabliſh and regulate the poſts from one State to another, in the whole extent of the United States, and to receive on the letters and packets ſent by poſt, the neceſſary tax to defray the expence of that eſtabliſhment;—to appoint the general officers of the land forces in the ſervice of the United States;—to give commiſſions to the other officers of the ſaid troops, who ſhall have been appointed by virtue of article VIII;—to appoint all the officers of marine in the ſervice of the United States;—to frame all the ordinances neceſſary for the government and diſcipline of the ſaid land and ſea forces; and to direct their operations.

The General Aſſembly of the United States ſhall be authorized to appoint a Council of State, and ſuch committees and civil officers as they ſhall judge neceſſary for guiding and diſpatching the general affairs, under their authority, whilſt they remain ſitting; and after their ſeparation, under the authority of the Council of State. —They ſhall chuſe for preſident one of their members, and for ſecretary the perſon whom they ſhall judge fit for that place; and they may adjourn at what time of the year, and to what place in the United States they ſhall think proper.—They ſhall have the right and power to determine and fix the ſums neceſſary to be raiſed, and the diſburſements neceſſary to be made;—to borrow money, and to create bills on the credit of the United States;—to build and fit

out

out fleets;—to determine the number of troops to be raiſed or kept in pay;—and to require of each of the aforeſaid States, to compoſe the army, a contingent proportioned to the number of its white inhabitants.——Theſe requiſitions of the General Aſſembly ſhall be binding, and in conſequence the legiſlative body of each State ſhall nominate the particular officers, levy the men, arm and equip them properly; and theſe officers and ſoldiers, thus armed and equipped, ſhall proceed to the place, and within the time fixed by the General Aſſembly.

But if the General Aſſembly, from ſome particular circumſtances, ſhould think proper to exempt one or ſeveral of the States from raiſing troops, or to demand of them leſs than their contingent, and ſhould on the contrary judge it convenient that one or ſeveral others ſhould raiſe more than their contingent; the number extraordinary demanded ſhall be raiſed, provided with officers, armed and equipped in the ſame manner as the contingent, unleſs the legiſlative body of that, or of thoſe of the States to whom the requiſition ſhall have been made, ſhould deem it dangerous for themſelves to be drained of that number extraordinary, and in that caſe they ſhall furniſh no more than what they think compatible with their ſafety; and the officers and ſoldiers ſo raiſed and equipped, ſhall go to the place, and within the time fixed by the General Aſſembly.

The General Aſſembly ſhall never engage in any war, nor grant letters of marque or repriſal in time of peace, nor contract any treaties of alliance or other conventions, except to make peace, nor coin money or regulate its value, nor determine or fix the ſums neceſſary to be raiſed, or the diſburſements neceſſary to be made for the defence or advantage of the United States, or of ſome of them, nor create bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor diſpoſe of any ſums of money, nor reſolve on the number of ſhips of war to be built or purchaſed, or on the number of troops to be raiſed for land or ſea ſervice, nor appoint a commander or chief of the land or ſea forces, but by the united conſent of nine of the States: and no queſtion on any point whatſoever, except for adjourning from one day to another, ſhall be decided but by a majority of the United States.

No delegate ſhall be choſen for more than three years out of ſix.

No perſon inveſted with any employment whatever in the extent of the United States, and receiving, by virtue of that employment, either by himſelf, or through the hands of any other for him, any ſalaries, wages, or emoluments whatever, ſhall be choſen a delegate.

The General Aſſembly ſhall publiſh every month a journal of their ſeſſions, except what ſhall relate to treaties, alliances, or military operations, when it ſhall appear to them that theſe matters ought to be kept ſecret. The opinions *pro* and *con* of the delegates of each State, ſhall be entered in the journals as often as any one of the delegates ſhall require it; and there ſhall be delivered to the delegates of each State, on their demand, or even to any one of the delegates of each State, at his particular

ticular requiſition, a copy of the journal, except of the parts above mentioned, to be carried to the legiſlative body of his reſpective State.

XV.

The Council of State ſhall be compoſed of one delegate of each of the States, nominated annually by the other delegates of his reſpective State; and the caſe where theſe electors might not be able to agree, that delegate ſhall be nominated by the General Aſſembly.

The Council of State ſhall be authoriſed to receive and open all the letters addreſſed to the United States, and anſwer them; but ſhall not contract any engagements binding to the United States.—They ſhall correſpond with the legiſlative bodies of each State, and with all perſons employed under the authority of the United States, or of ſome of the particular legiſlative bodies.---They ſhall addreſs themſelves to theſe legiſlative bodies, or to the officers to whom each ſtate ſhall have entruſted the executive power, for aid and aſſiſtance of every kind, as occaſion ſhall require.---They ſhall give inſtructions to the generals, and direct the military operations by land or by ſea; but without making any alterations in the objects or expeditions determined by the General Aſſembly, unleſs a change of circumſtances intervening and coming to their knowledge ſince the breaking up of the Aſſembly, ſhould render a change of meaſures indiſpenſably neceſſary. They ſhall be careful of the defence and preſervation of the fortreſſes or fortified ports.—They ſhall procure information of the ſituation and deſigns of the enemy.---They ſhall put in execution the meaſures and plans that ſhall have been reſolved by the General Aſſembly, by virtue of the powers with which they are inveſted by the preſent confederation.---They ſhall draw upon the treaſurers for the ſums, the deſtination of which ſhall have been ſettled by the General Aſſembly, and for the payment of the contracts which they may have made by virtue of the powers that are granted to them.---They ſhall inſpect and reprove, they ſhall even ſuſpend all officers civil or military acting under the authority of the United States.---In the caſe of death or ſuſpenſion of any officer whoſe nomination belongs to the General Aſſembly, they may replace him by what perſon they think proper until the next Aſſembly.---They may publiſh and diſperſe authentic accounts of the military operations.---They may convene the General Aſſembly for a nearer term than that to which they had adjourned when they ſeparated, if any important and unexpected event ſhould require it for the welfare or benefit of the United States, or of ſome of them.---They ſhall prepare the matters that are to be ſubmitted to the inſpection of the General Aſſembly, and lay before them at the next ſitting all the letters or advices by them received, and ſhall render an exact account of all that they have done in the interim.---They ſhall take for their ſecretary a perſon fit for that employment, who before he enters on his function ſhall take an oath of ſecrecy and fidelity.---The preſence of ſeven members of the Council will empower them to act.---In caſe of the

the death of one of their members, the Council ſhall give notice of it to the colleagues of the deceaſed, that they may chuſe one of themſelves to replace him in the Council until the holding of the next general meeting; and in caſe there ſhould be but one of his colleagues living, the ſame notice ſhall be given to him, that he may come and take his ſeat untill the next ſitting.

XVI.

In caſe that Canada ſhould be willing to accede to the preſent confederation, and come into all the meaſures of the United States, it ſhall be admitted into the union, and participate in all its benefits. But no other colony ſhall be admitted without the conſent of nine of the States.

The above articles ſhall be propoſed to the legiſlative bodies of all the United States, to be examined by them; and if they approve of them, they are deſired to authoriſe their delegates to ratify them in the General Aſſembly; after which all the articles which conſtitute the preſent confederation, ſhall be inviolably obſerved by all and every of the United States, and the union ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever.

There ſhall not be made hereafter any alteration in theſe articles, nor in any of them, unleſs that the alteration be previouſly determined in the General Aſſembly, and confirmed afterwards by the legiſlative bodies of each of the United States.

Reſolved and ſigned at Philadelphia, in Congreſs, the 4th of October, 1776.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

Picture of the Condition and Manners of the People of Rome, *when firſt pillaged by the* Barbarians; *collected from different cotemporary Writers, particularly* Ammianus Marcellinus; *by the Author of the Eſſay on Public Happineſs, tranſlated into* Engliſh *by* J. Kent, *Eſq*;

THIS ſplendid city was yet filled with riches, when the Barbarians pillaged it, for the firſt time. Several authors aſſert, that many citizens were in poſſeſſion of a revenue of above four millions; and that ſuch as were worth no more than a million, or a million and an half, were placed only in the ſecond claſs of citizens. Theſe indolent and opulent men imagined that the enjoyment of pleaſure was the ſole end of their creation; and were contented to remain as idle ſpectators of the events of war, as they were of the events of the Circus; with this difference only, that in theſe laſt events, they ſeemed to feel themſelves more intereſted. Even the emperors had, during a long time, accuſtomed them to this luxurious effeminacy. "I go (ſaid Aurelius to them, in one of his edicts) "to fight the enemy: and I will take care that the Romans ſhall not ſuffer the ſlighteſt uneaſineſs. Attend to your games. Frequent your Circus. It is our part to conduct the public buſineſs. But you ſhould be entirely devoted to pleaſure *." It is eaſy to conceive that, in the midſt of ſo much luxury, and effeminacy, the public morals were daily degenerating. Petronius and Lucian have made us ſufficiently acquainted with the parade and extravagance, peculiar to the entertainments, which were given in their times: but as Ammianus Marcellinus hath taken the pains to deſcribe the manners of the Romans, during a leſs diſtant period, namely, the age in which he lived, the reader will, probably, be pleaſed if we preſent him with the whole paſſage, as related in the the ſixth chapter of the fourteenth book.

"Were you, on your arrival at Rome, to be introduced, as a reputable foreigner, to an opulent, or in other words, a very oſtentatious man, your firſt reception would be accompanied with every mark of politeneſs; after having been overpowered by queſtions, to which it will be the moſt frequently neceſſary to anſwer, by relating ſome extravagant ſtories, you will

* Ego efficiam ne ſit aliqua ſollicitudo Romana. Vacate ludis, vacate Circenſibus; nos publicæ neceſſitates teneant, vos occupent voluptates. (Vopiſcus.)

become aſtoniſhed to find, that a perſon of ſuch diſtinction, ſhould treat a ſimple individual with ſo reſpectful an attention: nay, you will even be ready to condemn yourſelf for not having viſited ſo charming a city, ten years ſooner. But if, encouraged by this obliging welcome, you ſhould return on the morrow, to pay your compliments, a ſtranger, dropped from the clouds, could not be more ſtared at. Who is he? and, whence comes he? would be circulated in ill-bred whiſpers round the room. At length, however, you will attain to the honour of being known, and admitted on a familiar footing; but yet, if, after three years of aſſiduous attendance, you were to abſent yourſelf, for the ſame ſpace of time, you would not, on your return, be either aſked how you had been employed, or even told that the loſs of your company was perceived. This abſurdity is carried ſtill farther; for, previous to the giving of thoſe entertainments, which are ſo long, and ſo detrimental to health, it is a matter of tedious deliberation, whether, excluſive of ſuch gueſts, as are entitled to invitations, any ſtrangers ſhall alſo be aſked: and if, after a full hearing, and on mature reflection, this point be carried in the affirmative, then the great adepts in all the laws of public games, who never fail to mount guard at the houſes of the charioteers belonging to the Circus, or perſons the moſt inſtructed in the ſcience, and the tricks of play, are the only ſtrangers deſtined to be admitted. As to the men of learning, and vertue, they are ſhunned, as the tireſome and uſeleſs diſturbers of feſtive mirth: nor doth it once employ their thoughts that the *Nomenclatores*, accuſtomed to ſell the favours of their maſters, take care to invite to the feaſt, and the diſtributions, only the moſt obſcure and inferior individuals, from whom they can extort more money, than from the others. I ſhall paſs ſlightly over that ſumptuous profuſion, in their entertainments, and particularly thoſe voluptuous refinements lately introduced, to take notice of the ridiculous cavalcades, attending on our oſtentatious, rich men, who amuſing themſelves with running poſt, up and down the ſtreets, at the riſk of breaking their necks, on the pavement, are followed by ſuch a numerous train of domeſtics, that, to borrow the expreſſion of a comic writer, they do not even leave the fool behind to keep houſe; however abſurd this diverſion be, the very matrons are not aſhamed to follow it, but hurry through every quarter of the town, in open litters. In theſe pompous proceſſions, nothing is neglected, and as the expert general, who marſhals his army, in a proper order of battle, places his heavy infantry in the front line, his light infantry in the ſecond line, and his bowmen in the rear, ſo the maſter of the ceremonies, bearing a wand in his hand, ſingles out all thoſe who are to have the honour of walking before the triumphal car, and conſtantly obliges the black troop of cooks, ſcullions, &c. to fall back into the hinder ranks. Theſe, again, are followed by the remaining number of footmen, and by the *Commenſales*: the proceſſion is then cloſed by the eunuchs, a deformed multitude, who teach us to execrate the memory of Semiramis, that barbarous queen, who,

firſt violating the laws of nature, filled this tender, but imprudent mother, with regret, for having too early ſhewn, in the generations which were ſcarce begun, the hope of future generations. In ſuch a ſtate of manners, it will eaſily be ſuppoſed, that the few houſes, in which the ſciences were formerly cultivated, are now only the receptacles of vain and frivolous pleaſures: ſo that in the place of orators, and philoſophers, nothing is heard from morning till night, except the ſound of flutes, and the airs of the muſicians. As to the libraries, they are more ſhut up and more abandoned than the ſepulchres: dances, accompanied by wind inſtruments, are ſubſtituted in their room: nay, to ſo ſhameful a length have theſe indignities been carried, that when the famine had rendered it neceſſary to ſend all foreigners out of the city, the law was rigorouſly put in execution againſt every one of thoſe uſeful men, who were the inſtructors in liberal arts; whilſt mimics, ſtage-players, and even three thouſand female dancers, with their whole band of muſicians and ſingers, were ſuffered to remain within the capital. Whereſoever you turn your eyes, you will alſo perceive the women painted, and ridiculouſly dreſſed; theſe tire you more by their continual dancing, than they fatigue themſelves; and theſe, had they been married to honeſt men, might have ſupplied the ſtate with an uſeful army of citizens. Rome was once a ſure aſylum to every individual, who introduced the arts and induſtry; but now, a fooliſh and unaccountable vanity eſteems every thing vile and abject, which comes from beyond the Pomærium. I muſt, however, except the unmarried men, and ſuch as have no heirs. Theſe are loaden with reſpect and complaiſance; although another ſelfiſh refinement makes us avoid even the tendereſt duties of humanity; for the moſt terrible diſeaſes, raging within this capital of the world, have occaſioned a ſtrict prohibition of the leaſt communication with thoſe unhappy wretches, who are infected with them: and it is now cuſtomary, not only to think it ſufficient, if ſome domeſtics be ſent to theſe perſons, to enquire of them any particular news, but to oblige the meſſenger to go through long ablutions before he can be admitted to deliver the anſwer. How delicate theſe men are! and yet, if you invite them to a feaſt, or offer them money, they will run for you, even to Spoletum. Such are the manners of the nobility: as to the common people, they generally ſpend the night in drinking houſes, or even in the theatres, under thoſe booths, the invention of which we owe to Catulus, who firſt introduced at Rome theſe far-fetched commodities, which might better have become Capua, than the city of Romulus. Multitudes are intoxicated with a paſſion for gaming. Others expoſe themſelves, during whole days, to the heat, and the rain, to be the umpires amongſt the charioteers, and decide on the events of the Circus. Amidſt ſuch frivolous engagements, is it poſſible that the Romans can ever be reaſonably employed? &c. &c."

Curious Particulars relating to the ancient Academy and Philoſophers of Athens; *with ſome Account of*

the more peculiar Manners, Cuſtoms, &c. of the modern Greek, Turkiſh, *and* Albanian *Inhabitants of that City and its Territory; from Dr.* Chandler's *Travels in* Greece.

ATHENS maintained under the Romans its reputation for philoſophy and eloquence, and continued, though ſubdued, the metropolis of learning, the ſchool of art, the centre of taſte and genius. The Gymnaſia and the gardens of the philoſophers were decorated with the capital works of eminent maſters, and ſtill frequented. The fierce warrior was captivated by Greece and ſcience, and Athens humanized and poliſhed the conquerors of the world. But Sylla greatly injured the city, by tranſporting to Rome the public library, which had been founded by Piſiſtratus, carefully augmented by the people, removed by Xerxes into Perſia, and reſtored long after by Seleucus Nicanor. The ſpirit of learning drooped on the loſs; and the Roman youth, under Tiberius, were ſent to ſtudy at Marſeilles, inſtead of Athens. Even there the barbarous Gauls joined in the purſuit of eloquence and philoſophy. The ſophiſt, as well as the phyſician, was hired to ſettle among them; and the nation was civilized by the Greek city.

The emperor Adrian embelliſhed Athens with a noble library, and a new Gymnaſium, and reſtored ſcience to its antient ſeat. Lollianus, an Epheſian, was firſt raiſed to the high dignity of the ſophiſtical throne, which was afterwards filled by Atticus Herodes, and by other eminent and illuſtrious perſons. The number of profeſſors was increaſed by Antoninus the philoſopher, who had ſtudied under Herodes. His eſtabliſhment conſiſted of thirteen; two Platoniſts, as many Peripatetics, Stoics, and Epicureans, with two Rhetoricians and Civilians; and a preſident ſtyled *Præfect of the Youth.* The ſtudent proceeded from the philoſopher to the rhetorician, and then to the civilian. A yearly ſalary of ſix hundred *aurei* or pieces of gold * was annexed to each of the philoſophical chairs; and one of a talent to thoſe of the civilians. The profeſſors, unleſs appointed by the emperors, were elected after ſolemn examination by the principal magiſtrates.

Education now flouriſhed in all its branches at Athens. The Roman world reſorted to its ſchools, and reputation and riches awaited the able preceptor. The tender mind was duly prepared for the manly ſtudies of philoſophy and eloquence. Age and proficiency were followed by promotion. The youth was advanced into the higher claſſes, enrolled with the philoſophers, and admitted to their habit. The title of ſophiſt was conferred on him, when mature in years and erudition; and this was an honour ſo much affected, that the attainment of it almoſt furniſhed an apology for inſolent pride and extravagant elation. It was a cuſtom of the maſters to inſcribe on marble the names of their ſcholars; thoſe of Attica ranged under their reſpective tribes; and alſo to what

* About 468l. See W. Wotton's Hiſtory of Rome. London 1701. p. 106. with the errata and p. 169.

demos

démos or borough each belonged. Some ſpecimens of theſe regiſters are preſerved in the Oxford collection, and many fragments are yet extant at Athens.

At this period Athens abounded in philoſophers. It ſwarmed, according to Lucian, with clokes and ſtaves and ſatchels; you beheld every where a long beard, a book in the left hand, and the walks full of companies, diſcourſing and reaſoning. The cloke or Tribonium was the habit of all the orders. The general colour was dark, but the Cynic wore white, and, with the Stoic, had the folds doubled. One ſhoulder was bare; the hair hanging down; the beard unſhaven. The Cynic, with the Stoic and Pythagorean, was ſlovenly and negligent, his cloke in tatters, his nails long, and his feet naked. The Cynic was armed with a ſtaff, as a defence from dogs or the rabble. The Sophiſt was adorned with purple, and commonly poliſhed as well in dreſs and perſon as in manners and language. It behoved the profeſſor, as Lucian affirms, to be handſomely clothed, to be ſleek and comely, and above all to have a flowing beard inſpiring thoſe who approached him with veneration, and ſuitable to the ſalary he received from the emperor.

A learned father *, who was cotemporary with Julian at Athens, has deſcribed the manner in which the Novice was treated on his arrival there, with the ceremony of initiation. He was firſt ſurrounded by the pupils and partizans of the different Sophiſts, all eager to recommend their favourite maſter. He was hoſpitably entertained; and afterwards the ſtudents were allowed to attack him with rude or ingenuous diſputation, as each was diſpoſed. This, the relater has ſurmiſed, was intended to mortify conceit, and to render him tractable. He was next to be inveſted with the habit. A proceſſion in pairs, at equal diſtances, conducted him through the Agora to a public bath, probably that without Dipylon by the monument of Anthemocritus. An oppoſition was feigned on their approach to the door, ſome calling out and forbidding his admiſſion, ſome urging on and knocking. Theſe prevailed. He was introduced into a warm cell, waſhed, and then clothed with the Tribonium. He was ſaluted as an equal on his coming out, and re-conducted. No one was ſuffered to appear in that dreſs at Athens without the permiſſion of the Sophiſts and this ceremony, which was attended with conſiderable expence.

The philoſophers were long as diſtinguiſhed by their averſion to Chriſtianity as by their garment. It is recorded of Juſtin Martyr, that he preached in the Tribonium, to which he had been admitted before his converſion. Some monks alſo, whom the Gentiles termed impoſtors, aſſumed it, uniting with ſpiritual pride and conſummate vanity, an affectation of ſingular humility and of indifference to worldly ſhow. But the emperor Jovian commanding the temples to be ſhut, and prohibiting ſacrifice, the prudent philoſopher then concealed his profeſſion, and relinquiſhed his cloke for the common dreſs. The

* Gregorius Nazianzen. Orat. xx.

order was treated with ſeverity by Valens his ſucceſſor, becauſe ſome of them, to animate their party, had foretold that the next emperor would be a Gentile. They were addicted to divination and magic, and it was pretended, had partly diſcovered his name. The habit was not wholly laid aſide. In the next reign, a ſedition happened at Alexandria, when Olympius a philoſopher, wearing the cloke, was exceedingly active, urging the Gentiles to repel the reformers, and not to remit of their zeal or be diſheartened becauſe they were diſpoſſeſſed of their idols; for the powers, which had inhabited them, were, he aſſerted, flown away into heaven. The heathen philoſophers gradually diſappeared; but the Chriſtian, their ſucceſſors, are not yet extinct, ſtill flouriſhing in catholic countries, and differing not leſs than the ancient ſects, in dreſs, tenets, and rules of living.

The decline of philoſophy muſt have deeply affected the proſperity of Athens. A gradual deſertion of the place followed. Minerva could no longer protect her city. Its beauty was violated by the proconſul, who ſtripped Pœcile of its precious paintings. It was forſaken by good fortune, and would have lingered in decay, but the Barbarians interpoſed, and ſuddenly completed its downfall. When the Goths were in poſſeſſion of it in the time of Claudius, two hundred and ſixty-nine years after Chriſt, they amaſſed all the books, intending, it is related, to burn them; but deſiſted, on a repreſentation that the Greeks were diverted by the amuſements of ſtudy from military purſuits. Alaric, under Arcadius and Honorius, was not afraid of their becoming ſoldiers. The city was pillaged, and the libraries were conſumed. Deväſtation then reigned within, and ſolitude without its walls. The ſweet ſirens, the vocal nightingales, as the Sophiſts are fondly ſtyled, were heard no more. Philoſophy and eloquence were exiled, and their ancient ſeat occupied by ignorant honey-factors of mount Hymettus.

Athens, after it was abandoned by the Goths, continued, it is likely, for ages to preſerve the race of its remaining inhabitants unchanged, and uniform in language and manners. Hiſtory is ſilent of its ſuffering from later incurſions, from wars, and maſſacres. Plenty and the proſpect of advantage produces new ſettlers; but, where no trade exiſts, employment will be wanting, and Attica was never celebrated for fertility. The plague has not been, as at Smyrna, a frequent viſitant; becauſe the intercourſe ſubſiſting with the iſlands and other places has been ſmall, and the port is at a diſtance. The plague deſcribed by Thucydides began in the Piræus, and the Athenians at firſt believed that the enemy had poiſoned the wells. If, from inadvertency, the infection be now admitted into the town, the Turks as well as the Greeks have the prudence to retire to their houſes in the country, or to the monaſteries, and it ſeldom prevails either ſo long or ſo terribly as in cities on the coaſt.

A colony of new proprietors was introduced into Athens by Mahomet the Second; but the people ſecured ſome privileges by their capitulation, and have ſince obtained

more

more by addreſs or money. The Turk has favoured the ſpot, and beſtowed on it a milder tyranny. The Kiſlar Aga or chief of the black Eunuchs at Conſtantinople is their patron; and by him the Turkiſh magiſtrates are appointed. The Vaiwode purchaſes his government yearly, but circumſpection and moderation are requiſite in exacting the revenue, and the uſual concomitants of his ſtation are uneaſineſs, apprehenſion, and danger. The impatience of oppreſſion, when general, begets public vengeance. The Turks and their vaſſals have united, ſeized and cut their tyrants in pieces, or forced them to ſeek refuge in the mountains or in the Acropolis. An inſurrection had happened not many years before we arrived, and the diſtreſs, which followed from want of water in the fortreſs, was deſcribed to us as extreme.

The Turks of Athens are in general more polite, ſocial, and affable, than is common in that ſtately race; living on more equal terms with their fellow-citizens, and partaking, in ſome degree, of the Greek character. The ſame intermixture, which has ſoftened their auſterity, has corrupted their temperance; and many have foregone the national abſtinence from wine, drinking freely, except during their Ramazan or Lent. Some too after a long lapſe have re-aſſumed, and rigidly adhere to it, as ſuiting the gravity of a beard, and the decorum of paternal authority. Several of the families date their ſettlement from the taking of the city. They are reckoned at about three hundred. Their number, though comparatively ſmall, is more than ſufficient to keep the Chriſtians fully ſenſible of their maſtery. The Turks poſſeſs from their childhood an habitual ſuperiority, and awe with a look the loftieſt vaſſal. Their deportment is often ſtern and haughty. Many in private life are diſtinguiſhed by ſtrict honour, by punctuality, and uprightneſs in their dealings; and almoſt all by external ſanctity of manners. If they are narrow minded in the extreme, it is the reſult of a confined education; and an avaricious temper is a natural conſequence of their rapacious government.

The Greeks may be regarded as the repreſentatives of the old Athenians. We have related, that, on our arrival in the Piræus, an Archon came from the city to receive us. The learned reader was perhaps touched by that reſpectable title, and annexed to it ſome portion of its claſſical importance; but the Archons are now mere names, except a tall fur-cap, and a fuller and better dreſs than is worn by the inferior claſſes. Some have ſhops in the Bazar, ſome are merchants, or farmers of the public revenue. The families ſtyled Archontic, are eight or ten in number; moſtly on the decline. The perſon, who met us, was of one reckoned very ancient, which, by his account, had been ſettled at Athens about three hundred years, or after Mahomet the Second. His patrimony had ſuffered from the extortions of a tyrannical Vaiwode, but he had repaired the loſs by trade, and by renting petty governments. The ordinary habit of the meaner citizens is a red ſkull-cap, a jacket, and a ſaſh round the middle, looſe breeches or trowſers, which tie with a large

knot before, and a long veſt, which they hang on their ſhoulders, lined with wool or fur for cold weather. By following the lower occupations, they procure, not without difficulty, a pittance of profit to ſubſiſt them, to pay their tribute-money, and to purchaſe garments for the feſtivals, when they mutually vie in appearing well-clothed, their pride even exceeding their poverty.

The lordly Turk and lively Greek neglecting paſturage and agriculture, that province, which in Aſia Minor is occupied by the Turcomans, has been obtained in Europe by the Albanians or Albaneſe. Theſe are a people remote from their original country, which was by the Caſpian ſea, ſpreading over and cultivating alien lands, and, as of old, addicted to univerſal huſbandry and to migration. It is chiefly their buſineſs to plough, ſow, and reap; dig, fence, plant, and prune the vineyard; attend the watering of the olive-tree; and gather in the harveſt; going forth before the dawn of day, and returning joyous on the cloſe of their labour. If ſhepherds, they live on the mountains, in the vale, or the plain, as the varying ſeaſons require, under arbours or ſheds covered with boughs, tending their flocks abroad, or milking the ewes and ſhe-goats at the fold, and making cheeſe and butter to ſupply the city. Inured early to fatigue and the ſun, they are hardy and robuſt, of manly carriage, very different from that of the fawning obſequious Greek, and of deſperate bravery under every diſadvantage, when compelled by neceſſity or oppreſſion, to unite and endeavour to extort redreſs. Their habit is ſimple and ſuccinct, reaching to the knees. They have a national language, and are members of the Greek communion.

The Chriſtians, both Greeks and Albanians, are more immediately ſuperintended by the Archbiſhop, and by the two Epitropi or curators, who are choſen from among the principal men, and venerable for their long beards. Theſe endeavour to quiet all diſputes, and prevent the parties from recurring to the ſevere tribunal of the Cadi or Turkiſh judge, watching over the commonweal, and regulating its internal polity, which ſtill retains ſome faint and obſcure traces of the antient popular form, though without dignity or importance. The ſee was now poſſeſſed by Bartholomew, a Walachian, who had lately purchaſed it at Conſtantinople. He was abſent when we arrived; but on his return to Athens, ſent us a preſent of fine fruit and of honey from M. Hymettus; and came to viſit us at the convent, on horſeback, attended by a virger and ſome of his clergy on foot. He was a comely and portly man, with a black thick beard.

A traditional ſtory was related to us at Smyrna and afterwards at Athens, to illuſtrate the native quickneſs of apprehenſion, which, as if tranſmiſſive and the property of the ſoil, is inherited even by the lower claſſes of the people. A perſon made trial of a poor ſhepherd, whom he met with his flock, demanding, απο πθ; και πθ; και π.ς; και πσα. *From whence? and where? and how? and how many?* He was anſwered without heſitation, and with equal brevity, ωπ' Αθηνας, ως Λιβαδια, Θεοδωρῳ, και πεντακοσια. *From Athens,*

Athens, to Livadia, Theodoſe, and five hundred. In the citizens this aptitude not being duly cultivated, inſtead of producing genius, degenerates into cunning. They are juſtly reputed a moſt crafty, ſubtle, and acute race. It has been jocoſely affirmed, that no Jew can live among them, becauſe he will be continually out-witted. They are conſcious of their ſubjection to the Turk, and as ſupple as depreſſed, from the memory of the blows on the feet and indignities, which they have experienced or ſeen inflicted, and from the terror of the penalty annexed to reſiſtance, which is the forfeiture of the hand upliſted: but their diſpoſition, as antiently, is unquiet; their repoſe diſturbed by factious intrigues and private animoſities; the body politic weakned by diviſion, and often impelled in a direction oppoſite to its true intereſt. They have two ſchools, one of which poſſeſſes a ſmall collection of books, and is entitled to an annual payment from Venice, the endowment of a charitable Athenian, but the money is not regularly remitted.

The liberty of the fair ſex at Athens is almoſt equally abridged by the Turks and Greeks. Their houſes are ſecured with high walls, and the windows turned from the ſtreet, and latticed, or boarded up, ſo as to preclude all intercourſe, even of the eyes. The harâm, or apartment of the Turkiſh women, is not only impenetrable, but muſt not be regarded on the outſide with any degree of attention. To approach them, when abroad, will give offence; and in the town, if they cannot be avoided, it is the cuſtom to turn to the wall and ſtand ſtill, without looking toward them, while they paſs. This mode of carriage is good breeding at Athens.

The Turkiſh women claim an exemption from their confinement on one day only in the week, when they viſit their relations, and are ſeen going in companies to the baths or ſitting in the burying-grounds on the graves of their friends, their children, huſbands, or parents. They are then enwrapped and beclothed in ſuch a manner, it is impoſſible to diſcern whether they are young or old, handſome or ugly. Their heads, as low as the eye-brows, are covered with white linen, and alſo their faces beneath; the prominency of the noſe and mouth giving them nearly the viſages of mummies. They draw down a veil of black gauſe over their eyes, the moment a man or boy comes in view. They wear ſhort looſe boots of leather, red or yellow, with a large ſheet over their common garments, and appear very bulky.

The dreſs of the Greek matrons is a garment of red or blue cloth, the waiſt very ſhort, the long petticoat falling in folds to the ground. A thin flowing veil of muſlin, with a golden rim or border, is thrown over the head and ſhoulders. The attire of the virgins is a long red veſt, with a ſquare cape of yellow ſattin hanging down behind. They walk with their hands concealed in the pocket-holes at the ſides, and their faces are muffled. Sometimes they aſſume the Turkiſh garb. Neither prudence nor modeſty ſuffers a maiden to be ſeen by the men before ſhe is married. Her beauty might inflame the Turk, who can take her legally, by force, to his bed, on a ſentence of the

Cadi

Cadi or judge; and the Greek, if ſhe revealed her face to him even unwillingly, would reject her as criminal and with diſdain.

The Albanian women are inured early to hard living, labour, and the ſun. Their features are injured by penury, and their complexions by the air. Their dreſs is coarſe and ſimple; a ſhift reaching to the ancle, a thick ſaſh about the waiſt, and a ſhort looſe woollen veſt. Their hair is platted in two diviſions, and the ends faſtened to a red ſilken ſtring, which, with a taſſel, is pendant to their heels, and frequently laden with pieces of ſilver coin, of various ſizes, diminiſhing gradually to the bottom. Among theſe the antiquarian may often diſcover medals of value. They are ſeen carrying water on their backs, in earthen jars, with handles; waſhing by the fountains, or aſſembled by the Iliſſus after rain, with the female ſlaves of the Mahometans and other ſervants; treading their linen, or beating it with a piece of heavy wood, ſpreading it on the ground or buſhes to dry, and conveying it to and fro in panniers or wicker baſket on an aſs. Their legs and feet are generally bare; and their heads hooded, as it were, with a long towel, which encircles the neck, one extremity hanging down before and the other behind. The girls wear a red ſkull-cap plated with peraus or Turkiſh pennies of ſilver perforated, and ranged like the ſcales of fiſh.

The Greek will ſometimes admit a traveller into his gynecæum or the apartment of his women. Theſe within doors, are as it were uncaſed, and each a contraſt of the figure ſhe made when abroad. There the girl, like Thetis, treading on a ſoft carpet, has her white and delicate feet naked; the nails tinged with red. Her trowſers, which in winter are of red cloth, and in ſummer of fine callico or thin gauſe, deſcend from the hip to the ancle, hanging looſely about her limbs; the lower portion embroidered with flowers, and appearing beneath the ſhift, which has the ſleeves wide and open, and the ſeams and edges curiouſly adorned with needle-work. Her veſt is of ſilk, exactly fitted to the form of the boſom and the ſhape of the body, which it rather covers than conceals, and is ſhorter than the ſhift. The ſleeves button occaſionally to the hand, and are lined with red or yellow ſattin. A rich zone encompaſſes her waiſt, and is faſtened before by claſps of ſilver gilded, or of gold ſet with precious ſtones. Over the veſt is a robe, in ſummer lined with ermine, and in cold weather with fur. The head-dreſs is a ſkull-cap, red or green, with pearls; a ſtay under the chin, and a yellow forehead-cloth. She has bracelets of gold on her wriſts; and, like Aurora, is roſy-fingered, the tips being ſtained. Her neck-lace is a ſtring of Zechins, a ſpecies of gold coin, or of the pieces called Bizantines. At her cheeks is a lock of hair made to curl toward the face; and down her back falls a profuſion of treſſes, ſpreading over her ſhoulders. Much time is conſumed in combing and braiding the hair after bathing, and, at the greater feſtivals, in enriching and powdering it with ſmall bits of ſilver gilded, reſembling a violin in ſhape, and woven in at regular diſtances. She is painted blue round the eyes; and the inſides of the

ſockets,

ſockets, with the edges on which the laſhes grow, are tinged with black. The Turkiſh ladies wear nearly the ſame attire, and uſe ſimilar arts to heighten their natural beauty.

For colouring the laſhes and ſocket of the eye, they throw incenſe or gum of Labdanum on ſome coals of fire, intercept the ſmoke, which aſcends, with a plate, and collect the ſoot. This I ſaw applied. A girl, ſitting croſs-legged as uſual, on a ſofa, and cloſing one of her eyes, took the two laſhes between the forefinger and thumb of her left hand, pulled them forward, and then thruſting in, at the external corner, a bodkin, which had been immerſed in the ſoot, and extracting it again, the particles before adhering to it, remained within, and were preſently ranged round the organ; ſerving as a foil to its luſtre, beſides contributing, as they ſay, to its health, and increaſing its apparent magnitude.

The improvement of the mind and morals is not conſidered as a momentous part of female education at Athens. The girls are taught to dance, to play on the Turkiſh guittar and the tympanum or timbrel, and to embroider, an art in which they generally excel. A woman ſkilled in reading and writing is ſpoken of as a prodigy of capacity and learning. The mother of Oſman Aga, a Turk who frequented our houſe, was of this rare number, and, as he often told us, ſo terrible for her knowledge, that even Achmet Aga her kinſman had been ſeen to tremble, when he received her annual viſit. In common life the woman waits on her huſband, and after dreſſing the proviſions, which he purchaſed, eats perhaps with a female ſlave; the ſtately lord feeding alone or in company with men.

Sketch of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the old Mexicans, *with ſome Account of the preſent State of their remaining genuine Deſcendants, particularly thoſe of* Chiapa; *from the* Abbé Raynal's Philoſophical and Political Hiſtory of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies; *tranſlated by* J. Juſtamond, M. A.

THE generality of the Mexicans went naked. The emperor himſelf and the nobles were only covered with a kind of mantle, compoſed of a piece of ſquare cotton tied on the right ſhoulder. They wore ſandals on their feet. The women of the lower ſort for their whole apparel had only a kind of ſhift with half ſleeves, which fell on their knees, and was open at the boſom. Common people were prohibited from raiſing their houſes above the ground floor, and from having either doors or windows. Moſt of theſe houſes were built of earth, and covered with boards, and had no greater ſhare of conveniency than elegance. The inſide was covered with mats, and lighted with torches of fir wood, though they had wax and oil in abundance. Their beds were made of plain ſtraw and coverlets of cotton. For their ſeats, they had only little ſacks of palm leaves; but it was their cuſtom to ſit on the ground, and even to eat in that poſture. Their nouriſhment, which

conſiſted

conſiſted rarely of animal food, had little diverſity and little delicacy. Their moſt ordinary aliment was maize made into a paſte, or prepared with various ſeaſonings. With theſe they joined the common herbs found in the field, which were not too hard, or had not a bad ſmell. Cocoa diluted in warm water, or ſeaſoned with honey or pimento, was their beſt liquor. They had beſides theſe, other liquors, but not of an intoxicating quality: for all ſtrong drinks were ſo rigidly prohibited, that no one could uſe them, without a particular permiſſion from government, which was granted only to the ſick and aged. It was on certain ſolemnities alone, and in public labours, that each perſon had a quantity allowed in proportion to his age. Drunkenneſs was conſidered as the moſt ſcandalous of vices. Perſons who were found in this ſituation were ſhaved in public, and their houſes were pulled down. If they exerciſed any public office, they were deprived of it, and declared incapable of ever holding it again.

It is a matter of aſtoniſhment, that men who had ſo few wants ſhould ever ſubmit to the yoke of ſlavery. That the citizen accuſtomed to the indulgencies and conveniences of life, ſhould purchaſe them every day with the ſacrifice of his liberty, is not the leaſt ſurpriſing; but that people to whom nature offers more felicity than the ſocial chain that unites them, ſhould calmly ſubmit to ſlavery, and never think that there is frequently but a river to croſs in order to be free; this would be for ever inconceivable, if we did not know how much habit and ſuperſtition render men inſenſible to the feelings of nature.

The Mexicans are now leſs unhappy. Our fruits, our corn, and our cattle, have rendered their food more wholeſome, agreeable, and abundant. Their houſes are better built, better diſpoſed, and better furniſhed. Shoes, drawers, ſhirts, a garment of wool or cotton, a ruff, and a hat, conſtitute their dreſs. The dignity which it has been agreed to annex to theſe enjoyments, has made them better œconomiſts, and more laborious. This eaſe, however, is far from being univerſal; it is even very uncommon in the vicinity of the mines, towns, and great roads, where tyranny ſeldom ſleeps: but we often find it with ſatisfaction in remote parts where the Spaniards are not numerous, and where they have in ſome meaſure become Mexicans.

The inhabitants of the province of Chiapa are diſtinguiſhed above all others. They owe their ſuperiority to the advantage of having had Las Caſas for their teacher, who originally prevented them from being oppreſſed. They ſurpaſs their countrymen in ſize, genius, and ſtrength. Their language has a peculiar ſoftneſs and elegance. Their territory, without being a better ſoil than the reſt, is infinitely richer in all ſorts of productions. They are painters, muſicians, and dexterous in all arts. They particularly excel in fabricating thoſe works, pictures and ſtuffs of feathers, which have never been imitated elſewhere. Their principal town is called Chiapa dos Indos. It is only inhabited by the natives of the country, who form a community conſiſting of four thouſand

thouſand families, amongſt which are found many of the Indian nobility. The great river, on which this town is ſituated, is the ſpot on which the inhabitants continually diſplay their dexterity and their courage. They form naval armies with their boats. They engage, attack, and defend themſelves with ſurpriſing agility. They excel no leſs in the chace of bulls, cudgelling, dancing, and all bodily exerciſes. They build towns and caſtles of wood, which they cover with oil cloth, and which they beſiege in form. In a word, theatrical repreſentations are their ordinary amuſements. From theſe particulars we ſee what the Mexicans were capable of, if they had been fortunate enough to have paſſed under the dominion of a conqueror, who had poſſeſſed moderation and good ſenſe enough to relax the chains of their ſervitude, inſtead of rivetting them.

The employments of this people are very various. The moſt intelligent, and thoſe who are in eaſy circumſtances, devote themſelves to the moſt neceſſary and moſt uſeful manufactures, which are diſperſed through the whole empire. The moſt beautiful manufactures are eſtabliſhed among the people of Tlaſcala. Their old capital and the new one, which is called Angelos, are the center of this induſtry. Here they manufacture cloth that is pretty fine, callicoes that have an agreeable appearance, certain ſlight ſilks, good hats, gold lace, embroidery, lace, glaſſes, and a great deal of hardware. The arts muſt neceſſarily have made a greater progreſs in a province which hath been able to preſerve its independence a long time, which the Spaniards thought it prudent to treat with ſome management after the conqueſt, and which had always manifeſted ſuperior penetration, whether owing to its climate or its government. To theſe advantages is joined that of its ſituation. All the inhabitants of Mexico, who muſt neceſſarily paſs over its territory when they go to purchaſe the European merchandiſe that is landed at Vera Cruz, have found it convenient to take up on the road what the fleet did not ſupply them with, or what was ſold too dear.

The care of flocks affords a maintainance to ſome Mexicans, whom fortune or nature have not called to more diſtinguiſhed employments. America, at the time it was diſcovered, had neither hogs, ſheep, oxen, horſes, nor even any domeſtic animal. Columbus carried ſome of theſe uſeful animals to San Domingo, from whence they were generally diſperſed, and at Mexico more than in any other places. Theſe have multiplied prodigiouſly. They count their horned cattle by thouſands, whoſe ſkins are become an object of conſiderable exportation. The horſes are degenerated, but the quality is compenſated by the number. Hog's lard is here ſubſtituted for butter. Sheep's wool is dry, coarſe and bad, as it is every where between the tropics.

The vine and olive-tree have experienced the ſame degeneracy. The cultivation of them was at firſt prohibited, with a view of leaving a free market for the commodities of the mother country. In 1706, permiſſion was given to the Jeſuits, and a little afterwards to the marquis Del Valle, a deſcendent from Cortez,

Cortez, to cultivate them. The attempts have not proved ſucceſsful. The trials, indeed, that have been made, have not been abandoned; but no perſon has ſolicited the liberty of following an example, which did not promiſe any great emoluments. Other cultures have been more ſucceſsful. Cotton, ſugar, ſilk, cocoa, tobacco, and European corn, have all thriven in ſome degree. The Spaniards are encouraged to proſecute the labours which theſe cultures require, from the happy circumſtance of their having diſcovered iron mines which were entirely unknown to the Mexicans, as well as ſome mines of a kind of copper that is hard enough to ſerve for implements of huſbandry. All theſe articles, however, for want of men and induſtry, are merely conſumed within the country. There is only the vanilla, indigo, and cochineal, which make part of the trade of Mexico with other nations.

Some Account of the late Inhabitants of Acadia, *in* North-America, *called by ſome Authors* Neutral French, *but conſidered as Rebels by the* Britiſh *Government at the breaking out of the laſt War; and, as ſuch, promiſcuouſly diſperſed to ſeveral Parts of the* Britiſh *Dominions; from the* Abbé Raynal's Philoſophical and Political Hiſtory of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans, in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies; *tranſlated by* J. Juſtamond, M. A.

NOVA Scotia, by which at preſent is underſtood all the coaſt of 300 leagues in length, included between the limits of New-England and the ſouth coaſt of the river St. Lawrence, ſeemed at firſt to have comprehended only the great triangular peninſula, lying nearly in the middle of this ſpace. This peninſula, which the French called Acadia, is extremely well ſituated for the ſhips which come from the Caribbee iſlands to water at. It has a number of excellent ports, which ſhips may enter and go out of with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon this coaſt, and ſtill more upon ſmall banks at the diſtance of a few leagues. The ſoil, which is very gravelly, is extremely convenient for drying it; it abounds likewiſe with good wood, and land fit for ſeveral ſorts of cultivation, and is extremely well ſituated for the fur trade of the neighbouring continent. Though this climate is in the temperate zone, the winters are long and ſevere, and followed by ſudden and exceſſive heats, to which generally ſucceed very thick fogs, that laſt a long time. Theſe circumſtances make this rather a diſagreeable country, though it cannot be reckoned an unwholeſome one.

It was in 1604 that the French ſettled in Acadia, four years before they had built the ſmalleſt hut in Canada. Inſtead of fixing towards the eaſt of the peninſula, where they would have had larger ſeas, an eaſy navigation, and plenty of cod, they choſe a ſmall bay, afterwards called French bay, which had none of theſe advantages. It has been ſaid, that they were invited by the beauty of Port Royal, where a thouſand ſhips may ride in ſafety from every wind, where there is

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an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathoms of water, and eighteen at the entrance. It is more probable that the founders of this colony were led to chuſe this ſituation, from its vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the excluſive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumſtance: that both the firſt monopolizers, and thoſe who ſucceeded them, took the utmoſt pains to divert the attention of their countrymen, whom an unſettled diſpoſition or neceſſity brought into theſe regions, from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of cattle, fiſhing, and every kind of culture; chuſing rather to engage the induſtry of theſe adventurers in hunting or in trading with the ſavages.

The miſchiefs ariſing from a falſe ſyſtem of adminiſtration, at length diſcovered the fatal effects of excluſive charters. It would be inconſiſtent with truth and the dignity of hiſtory to ſay that this happened in France from any attention to the common rights of the nation, at a time when theſe rights were moſt openly violated. Theſe ſacred rights, which only can ſecure the ſafety of the people, while they give a ſanction to the power of kings, were never known in France. But in the moſt abſolute governments, a ſpirit of ambition ſometimes effects what in equitable and moderate ones is done from principles of juſtice. The miniſters of Lewis XIV, who wiſhed by making their maſter reſpectable, to reflect ſome honours on themſelves, perceived that they ſhould not ſucceed without the ſupport of riches; and that a people to whom nature has not given any mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture and commerce. Both theſe reſources had been hitherto precluded in the colonies by the univerſal reſtraints that are always impoſed, when the government interferes improperly in every minute concern. Theſe impediments were at laſt removed; but Acadia either knew not how, or was not able to make uſe of this liberty.

This colony was yet in its infancy, when the ſettlement which has hence become ſo famous under the name of New-England, was firſt eſtabliſhed in its neighbourhood. The rapid ſucceſs of the plantations in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of proſperity did not excite any jealouſy between the two nations. But when they began to ſuſpect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to ſecure to themſelves the ſole property of it, and were unfortunate enough to ſucceed.

At their firſt arrival at Acadia, they had found the peninſula, as well as the foreſts of the neighbouring continent, peopled with ſmall ſavage nations, who went under the general name of Abenakies. Though equally fond of war as other ſavage nations, they were more ſociable in their manners. The miſſionaries eaſily inſinuating themſelves among them, had ſo far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthuſiaſts of them. At the ſame time that they taught them their religion, they inſpired them with that hatred, which they themſelves entertained for the Engliſh name. This fundamental article of their new worſhip, being that

that which made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on their ſenſes, and the only one that favoured their paſſion for war; they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refuſed to make any kind of exchange with the Engliſh, but alſo frequently attacked and plundered their ſettlements. Their attacks became more frequent, more obſtinate and more regular, after they had choſen St. Caſteins, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan, for their commander; who was ſettled among them, had married one of their women, and conformed in every reſpect to their mode of life.

When the Engliſh ſaw that all efforts either to reconcile the ſavages, or to deſtroy them in their forests were ineffectual, they fell upon Acadia, which they looked upon with reaſon as the only cauſe of all theſe calamities. Whenever the leaſt hoſtility took place between the two mother countries, the peninſula was attacked. Unable to procure any aſſiſtance from Canada, on account of its diſtance, and having but a feeble defence in Port-Royal, which was only ſurrounded by a few paliſades, it was conſtantly taken. It undoubtedly afforded ſome ſatisfaction to the New-Englanders, to ravage this colony and to retard its progreſs; but ſtill this was not ſufficient to remove the ſuſpicions excited by a nation always more formidable by what ſhe is able to do, than by what ſhe really does. Obliged as they were, however unwillingly, to reſtore their conqueſt at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great-Britain ſhould acquire ſuch a ſuperiority as would enable her to diſpenſe with this reſtitution. The end of the war on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion brought on the deciſive moment; and the court of Verſailles was for ever deprived of a poſſeſſion of which it had never known the importance.

The ardour which the Engliſh had ſhewn for the poſſeſſion of this territory did not manifeſt itſelf afterwards in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very ſlight fortification at Port-Royal, which they called Annapolis, in honour of queen Anne, they contented themſelves with putting a very ſmall garriſon in it. The indifference ſhewn by the government was adopted by the nation, a circumſtance not uſual in a free country. Not more than five or ſix Engliſh families went over to Acadia, which ſtill remained inhabited by the firſt coloniſts; who were only perſuaded to ſtay upon a promiſe made them of never being compelled to bear arms againſt their ancient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country. Cheriſhed by the government, reſpected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a ſeries of proſperities which had rendered their name illuſtrious and aggrandized their power, they poſſeſſed that patriotic ſpirit which is the effect of ſucceſs. They eſteemed it an honour to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians, therefore, who, in ſubmitting to a new yoke, had ſworn never to bear arms againſt their former ſtandards, were called the French neutrals.

There were twelve or thirteen hundred of them ſettled in the capital, the reſt were diſperſed in the neighbouring country. No magiſtrate was ever appointed to rule over them; and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new ſovereign ſeemed to have forgotten them; and they were equally ſtrangers to him.

Hunting and fiſhing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might ſtill have ſupplied it with ſubſiſtence, had no further attraction for a ſimple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been begun in the marſhes and the low lands, by repelling the ſea and rivers which covered theſe plains, with dikes. Theſe grounds yielded fifty times as much as before, and afterwards fifteen or twenty times as much at leaſt. Wheat and oats ſucceeded beſt in them, but they likewiſe produced rye, barley, and maize. There were alſo potatoes in great plenty, the uſe of which was become common.

At the ſame time the immenſe meadows were covered with numerous flocks. Sixty thouſand head of horned cattle were computed there; and moſt of the families had ſeveral horſes, though the tillage was carried on by oxen. The habitations, built entirely with wood, were extremely convenient, and furniſhed as neatly as a ſubſtantial farmer's houſe in Europe. The people bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, which was in general wholeſome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cyder, to which they ſometimes added rum. Their uſual cloathing was in general the produce of their own flax, or the fleeces of their own ſheep. With theſe they made common linens and coarſe cloths. If any of them had any inclination for articles of greater luxury, they procured them from Annapolis or Louiſbourg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle or furs.

The neutral French had no other articles to diſpoſe of among their neighbours, and made ſtill fewer exchanges among themſelves, becauſe each ſeparate family was able and had been uſed to provide for its wants. They, therefore, knew nothing of paper-currency, which was ſo common throughout the reſt of North-America. Even the ſmall quantity of ſpecie which had ſtolen into the colony did not promote that circulation which is the greateſt advantage that can be derived from it.

Their manners were of courſe extremely ſimple. There never was a cauſe either civil or criminal of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature eſtabliſhed at Annapolis. Whatever little differences aroſe from time to time among them were amicably adjuſted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their paſtors, who had likewiſe the keeping of their wills, for which and their religious ſervices the inhabitants paid a twenty-ſeventh part of their harveſts.

Theſe were plentiful enough to ſupply more than a ſufficiency to fulfill every act of liberality. Real miſery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved as it were, before it could

be felt; and good was univerſally diſpenſed without oſtentation on the part of the giver, and without humiliating the perſon who received. Theſe people were in ſhort a ſociety of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all thoſe connections of gallantry which are ſo often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an inſtance in this ſociety of an unlawful commerce between the two ſexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one paſſed his youth in a ſtate of celibacy. As ſoon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a houſe, broke up the lands about it, ſowed them, and ſupplied him with all the neceſſaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had choſen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and proſpered like the others. In 1749 they all together amounted to eighteen thouſand ſouls.

At this period Great-Britain perceived of what conſequence the poſſeſſion of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace, which neceſſarily left a great number of men without employment, furniſhed an opportunity, by the diſbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vaſt and fertile territory. The Britiſh miniſtry offered particular advantages to all perſons who choſe to go over and ſettle in Acadia. Every ſoldier, ſailor and workman was to have fifty acres of land for himſelf, and ten for every perſon he carried over in his family. All non-commiſſioned officers were allowed 80 for themſelves, and 15 for their wives and children; enſigns 200; lieutenants 300; captains 460; and all officers of a higher rank 600; together with 30 for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax free for the firſt ten years, and never to pay above one livre, two ſols, ſix deniers * for fifty acres. Beſides this, the government engaged to advance or reimburſe the expences of paſſage, to build houſes, to furniſh all the neceſſary inſtruments for fiſhery or agriculture; and to defray the expences of ſubſiſtence for the firſt year. Theſe encouragements determined three thouſand, ſeven hundred and fifty perſons in the month of May 1749 to go to America, rather than run the riſque of ſtarving in Europe.

It was intended that theſe new inhabitants ſhould form a ſettlement to the ſouth-eaſt of Acadia, in a place which the ſavages formerly called Chebucto, and the Engliſh Hallifax. This ſituation was preferred to ſeveral others where the ſoil was better, for the ſake of eſtabliſhing in its neighbourhood an excellent cod fiſhery, and fortifying one of the fineſt harbours in America. But as it was the part of the country moſt favourable for the chace, the Engliſh were obliged to diſpute it with the Micmac Indians, by whom it was moſt frequented. Theſe ſavages defended with obſtinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not without very great

* About one ſhilling.

loſſes

loſſes that the Engliſh drove them out from their poſſeſſions.

This war was not entirely finiſhed, when ſome diſturbances began to break out among the neutral French. Theſe people whoſe manners were ſo ſimple and who enjoyed ſuch liberty, had already perceived that their independence muſt neceſſarily ſuffer ſome encroachments from any power that ſhould turn its views to the countries they inhabited. To this apprehenſion was added that of ſeeing their religion in danger. Their prieſts either heated by their own enthuſiaſm, or ſecretly inſtigated by the governors of Canada, made them believe all they choſe to ſay againſt the Engliſh, whom they called heretics. This word, which has ſo powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quit their habitations and remove to New France, where lands were offered them. This reſolution many of them executed immediately, without conſidering the conſequences of it; the reſt were preparing to follow as ſoon as they had provided for their ſafety. The Engliſh government, either from policy or caprice, determined to prevent them by an act of treachery, always baſe and cruel in thoſe whoſe power gives them an opportunity of purſuing milder methods. Under a pretence of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had taken at the time of their becoming Engliſh ſubjects, they called together all the remaining inhabitants, and put them on board of ſhip. They were conveyed to the other Engliſh colonies, where the greater part of them died of grief and vexation rather than want.

Such are the effects of national jealouſies, and of the rapaciouſneſs of government, to which men as well as their property become a prey. What our enemies loſe is reckoned an advantage, what they gain is looked upon as a loſs. When a town cannot be taken, it is ſtarved; when it cannot be kept, it is burnt to aſhes, or its foundations raſed. A ſhip or a fortified town is blown up, rather than the ſailors, or the garriſon will ſurrender. A deſpotic government ſeparates its enemies from its ſlaves by immenſe deſerts, to prevent the irruptions of the one, and the emigrations of the other. Thus it is that Spain has rather choſen to make a wilderneſs of her own country, and a grave of America, than to divide its riches with any other of the European nations. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and private crime to deprive other commercial nations of the ſpice trade. They have frequently thrown whole cargoes into the ſea, rather than they would ſell them at a low price. France rather choſe to give up Louiſiana to the Spaniards, than to let it fall into the hands of the Engliſh; and England deſtroyed the neutral French inhabitants of Acadia to prevent their returning to France. Can we aſſert after this that policy and ſociety were inſtituted for the happineſs of mankind? Yes: they were inſtituted to ſcreen the wicked, and to ſecure the powerful.

Since the emigration of a people who owed their happineſs to their virtuous obſcurity, Nova Scotia has been but thinly inhabited. The ſame rage which depopulated the country, ſeems to have blaſted it. At leaſt the puniſhment

of the injuſtice falls upon the authors of it; for there is not a ſingle inhabitant to be ſeen upon all that length of coaſt between the river St. Lawrence, and the peninſula; neither is it probable, from the number of rocks, ſands and moraſſes which cover it at preſent, that it ever will be peopled. The cod, indeed, which abounds in ſome of its bays, invites every year a ſmall number of fiſhermen during the ſeaſon.

Singular Adventures of a German *Princeſs, Conſort of* Alexis, *the unfortunate Son of the Czar* Peter *the* Great; *by* Crito.

SIR,

I HAVE juſt met with a French paper, containing a ſtory ſo very ſingular that I cannot help telling it to you.—A Princeſs of the Houſe of Brunſwick, aunt to the preſent reigning Duke, and of the preſent Empreſs Queen, was married to the ſon of the Czar Peter the Great. This wretch (who you know was ſuch a brute that his father at length put him to death) treated her ſo very ill that ſhe determined to leave him. Accordingly, having engaged four perſons in her confidence, ſhe cauſed it to be given out that ſhe was dead, and made her eſcape into France in the year 1715. Fearing to be diſcovered there, ſhe embarked with a colony which was going to Louiſiana, where ſhe hoped to live concealed, but was found out by a ſerjeant, who had been formerly ſent from France as a courier to Peterſburgh. To engage him to ſecrecy ſhe married him, and went with him to the iſle of Bourbon. In 1752 ſhe was obliged to return with her huſband into France, where ſhe was diſcovered in the Thuileries by Marſhal Saxe, whom ſhe prevailed on to keep the ſecret; and he procured her huſband, whoſe name was Maldac, the majority of the iſle of Bourbon. Here ſhe reſided till the year 1759, when, having buried her huſband and child, ſhe returned to Europe, and landed at Corunna, from thence came into France, and took a ready-furniſhed lodging, and had no other attendant but one Negro woman. She brought bills in her huſband's name upon the French Eaſt-India company, but, from the difficulty of proving her relation to him, could not get them paid. A perſon whom ſhe had known in the iſle of Bourbon, and who had always ſuſpected her to be of a ſuperior rank, offered her his aſſiſtance, which ſhe refuſed. About two months ſince ſhe diſappeared. The evening before ſhe went away, ſhe had been at a banker's, and received a bag full of gold. She gave her Negro her liberty, and 300 louis d'ors, and furniſhed her with means to return to her own country. She confeſſed to the gentleman who had offered her his aſſiſtance who ſhe was, and it is from him that the French letter-writer had his account. She is about 67 *, and has ſo

* "The Czarowitz Alexis was married to the Princeſs of Wolfenbuttle, ſiſter to the conſort of Charles VI. Emperor of Germany, October 23, 1711," ſays Voltaire; ſo that if the above account be true, this lady muſt at leaſt be ten years older than here repreſented, it being now 64 years ſince her marriage.

ſo noble an air, that in all the ſituations in which ſhe has appeared, it was always impoſſible to approach her without reſpect. She is ſuppoſed to be now at the court of Brunſwick, with her nephew, the reigning duke.

This ſtory is poſitively affirmed to be true; I will not vouch for its being ſo, though I think there is a ſimplicity in the narration, which gives it that appearance. At all events it is remarkable enough to be amuſing.

CRITO.

[This ſame lady, if we miſtake not, was ſaid, a few years ago, to be at or near Huntingdon, and was much noticed in that neighbourhood. Any of our readers who remember any particulars of her, will oblige us by communicating them.] *Gent. Mag.*

A Sketch of the Character of the late George *Lord* Lyttelton.

FEW characters, recorded in the annals of this country, ever united ſo many rare, valuable and amiable qualities, as that of the late Lord Lyttelton.

Whether we conſider this great man in public or private life, we are juſtified in affirming, that he abounded in virtues not barely ſufficient to create reverence and eſteem, but to inſure him the love and admiration of all who knew him. Look upon him as a ſtateſman, and a public man; where ſhall we find another, who always thought right and meant well, and who ſo ſeldom acted wrong, or was miſled or miſtaken in his miniſterial, or ſenatorial conduct? Look upon his lordſhip in the humbler ſcene of private and domeſtic life; and if thou hadſt the pleaſure of knowing him, gentle reader, point out the breaſt, warm or cold, that ſo copiouſly abounded with every gift and acquirement which indulgent nature could beſtow, or the tutored mind improve and refine, to win and captivate mankind.

His perſonal accompliſhments, and the ſweetneſs and pliability of his temper, which accompanied and ſwayed them, always recalled to my memory, that line of his own, only varying the ſex; his "Wit was nature by the graces dreſt."—His affability and condeſcenſion to thoſe below him, was not the effect of art, or conſtrained politeneſs, dictated by the hackneyed ſterile rules of decorum and good breeding: no: the benevolence of his heart pervaded the whole man; it illuminated his countenance, it ſoftened his accents, it mixed itſelf with his demeanour, and gave evidence at once of the goodneſs of his heart, and the ſoundneſs of his underſtanding.

To ſuch as were honoured with his friendſhip and his intimacy, his kindneſs was beyond example; he ſhared at once his affections and his intereſts among his friends, and towards the latter part of his life, when his ability to ſerve them ceaſed, he felt only for thoſe who depended on him for their future

marriage. Voltaire adds, "The princeſs, deſpiſed, ill-treated, wanting even neceſſaries, and deprived of all comfort, pined away in diſappointment, and died at laſt of grief, Nov. 1, 1715."

advancement in life. The unbounded authority he poſſeſſed over them was eſtabliſhed in parental dominion; not in the cold, haughty, ſupercilious ſuperiority of a mere patron.—Among this latter deſcription, the author of the preſent rude outline is proud of ranking himſelf, and is happy in recollecting, that he obeyed, or rather anticipated, the wiſhes of his noble friend, as far as lay in his power, with more chearfulneſs and alacrity than he would in executing even the confidential mandates of the greateſt monarch or miniſter in Chriſtendom.

His lordſhip's acquaintance with men and books was accurate and extenſive. His ſtudies in the early part of his life muſt have been well directed, and his taſte remarkably judicious, for no perſon ever lived who was leſs tinctured with the vulgar moroſeneſs, and ſelf-conceited air of a pedant, nor with the affectation and frivolity of that rank in life, which his birth, fortune, and ſituation, rendered cuſtomary and familiar to him.

He was perfectly and intimately acquainted with the works of the moſt celebrated writers of antiquity in verſe and proſe. His memory was ſtocked with the moſt ſtriking paſſages contained in them; but he never indulged nor gave way to the ſtrong impreſſions they had ſtamped on his mind, but to gratify his confidential friends. Whenever he conſented to their entreaties, his alluſions were judiciouſly ſelected, and applied with the moſt conſummate propriety. His language was manly, nervous, and technical. It was ſuited to the perſonal rank, knowledge, and diſpoſition of thoſe he converſed with; by which means he rendered himſelf agreeable and intelligible to every perſon, whom chance, amuſement or buſineſs, threw in his way.

His diſcernment of ſpirits, the term which the late Lord Bolingbroke ſubſtitutes for the familiar phraſe of knowing mankind, was no leſs conſpicuous, when he thought proper to exert it with ſteadineſs and vigour; but unfortunately for his own domeſtic peace, it was extremely difficult to rouſe him. He truſted too much to the repreſentations of others, and was always ready to leave the labour of diſcriminating characters, to thoſe who too often found an intereſt in deceiving him. Though his ſteadineſs of principle, penetration, and juſtneſs of reflection, might be well ranked in the firſt claſs, thoſe talents were in a great meaſure effectually loſt, becauſe his employments and purſuits as a public man, his amuſements as a man of taſte and ſcience, and, in the latter part of his life, his avocations as a writer, ſo totally engroſſed his attention, that he entirely neglected his private affairs, and in a variety of inſtances fell a prey to private rapine and literary impoſition. This was the joint effect of native indolence, and a certain incurable abſence of mind. To ſhow that his want of diſcrimination was not native, but that the power of knowing thoſe he communicated with, was rendered to ſome purpoſe uſeleſs, becauſe it was not employed, a ſtronger proof need not be given, than his thorough knowledge of the court, as exhibited in parties, and the ſeveral individuals who compoſed them. He could

could tell the political value of almoſt every veteran courtier, or candidate for power. He could develope their latent views; he could foretell their change of conduct. He foreſaw the effect of ſuch and ſuch combinations, the motives which formed them, the principles which held them together, and the probable date of their diſſolution. Whenever he was impoſed on, it was through the want of attention, not of parts; or from a kind of ſettled opinion, that men of common plain underſtandings, and good reputation, would hardly riſque ſolid advantages in purſuit of unlawful gain; which laſt might eventually be accompanied with loſs of character, as well as the object propoſed to be attained. Whatever plauſibility there may appear in this mode of reaſoning, experience frequently informed his lordſhip, that it was not to be depended on. He was plundered by his ſervants, deceived by his humble companions, miſled by his confidents, and impoſed on by ſeveral of thoſe whom he patronized. He felt the effects of all this, in his family, in his finances, and even in the rank he ſhould have preſerved. Thoſe who were not acquainted with the ſolidity of his judgment, the acuteneſs of his wit, the brilliancy and juſtneſs of his thoughts, the depth of his penetration, and with the amazing extent of his genius, were apt to confound the conſequences of his conduct, with the powers and reſources of his mind. If his lordſhip remained out of place, on principle, the ignorant inclined to aſcribe this ſeeming court proſcription to ſimplicity or want of talents. If he did not ſupport his rank with that oſtentatious ſplendor now become ſo faſhionable, the world was ready to impute it to a want of œconomy, or a want of ſpirit; but in all thoſe conjectures and concluſions, the world were much miſtaken and miſled. He had frequent offers, ſome of them the moſt flattering, to take a part in adminiſtration; but he uniformly rejected them. His manner of living at his ſeat at Hagley was founded on the trueſt principles of hoſpitality, politeneſs, and ſociety; and as to money, he knew no other uſe of it but to anſwer his own immediate calls, or to enable him to promote the happineſs of others.

When the author of this ſketch firſt ſat down to delineate ſome of the outlines of the character of this truly great and amiable man, it was his intention to have ſaid ſomething of his lordſhip as a politician, ſtateſman, orator, hiſtorian, and a writer of taſte and genius, abſtracted from his more deep and ſerious purſuits and ſtudies. A variety of difficulties threw themſelves in the way, beſides the mere want of abilities, or ſufficient detailed information. For though he had the honour of being intimately acquainted with his lordſhip in the latter part of his life, and was no ſtranger to his political ſentiments, he found himſelf in a great meaſure deprived of thoſe lights neceſſary to explain his firſt connection at Carleton-Houſe, with the late Prince of Wales, father to his preſent Majeſty; his retreat from thence and union with the Pelhams, and his final retreat from court, under the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, now Earl of Chatham.

Theſe are points well worth

knowing; and, to draw his lordſhip's character even in miniature with any tolerable degree of preciſion, are abſolutely neceſſary. Another motive ſtill ſtronger, though a compound of the preceding reaſons, which forbids the attempt, is, that the author was informed from good authority, that a lady (Mrs. M—n—e) no leſs famed for her fine taſte and maſculine underſtanding, than for every virtue that renders the ſex eſtimable and truly amiable, intended, or more truly ſpeaking, was *ſolicited* by ſome of his lordſhip's neareſt friends, to take the execution of the pleaſingly mournful taſk on herſelf, upon a full and extenſive plan. Being convinced that no one knew the late Lord Lyttelton in every different light he ſhone, or ſhared more of his confidence and friendſhip, than the lady alluded to, the author of this rude, haſty attempt, here lays down his pen, in expectation that the lady will either promiſe to oblige the world, or will furniſh him with ſuch materials as may be the means of bringing forward the character of this nobleman, and making his abilities as well known, and his public virtues as much revered, as his genius was penetrating, his mind liberal, his heart benevolent, his perception clear, his judgment ſound, and his knowledge extenſive.

New Anecdotes of Sir Iſaac Newton, *by* J. H. *a Gentleman of his Mother's Family.*

THE truth of the following particulars, which are in the hand-writing of my mother, whoſe grandfather was brother to Sir Iſaac Newton's mother, may be depended on. She made theſe memorandums for the information of her children: her words are theſe:

"Hannah Aſcough was younger ſiſter of the late Mr. Aſcough, my father's father. She married a Mr. Newton of Colſworth, not far from Grantham in Lincolnſhire, who had an eſtate of about 120l. per annum, which he kept in his own hands and occupied himſelf. She had by him one ſon called Iſaac; her brother, my grandfather, who lived near her, directed her in all affairs, (after the death of Mr. Newton) put her ſon to ſchool at Grantham, to a very good maſter, Mr. Stokes. When he had finiſhed his ſchool learning, his mother took him home, intending, as ſhe had no other child, to have the pleaſure of his company, and that he, as his father had done, ſhould occupy his own eſtate; but his mind was ſo bent upon his improving in learning, that my grandfather prevailed upon her to part from him, and ſhe ſent him to Trinity-College* in Cambridge, where her brother, having himſelf been a member of it, had ſtill many friends. Iſaac was ſoon taken notice of by Dr. Iſaac Barrow, who obſerving his bright genius, contracted a great friendſhip for him: indeed he became ſo eminent for his learning, joined with his ſingular modeſty, that he was courted to accept the honours

* It does not appear to me, that what has been aſſerted of Sir Iſaac having been ſent to the univerſity by the pecuniary aid of ſome neighbouring gentlemen, is at all true. It certainly was not neceſſary. His mother had ſufficient; ſo had his uncle. I therefore ſuſpect there muſt have been ſome miſinformation as to this point: a point, however, of no importance.

afterwards

afterwards conferred upon him, on the calling in of the coin, and the the neceſſity of a new coinage. He was unwillingly brought from the univerſity into the buſy part of the world—his great averſion: but by his great judgment, and ſtrict integrity, he ſaved the nation at that time, on that occaſion, 80,000l. as I have had related by thoſe who well knew the affair, and alſo from himſelf.

"Sir Iſaac's mother, after her ſon went to Cambridge, was courted by a rich old batcheſor, who had a good eſtate and living near her, the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Smith; but ſhe ſettled ſome land upon Iſaac before marriage. She had by this Smith, one ſon and two daughters; theſe married and had deſcendants, to all, or many of whom, Sir Iſaac, when his fortune increaſed, was kind and munificent; giving to one 500l. to another an eſtate of 400l. or thereabouts, to make up a loſs, occaſioned by the imprudent marriage of one of them, and to prevent a law-ſuit among themſelves. This was done many years before his death. He had a half-ſiſter, who had a daughter, to whom he gave the beſt of educations, the famous witty Miſs Barton, who married Mr. Conduit*, of the mint, who ſucceeded Sir Iſaac in the mint, and is buried at the weſt door of Weſtminſter-Abbey, leaving only one daughter, married to the eldeſt ſon of Lord Lymington. Sir Iſaac bought an eſtate of about ſeventy or eighty pounds a year, and gave it Miſs Conduit (then very young) before he died. He was kind to all the Afcoughs, and generous and munificent to ſuch (of them) whoſe imprudence had made his aſſiſtance neceſſary: to one of them he gave 800l. to another 200l. to another 100l. and many other ſums; and other engagements did he enter into alſo for them. He was the ready aſſiſtant of all who were any way related to him, to their children and grand-children. He made no will; his paternal eſtate of 120l. a-year went to a diſtant relation of his grandfather Newton; he had no relations on that ſide, his father nor himſelf had no brother nor ſiſter. He is ſaid never to have ſold the copies of any (of his) books, publiſhed in his life-time, but gave them freely to the book-ſeller. He was generous to his ſervants, and had no love of riches, though he died worth 30,000l. which fell to three of his half-brother Smith's children, three of his half-ſiſter Pilkington's, and his half-ſiſter Barton's two daughters: all theſe ſurvived Sir Iſaac.

"He was a perſon of very little expence upon himſelf; kept a handſome, genteel, conſtant table, never above three men and three women ſervants; toward his latter end, when he could not uſe a chariot, only a chair, he kept but two men ſervants; he was exceedingly bountiful and charitable (not only) to relations, but to acquaintance, or perſons well recommended, and to ingenious perſons, in any uſeful art or ſcience."

Thus far the extract of the family papers.

It does not appear to be true that he ever became embecille; he did not, or would not recollect the ſolution of many of his problems

* Author of a treatiſe on the gold and ſilver coin.

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of former years; and perhaps the ill treatment he had met with from ſome foreigners, made him rather ſhy towards the laſt, of entering into the diſcuſſion of any matters about which a diſpute might ariſe; but I know that he converſed with my aunt, in whoſe arms he died, and with others, like any other reaſonable man, to the laſt day of his death, and on that day read the news-paper: but I lately met with a letter of the late Dr. Pearce, Biſhop of Rocheſter, to Dr. Hunt, Hebrew profeſſor at Oxford, wrote in 1754, and publiſhed in 1770, in Cadell's edition of Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology, page 10, which puts this imputation of Sir Iſaac Newton's imbecility to ſhame. "It appears that Dr. Pearce was with Sir Iſaac Newton a few days before his death, where he was writing without ſpectacles by but an indifferent light. That he was then preparing his Chronology for the preſs, and had written the greateſt part of it over again for that purpoſe. He read to the doctor ſome part of the work, on occaſion of ſome points in chronology which had been mentioned in the converſation. He continued near an hour reading to him, and talking about what he had read, before the dinner was brought up: and what was particular, ſpeaking of ſome fact, he could not recollect the name of the king in whoſe reign it had happened, and therefore complained of his memory beginning to fail him; but he added immediately, that it was in ſuch a year of ſuch an olympiad, naming them both very exactly. The ready mention of ſuch chronological dates ſeemed, ſays the doctor, a greater proof of his memory's not failing him, than the naming of the king would have been."

What coxcomb therefore was it that firſt publiſhed to the world the ſilly ſtory of the decay of Sir Iſaac Newton's faculties before his death? This has been ſeveral times repeated. His faculties may, indeed, in ſome degree, have been impaired, as he had employed them intenſely for, perhaps, ſeventy years: but if any ruins there were in this great man's powers, there remained ſtill far too much ſtrength of mind to be called imbecility. A perſiſting application, and ſuch a maſtery over his imagination, as to keep it up to the point he had in view for a very long time, without ſnapping, was his peculiar talent; and the inſtrument with which he did ſuch great things, and which his temperance and conſtitution, ſingularly formed for ſuch purpoſes, enabled him to practiſe through a long life. His candour and modeſty, even to baſhfulneſs, were the graces which made ſuch ſuperior knowledge not diſguſting to his inferiors.

He was not only the mathematician, but the hiſtorian, the chronologiſt, the chymiſt, and the critic: I have never met with any of his chymical manuſcripts, but they certainly exiſt ſomewhere. I remember to have heard from the late learned Dr. Kidby, a gentleman well known to many learned men, perhaps ſtill alive, that Sir Iſaac Newton was as great in chemiſtry, as in any other ſcience. It might therefore be an acquiſition if thoſe chemical papers of his could be found. William Jones, Eſq; if I remember right, was ſuppoſed to have had ſeveral manuſcripts

ſcripts of Sir Iſaac Newton's in his poſſeſſion; how he came by them, or why he kept them to himſelf, if he had ſuch, I could never rightly learn: I remember to have heard him blamed on that account forty years ago; this is perhaps a groundleſs charge; I only mention it, that enquiry may be made of Mr. Jones's heirs, or the perſons into whoſe hands his papers came after his deceaſe, whether any manuſcripts of Sir Iſaac Newton's worth notice exiſt? and ſurely if any exiſt they muſt have their worth. I. H.

N. B. We are authorized by the ſon of William Jones, Eſq; author of the *Synopſis Matheſeos*, to aſſure the public, that no ſuch papers have been found in his father's library: and that the ſtory of his having made an improper uſe of any papers belonging to Sir Iſaac Newton, is wholly groundleſs.

An Account of the Life and Writings of the late David Hume, *Eſq; as given to the World in one of the periodical Publications.*

THE lives of literary men ſeldom abound with incidents. That leiſure, which is neceſſary for the acquiſition of knowledge, excludes them in ſome meaſure from the buſy world, and intenſe ſtudy ſeems generally to ſubdue in them the ſpirit of enterprize. Few men, even among the learned, had ever leſs of that ſpirit than the honeſt, eaſy, indolent, but philoſophic Hume. His life, conſequently, affords few of thoſe occurrences which are commonly ſuppoſed to give intereſt to a biographical narration. But there is a pleaſure in tracing the progreſs of genius, and in obſerving its various obſtructions and encouragements, in the road to fame, which has made the lives of authors, though leſs diverſified by circumſtances, more univerſally acceptable than thoſe perhaps of any other claſs of men. No apology need therefore be made for an attempt to trace the progreſs of a writer unequalled in his age, or in his province, one of the moſt eminent and extenſive in the empire of ſcience.

David Hume, ſo well known to the world of late, both as a philoſopher and hiſtorian, was born about the year 1712, in that part of Scotland which lies between Edinburgh and Berwick. His father was a country gentleman, or laird, of good family, but ſmall fortune, and David was unfortunately a younger ſon. In his early years, he was by no means diſtinguiſhed as a ſcholar, or by any of thoſe accompliſhments which are ſuppoſed to qualify youth for the liberal profeſſions; but as the pride of the Scottiſh gentry then prevented them from breeding any of their children to mechanical or mercantile employments; and as the church, in that country, can only be the object of the lower claſs of people, the beſt kirks affording no more than a decent maintenance, there was a neceſſity for every younger ſon of a genteel family being bred either a ſoldier, a lawyer, or a phyſician.——David was deſtined for the bar; not ſo much as being adapted to his genius, as the line in which his relations could moſt effectually ſerve him. After paſſing through his academical courſes at the univerſity

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of Edinburgh, he therefore devoted himself to the ſtudy of the Scotch laws, in which he made conſiderable progreſs; but whether from that natural modeſty, almoſt inſeparably connected with great merit, a conſciouſneſs of his deficiency in elocution, the happy indolence of his temper, little fitted for the contentious bar, or any other ſecret cauſe, he never put on the gown, nor even took the introductory ſteps neceſſary for that purpoſe. Other ſtudies attracted him.

The metaphyſical writings of Locke and Berkeley, had turned all inquiſitive men towards intellectual objects. The human mind ſpent its force in contemplating itſelf; as if man had been born for thinking, not acting; as if ideas had, in fact, only been *real*; and the material world, as conjectured by the Biſhop of Cloyne, but *as a viſion*. Mr. Hume had early applied himſelf to metaphyſical inquiries: he ſaw, or ſeemed to ſee, the defects of the former ſyſtems, and publiſhed, in 1739, the two firſt volumes of his *Treatiſe of Human Nature*, and the third the following year.

This work, though not inferior to any thing of the moral or metaphyſical kind in any language, was entirely overlooked, or decried at the time of its publication, except by a few liberal-minded men, who had courage to throw aſide their popular and literary prejudices, and to follow ſound reaſoning, without being afraid of any dangerous concluſion, or fatal diſcovery; of ſeeing errors unveiled, however ſanctified by years, or ſupported by authorities: and the author made ſenſible, to the ſevere diſappointment of his youthful hopes, that the taſte for ſyſtematical writing was on the decline, divided his treatiſe into ſeparate eſſays, and diſſertations, which he publiſhed, with improvements, alterations, and additions, at different periods of his life. His enemies, however, or men deſirous of raiſing a reputation by expoſing the miſtakes of a great genius, have levelled all their arguments againſt this juvenile production, though never dignified with the author's name; and Dr. Beattie in particular, more than thirty years after the publication of that ſceptical ſyſtem, has been ſo ſucceſsful as to obtain a penſion by his *Eſſay on the Immutability of Truth*; in which he diſcovers all the violence of a ſectary, and all the illiberality of a pedant, and rather abuſes than confutes Mr. Hume.

As the *Treatiſe of Human Nature* is now very ſcarce, ſome account of it may be agreeable to many readers. The author's purpoſe, in that work, as he himſelf informs us, was, "to introduce the experimental method of reaſoning into moral ſubjects." The ability with which he has executed his deſign, can only be fully diſcovered by an examination of the treatiſe itſelf; which, as a compoſition, is admirable. The firſt volume treats of the underſtanding, the ſecond of the paſſions, the third of morals. Criticiſm and politics, were ſtill neceſſary to complete his plan, and would have been added ſyſtematically, if the ſucceſs had, in any degree, been anſwerable to the merit of the work. He thus ſpeaks of the ſciences that he meant to examine: "The ſole end of logic is to explain the principles and operations of our reaſoning faculty, and

and the nature of our ideas: morals and criticiſm regard our taſtes and ſentiments; and politics conſider men as united in ſociety, and dependant on each other. In theſe four ſciences, logic, morals, criticiſm, and politics, is comprehended almoſt every thing, which it can any way import us to be acquainted with, or which can tend either to the improvement or ornament of the human mind." So early, and when he was thought little able to give a new direction to ſcience, had this great man digeſted that ingenious ſyſtem of philoſophy, which has changed metaphyſics from a frivolous to an uſeful ſtudy; and given a ſtability to morals, criticiſm, and politics, unknown in former ages!—But, what is ſtill more extraordinary, the ſtile and method of this firſt production are not leſs correct and happy, than thoſe of his moſt admired performances, written after his taſte and judgment were matured by years and experience. A ſingle quotation will be ſufficient to ſupport this aſſertion, and alſo to exemplify his method of reaſoning *experimentally* on moral ſubjects.

Speaking of that modeſty and chaſtity which belong to women, "there are ſome philoſophers," he obſerves, "who attack the female virtues with great vehemence, and fancy they have gone very far in detecting popular errors, when they can ſhew, that there is no foundation in nature for all that exterior modeſty, which we require in the expreſſions, dreſs, and behaviour of the fair ſex." And he proceeds to examine the origin of ſuch notions, and their connection with the intereſts of ſociety.

"Whoever conſiders," ſays he, "the length and feebleneſs of human infancy, with the concern which both ſexes naturally have for their offſpring, will eaſily perceive that there muſt be an union of male and female for the education of the young, and that this union muſt be of conſiderable duration. But in order to induce the men to impoſe on themſelves this reſtraint, and undergo chearfully all the fatigues and expences to which it ſubjects them, they muſt believe that the children are their own, that their *natural inſtinct* is not directed to a wrong object, when they give a looſe to love and tenderneſs.

"Now," adds he, with equal juſtice and ingenuity, "if we examine the ſtructure of the human body, we ſhall find, that this ſecurity is very difficult to be attained on our part; and that ſince in the copulation of the ſexes, the principle of generation goes from the man to the woman, an error may take place on the ſide of the former, though it be utterly impoſſible on the ſide of the latter. In order therefore to impoſe a due reſtraint on the female ſex, we muſt attach a peculiar degree of ſhame to their infidelity, above what ariſes merely from its injuſtice, and muſt beſtow proportionable praiſes on their chaſtity. But as human creatures, eſpecially of the female kind, are apt to overlook remote conſequences, while under the influence of any preſent temptation, it is neceſſary, beſide the infamy attending ſuch licences, that there ſhould be ſome preceding backwardneſs or dread, which may prevent their firſt approaches, and give the female ſex a repugnance to all expreſſions, and poſtures, and liberties,

liberties, that have an immediate relation to that enjoyment." So much *good ſenſe* and *ſound reaſoning* was never perhaps delivered in ſo few words, on the ſubject of female virtue, by any writer ancient or modern: yet this is an extract from the treatiſe, whoſe confutation has been impudently attempted, more than once, by mere *common ſenſe, and childiſh declamation!*

In the year 1742, Mr. Hume publiſhed two ſmall volumes, conſiſting of eſſays, moral, political, and literary. Theſe were better received than his former publication, but contributed little to his general reputation as an author, and ſtill leſs to his profit; and his ſmall patrimony being now almoſt ſpent, he was glad to accept of the office of library keeper to the faculty of advocates. The ſalary annexed to this place is only fifty pounds per annum; but the opportunity which it afforded him of conſulting, at his leiſure, all the choice authors and valuable papers in one of the beſt libraries in Europe, may be conſidered as no inconſiderable circumſtance in favour of Mr. Hume's literary character.

In 1746, he ſtood candidate for the chair of moral philoſophy in the univerſity of Edinburgh, then vacant by the reſignation of the preſent Sir John Pringle, appointed phyſician to the army. Every one was convinced of Mr. Hume's abilities, and his intereſt was warmly ſupported by the nobility and gentry; but the Preſbytery of Edinburgh, having a right to object to one out of three candidates named by the town council, they put their negative upon honeſt David, whoſe ſentiments were too liberal for their narrow minds.

Thus baffled in his attempt to obtain an office for which he was eminently qualified, and in which perhaps he could have been of more ſervice to his country than in any other, Mr. Hume devoted himſelf entirely to ſtudy, and reſted all his hopes of fame and fortune on his merit as an author.——He publiſhed in the years 1748 and 49 his Metaphyſical Eſſays nearly as they now ſtand; a Diſſertation on the Paſſions, alſo extracted from his Treatiſe of Human Nature; his Syſtem of Morals, much altered and improved; and along with theſe ſeveral new moral, critical, and political eſſays.

From politics, in which he had now made conſiderable progreſs, Mr. Hume turned his inquiries towards hiſtory, and completed in 1752, the Hiſtory of Britain under the Houſe of Stuart. The firſt volume of this work had been publiſhed two years before, but was little noticed, and the ſucceſs of the ſecond was by no means conſiderable; yet theſe two volumes are allowed to be equal to any part of his now juſtly admired Hiſtory of England; or rather of Britain, for he all along connects the ſtory of the two kingdoms.

So ſingular an inſtance of public neglect cannot be well accounted for; eſpecially as the ſtyle is remarkably elegant, the period intereſting, and the work full of new and important matter, anecdotes, and obſervations. The public, however, has ſince amply repaid Mr. Hume for its ingratitude. His Hiſtory of the Houſe of Stuart requires only to be read to be admired;

mired; and it no ſooner fell into the hands of Mr. Millar, then at the head of the London bookſellers, than it became a favourite performance among the higher claſs of people.

But Mr. Hume's reputation as an hiſtorian was not complete, till the publication of his Hiſtory of the Houſe of Tudor, in 1758. About the ſame time was publiſhed Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of the Reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, and her Son James, till his Acceſſion to the Throne of England; a work which was admired, even to enthuſiaſm, by perſons of all ranks. Many of the ſame ſubjects are treated by both writers, and at equal length. A compariſon neceſſarily followed; and all intelligent men became ſenſible, after the moſt critical examination, that the philoſophic dignity, the logical diſpoſition, the force of diction, the juſt concatenation of circumſtances, the lively pictures of manners, the comprehenſive, yet diſtinct views of the intereſts of nations, and the intrigues of courts, independent of the many valuable diſquiſitions, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſh Mr. Hume's work, were at leaſt a balance for the claſſical purity of ſtyle, the happy ſelection of incidents, the keen diſcernment of motives, and the fine delineation of character no leſs conſpicuous in the other, and which render the Hiſtory of Mary one of the moſt captivating books in our language.

Thus encouraged by the public approbation, Mr. Hume prepared for the preſs, with all expedition, the more early part of his Hiſtory of England, from the invaſion of Julius Cæſar to the acceſſion of the Houſe of Tudor; which, with the volumes formerly publiſhed, bring down the progreſs of the Engliſh conſtitution, and the civil and military tranſactions of Britain, to the Revolution in 1688, an æra when the government of this country was fixed on the baſis, where it continues to reſt. Yet it is to be lamented that Mr. Hume did not bring down his hiſtory to the death of Q. Anne, when the manners, the literature, and the military reputation of England, and of Europe, were at an height, and when the acceſſion of a new family gave a new direction to Britiſh policy. But ſuch as it is, taken as a whole, it may be conſidered as one of the moſt excellent productions of human genius, and is certainly the greateſt hiſtorical work of modern times.

Mr. Hume's reputation was now complete. He was conſidered as the greateſt writer of the age: his moſt inſignificant performances were ſought after with avidity; and Lord Bute, who, whatever errors he may have been guilty of as a politician, will ever be honoured as a patron of letters, procured for Mr. Hume a conſiderable penſion. —But it was not enough that the philoſophic David ſhould be enabled, in his latter years, to eat the bread of idleneſs, as the reward of his many laborious reſearches; his political writings affording reaſon to believe, that he might be of uſe to the ſtate, he was appointed ſecretary to Lord Hertford, ambaſſador at the court of France, and afterwards reſident in the abſence of that nobleman.

In France, Mr. Hume's writings had long been known and admired; ſo that he there found himſelf

of ſtill more conſequence by his character than his office. He was univerſally careſſed. Even the ladies are ſaid to have loaded him with their favours. But of all Mr. Hume's adventures, during his reſidence in France, or in his own country, there is none ſo remarkable as that which took its riſe from his acquaintance with the celebrated John James Rouſſeau, whom he brought over to England with him in 1766, and for whom he procured the offer of a penſion from his majeſty.

The particulars of that affair have been already publiſhed, and are too numerous and complicated to enter into ſuch a ſketch as the preſent: it will therefore be ſufficient here to obſerve, that Mr. Hume, underſtanding that M. Rouſſeau, perſecuted every where on the continent, meant to take refuge in England, generouſly conducted him over, procured him a commodious retreat, and afterwards the offer of a penſion; but that the jealous and peeviſh temper of Rouſſeau, led him to reject the laſt, abandon the firſt, and abuſe Mr. Hume as a perſon who had conſpired the ruin of his character, under an appearance of ſerving him; though every precaution, which the moſt refined delicacy could ſuggeſt, had been taken in order to ſpare the pride of that ſingular man, by the manner of conferring thoſe obligations.

An anecdote or two will ſufficiently ſhew the jealous and even ſuſpicious temper of M. Rouſſeau, and the generoſity and candour of Mr. Hume. On their journey to England, they happened one night to lie in the ſame chamber; and during the ſeaſon devoted to ſleep, M. Rouſſeau heard, or imagined he heard, Mr. Hume cry ſeveral times, with great vehemence—"Rouſſeau, I have you!" Theſe words, though in themſelves equivocal, and tho' M. Rouſſeau owns he does not know whether Mr. Hume uttered them when aſleep or awake, rouſed his ſuſpicions, which it appears were never afterwards entirely laid. The queſtion which honeſt David aſks on this occaſion is equally pertinent and candid: "As M. Rouſſeau is not certain whether Mr. Hume was aſleep or awake, is he ſure that he was awake himſelf?"

M. Rouſſeau's ſuſpicion of Mr. Hume's treachery roſe in proportion to the benefits conferred upon him, and at laſt broke out in perfect peeviſhneſs on the ſlighteſt occaſion imaginable. Mr. Davenport, a gentleman diſtinguiſhed by his birth, his fortune, and his merit, had granted to M. Rouſſeau and his governante, the uſe of his houſe called Wooton, in Derbyſhire, (where he ſeldom reſided), with all other things neceſſary for a livelihood; but, in order to prevent Rouſſeau's pride from being hurt by ſuch a benefit, he agreed to receive, in return, a trifling ſum annually. He alſo generouſly pretended, as he had reaſon to think M. Rouſſeau's finances were not very high, that he had found a poſt-chaiſe, on its return to Wooton, which would carry the philoſopher ſafely, and at ſmall expence to his retreat. Rouſſeau ſuſpected the benevolent artifice, and accuſed Mr. Hume of being an accomplice in it. Mr. Hume proteſted his innocence, and endeavoured to ſhift the ſubject. After a ſarcaſtical reply, Rouſſeau ſat

ſat for ſome time in ſeeming melancholy, then ſprung up, walked two or three times acroſs the room, and at laſt threw his arms about the neck of his brother philoſopher, bathing the aſtoniſhed David's face with tears, and crying like a child. "My dear friend," ſaid he, as ſoon as he was able to ſpeak, "will you ever forgive me this extravagance? After all the pains which you have taken to ſerve me, after the numberleſs proofs of your friendſhip, is it poſſible that I can thus repay your kindneſs with ſpleen and abuſe! But in pardoning me you will give me a new mark of your regard, and I hope when you know me better, you will find that I am not unworthy of it."

This reconciliation, however, was but of ſhort duration. Still a prey to his former ſuſpicions, his delicacies, and his ſcruples, Rouſſeau ſoon broke out entirely with his benefactor, and left England.

Mr. Hume, who after his return from France, had been appointed under ſecretary of ſtate, retired to Scotland on the reſignation of Gen. Conway, and ſpent the remainder of his years at Edinburgh, among the companions of his youth, equally admired and reſpected; beloved as a friend, and honoured over Europe as a ſcholar, a gentleman, and a man of genius. He died, after a lingering illneſs, on the 25th of Auguſt, 1776.

Tranſlation of a Letter from M. de Voltaire *to the King of* Pruſſia, *dated* March 30, 1776; *which, beſides an entertaining Specimen of the Writer's rare Brilliancy of Genius at the advanced Age of* 83, *contains ſome curious Particulars relating to the remarkable Rights of regiſtering the Royal Edicts, to render them valid; and remonſtrating againſt them; peculiar to the* French *Parliaments, or Courts of Juſtice.*

SIRE,

IF your *Camarade* [fellow-monarch, or compeer], the Emperor of China, Kien-Long, be dead, as it is reported, I am extremely ſorry.

Your Majeſty can tell how much I love and revere kings who make verſes. I know one who has certainly made better than Kien-Long, and to whom I ſhall continue attached until I go to pay my court below to the late Emperor of China.

We have in France a young king, who, indeed, does not make verſes, but who makes excellent proſe. He has lately given ſeven fine pieces, all in favour of the people. The preambles of theſe edicts are maſter-pieces of eloquence, for they are maſter-pieces of reaſon and benevolence. The parliament of Paris returned ſome ſpecious remonſtrances. It was a trial of ſkill. If a prize had been to be given to the beſt compoſition, the connoiſſeurs would without heſitation have adjudged it to the king.

This right of regiſtering and remonſtrating, of which you know nothing in your kingdom, is founded on an ancient precedent of a provoſt of Paris, in the time of St. Louis, and of your Conrad Hohenzollern the ſecond, which provoſt thought proper to keep a regiſter of all the royal ordinances, in which he was imitated by an officer of the parliament of Paris, John Montlue, in 1313.

Kings found this invention very uſeful. Philip de Valois had the regal rights regiſtered in parliament. Charles the fifth took the ſame precaution in regard to the famous edict for fixing the majority of the king at 14 years. Treaties of peace were often regiſtered. But we hear of no remonſtrances in thoſe times.

The firſt remonſtrances were on the finances, under Francis the firſt, reſpecting a maſſy ſilver railing which ſurrounded the tomb of St. Martin. The ſaint having no need of the railing, and Francis I. having great need of money, he made free with the railing, for which the canons of Tours, who yielded it up to him, were to be recompenced out of the lands of the crown. The parliament repreſented to the king the irregularity of this proceeding.

See here the origin of all the remonſtrances which have ſince ſo much embarraſſed our kings, and which in the end produced the war of the *Fronde*, in the minority of Louis XIV.

We have no *Fronde* to fear under Louis XVI. and ſtill leſs have we to fear from the ridiculous terrors of Jeſuits, Janſeniſts, and convulſioniſts. It is true, our debts are as immenſe as thoſe of the Engliſh, but we enjoy all the bleſſings of peace, good government, and hope.

Your majeſty very juſtly obſerves that the Engliſh are not ſo happy as we are; they are tired of their felicity. I do not believe that my dear Quakers will fight themſelves, but they will pay others to fight for them.

I am no great politician, your majeſty well knows; but I much doubt whether the miniſtry at London are a whit better than ours. We are already ruined, the Engliſh are now ruining themſelves: every one in turn. As to you, Sire, you enjoy in peace the ſolid fruits of your glory; you build towns and villages, you encourage all the arts, and you have no other enemy than the gout: I hope that will make peace with your majeſty, as ſo many other powers have done.

As to the Jeſuits, whom you ſo much regard, there is ſomething noble in the protection given them by an excommunicated perſon, as you have the honour to be: a predicament this, whence I have ſome right to flatter myſelf with the ſame protection.

I do not believe, with M. Paw, that the Emperor Kien-Long treated the Jeſuits in his dominions with cruelty. Father Amoit tranſlated his poem: we always love our tranſlator; and I will maintain, that a monarch who makes verſes cannot be cruel.

I will venture to aſk one favour of your majeſty; that is, to condeſcend to tell me which is oldeſt, my Lord Marſhal or myſelf. I am in my 83d year, and I think he is but 82. I wiſh that you may one day be in your 112th.

Anecdotes of the late Edward Wortley Montague, Eſq; *as given the World in one of the periodical Publications.*

THE celebrated Edward Wortley Montague, Eſq; died lately on his return from Venice to England. As this gentleman was remarkable for the uncommon incidents which attended his life, the cloſe of that life was no leſs marked with ſingularity. He had been early married to a woman,

who aſpired to no higher a character than that of an induſtrious waſherwoman. As the marriage was ſolemnized in a frolic, Wortley never deemed her ſufficiently the wife of his boſom to cohabit with her. She was allowed a maintenance. She lived contented, and was too ſubmiſſive to be troubleſome on account of the conjugal rites. Mr. Montague, on the other hand, was a perfect patriarch in his manners. He had wives of almoſt every nation. When he was with Ali Bey in Egypt, he had his houſhold of Egyptian females; each ſtriving who ſhould be the happy ſhe, who could gain the greateſt aſcendancy over this Anglo-Eaſtern Baſhaw. At Conſtantinople, the Grecian women had charms to captivate this unſettled wanderer. In Spain, a Spaniſh Brunette; in Italy, the olive-complexioned female, were ſolicited to partake the honours of the bridal bed. It may be aſked what became of this group of wives? Mr. Montague was continually ſhifting the place, and conſequently varying the ſcene. Did he travel with his wives, as the patriarchs did with their flocks and herds? No ſuch thing. Wortley, conſidering his wives as bad travelling companions, generally left them behind him. It happened, however, that news reached his ears of the death of the original Mrs. Montague the waſherwoman. Wortley had no iſſue by her, and without iſſue male, a very large eſtate would revert to the ſecond ſon of Lord Bute. Wortley, owing the family no obligations, was determined, if poſſible, to defeat their expectations. He reſolved to return to England and marry. He acquainted a friend with his intentions, and he commiſſioned that friend to adverti ſe for any young decent woman, who might be in a pregnant ſtate. The advertiſement was inſerted very lately in one of the morning papers. Several ladies anſwered it. One out of the number was ſelected, as being the moſt eligible object. She waited with eagerneſs for the arrival of her expected bridegroom; but, behold, whilſt he was on his journey, Death very impertinently arreſted him in his career. Thus ended the days of Edward Wortley Montague, Eſq; a man who had paſſed thro' ſuch variegated ſcenes, that a bare recital of them would ſavour of the marvellous. From Weſtminſter ſchool, where he was placed for education, he ran away three ſeveral times. He exchanged clothes with a chimney-ſweeper, and he followed for ſome time that ſooty occupation. He next joined himſelf to a fiſherman, and cried flounders in Rotherhithe. He then ſailed as a cabin-boy to Spain, where he had no ſooner arrived, than he ran away from the veſſel, and hired himſelf to a driver of mules. After thus vagabondizing it for ſome time, he was diſcovered by the conſul, who returned him to his friends in England. They received him with a joy equal to that of the father of the prodigal ſon in the Goſpel. A private tutor was employed to recover thoſe rudiments of learning which a life of diſſipation, of blackguardiſm, and of vulgarity, might have obliterated. Wortley was ſent to the Weſt-Indies, where he remained ſome time, then returned to England, acted according to the dignity of his birth, was

choſen a member, and ſerved in two ſucceſſive parliaments. His expences exceeding his income, he became involved in debt, quitted his native country, and commenced that wandering traveller he continued to the time of his death. Having viſited moſt of the eaſtern countries, he contracted a partiality for their manners. He drank little wine; a great deal of coffee; wore a long beard; ſmoaked much; and even whilſt at Venice, he was habited in the eaſtern ſtile. He ſat croſs-legged in the Turkiſh faſhion, through choice. With the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Chaldaic, and the Perſian languages, he was as well acquainted as with his native tongue. He publiſhed ſeveral pieces. One on the "Riſe and Fall of the Roman Empire." Another an exploration of "The Cauſes of Earthquakes." He had great natural abilities, a vaſt ſhare of acquired knowledge. He had ſcarcely a ſingle vice--*for he is dead.* That he had virtues to counterballance his failings, Omniſcience will diſcover, when weighing them in the ſcale of merit. Infinite mercy will take care that the beam ſhall preponderate in favour of his future happineſs.

Anecdotes of the late Rev. George Stubbs *and* John Straight, *Authors of ſeveral ingenious Pieces in Proſe and Verſe; by Mr.* John Straight.

SIR,

IF you think the following anecdotes worth preſerving, they are much at your ſervice.

GEORGE Stubbs, Rector of Gunville, in Dorſetſhire, a worthy, honeſt, intelligent writer, though little known as ſuch, wrote many of the beſt papers in the *Free Thinker*, 1718, (in conjunction with Ambroſe Philips and others), a *New Adventure of Telemachus*, printed in the *London Journal* of 1723 or 4, ſince printed ſeparately by Wilkins, in 8vo. a beautiful piece, founded upon principles of liberty and true government, and the reverſe of the Archbiſhop of Cambray's on that ſubject, which, however palliated, are upon a wrong foundation. Three or four letters in the *London Journal*, by Biſhop Hoadly, at that time, ſigned *Britannicus*, arguing againſt popery, (which obliged even that great and good man to make an entire ſubmiſſion, without exception to the Pope, againſt the tenor of all his works) evidently laid the foundation on which George Stubbs built this *New Adventure*. He alſo wrote *A Dialogue on Beauty*, in the manner of Socrates, between Socrates and Aſpaſia. This he made the elegant foundation of a copy of verſes on the late Dr. John Hoadly's marriage, 1735-6, incloſing to him, with a letter, *Aſpaſia to Florimel*, referring all along to that dialogue. There are ſome other copies of verſes by him, ſtill in manuſcript, though well worth preſerving, viz. *The Athenian Statue*, an allegorical poem, doing juſtice both to Biſhop Rundle (whoſe virtues he knew how to commend, as well as to laugh at his foibles), and to the eccleſiaſtical prudery and ſlander of Biſhop Gibſon and Venn; *Fickle Friendſhip*, on Dr. Rundle; and *Verſes on Miſs Wenman's Singing*, the author having dreamed of her.

Though

Though the critics, perhaps, may think all theſe too florid, yet they are very beautiful, and would better pleaſe *the many*. He printed alſo two ſmall volumes (if not more) of *Mad. Sevigné's Letters*, the firſt ever known in Engliſh, and thought to preſerve the good humour of the originals better than any of his ſucceſſors. He was intimately connected with Mr. Deputy Wilkins.*, the Whig printer in Little-Britain, by marrying his ſiſter for his firſt wife, who, by the way, was taken in by the French prophets. G. Stubbs married a ſecond wife at Saliſbury, daughter of Mr. Alderman King, who after his death married Mr. Hinxman, Rector of Houghton, near Stockbridge. Mr. Stubbs was a ſilent, reſerved man, as ſeeming conſcious of a want of addreſs, though at the ſame time of ſuperior abilities and genius.

If theſe hints ſhould be the means of collecting his works, or of reſcuing any more of them from oblivion, my end in communicating them will be anſwered. One of the pieces above-mentioned ſhall be added.

Fickle Friendſhip. On Dr. Rundle.

But it ſhould firſt be obſerved, that Dr. Rundle was a kind of male-coquette, and had as many friendſhips, and was as fantaſtical in them, as any of the other ſex-lovers. When his good friend, the Hon. Mr. John Talbot, married, he was ſo remarkably jealous of his wife, and all her charms and virtues, as to give occaſion to our author, who knew him well, to make this the uncommon ſubject of the following elegant poem.

" ALEXIS, with Platonic pride,
The feeble darts of Love defy'd,
The pow'r of Friendſhip ſtill he ſung,
And oft the harp with Shafteſb'ry ſtrung;
No nymph could taint his purer mind,
Or raiſe a paſſion leſs refin'd.
From friend to friend he lov'd to ſtray,
As butterflies their wings diſplay,
And, fluttering from flow'r to flow'r,
With wanton theft their ſweets devour.
No fam'd coquette, or fav'rite toaſt,
A fairer herd of ſwains could boaſt.
Thyrſis to Corydon reſign'd
The fickle empire of his mind;
Daphnis from willing Corydon
With eaſe the unſought honour won.
Acon was now his only joy,
Acon did all his thoughts employ;
The wav'ring ſteel was here at reſt,
And all its wanton motions ceas'd.
Though piqu'd, the boy with decent pride
To ſuch a breaſt his flames deny'd;
His golden ſhafts refus'd to ſtain,
Or curſe the nymphs with ſuch a ſwain.
To Acon's breaſt he ſped the dart,
To Acon did the wound impart;
The wound ſo deep, the dart ſo ſure,
Not Hymen's ſelf could boaſt a cure.
Who now does like Alexis mourn,
Or with more jealous fury burn?
He views the rival nymph with pain,
And does of Acon's joys complain.
Her pleaſing ſmiles, her glowing charms,
Poſſeſs his ſoul with new alarms;
He owns the triumph of her eyes,
And in the wounded Acon dies."

* A worthy, ſenſible, honeſt man, a warm friend to the Hanover ſucceſſion, and poſſeſſed of a liberality of ſentiment ſuperior to his ſtation, the age of the Stephens's being paſt, though we have had a Richardſon and a Foulis, and have ſtill a Bowyer.

With the ſame view accept the following anecdotes of

The Rev. JOHN STRAIGHT,

Rector of Findon, in Suſſex, to which he was preſented by Magdalen college, Oxford, being Fellow of that Society. He was author of the following poems in Dodſley's Collection, vol. v. p. 244, &c. "To Mr. J[ohn] H[oadly], at the Temple, occaſioned by a Tranſlation of an Epiſtle of Horace, 1730. Anſwer to ſome Verſes from Mr. J. H. 1731. Cupid and Chloe. The poet to his falſe Miſtreſs, &c." Theſe pieces are excellent, and much in the manner of Prior. Mr. Straight was ever in a ſtate of perſecution, as it were, for his extraordinary parts and eccentric good ſenſe; by which he intirely got rid of his good enthuſiaſtic father's prejudices (in which he was educated) in favour of the French prophets (above-mentioned), by whom he was eaten up and betrayed.

Mr. Straight married the daughter of Mr. Davenport, Vicar of Broad Hinton, Wilts, whom he left a widow with ſix children. After his death, two vols. 8vo. of "Select Diſcourſes" were publiſhed for their benefit, which, though never deſigned by him for the preſs, were extremely worthy of it. His circumſtances and health were particularly hurt by his turning farmer, merely for the ſake of his numerous family, and dying ſoon after, before he had time to retrieve the extraordinary firſt expences.

The following letter, occaſioned by Bp. Hoadly's giving him the prebend of Warminſter in Saliſbury's cathedral, is taken from "Letters by ſeveral eminent Perſons deceaſed," vol. 3. 2d edition.

Reverend Mr. Straight *to Biſhop* Hoadly.

My Lord, 1732.

I JUST now received your lordſhip's moſt ſurpriſing, generous, opportune, beatific letter. I was dead till I received it, but it has given me new life: I feel myſelf gay, elated - - - I have been tithe gathering theſe three weeks, and never thought to enquire after any thing for the future but the price of corn: but now I ſhall ſee London again, I ſhall ſee Sarum again, I ſhall ſee the Biſhop again;

Shall eat his oyſters, drink his ale,
Loos'ning the tongue as well as tail;

I ſhall be poetical, oratorical, ambitious; I ſhall write again to the young divine*; nay, I don't know but to the public. But I muſt ſuppreſs the extravagance of my joy, and think of proper terms to expreſs my gratitude. I can only wiſh your lordſhip and myſelf a long life to ſhew it.

I am, &c.

Gent. Mag. J. STRAIGHT.

Memoirs of the Life of the late Rev. Dr. John Hoadly.

THE late Rev. Dr. J. Hoadly, youngeſt and only ſurviving ſon of Benjamin Biſhop of Wincheſter, was born in Broad-ſtreet, London, (his father being then

* Mr. John Hoadly.

Rector

Rector of St. Peter's Poor), Oct. 8, 1711. He was educated at Mr. Newcome's ſchool at Hackney, where he played, with great applauſe, the part of Phocyas, in the Siege of Damaſcus *; and was admitted in June, 1730, at Corpus-Chriſti (or Benet) College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of LL. B. in 1735. Nov. 29 following, he was appointed Chancellor of the dioceſe of Wincheſter, and ordained by his father deacon Dec. 7, and prieſt the 21ſt. He was honoured (and particularly by the genteel manner of it) by the late Prince of Wales, being immediately (Dec. 26), by his ſole † deſire appointed his Chaplain; and by the Princeſs Dowager of Wales, in like manner, May 6, 1751.

Feb. 10, 1735-6, he married Elizabeth, daughter of James Aſhe, Eſq; of Saliſbury, by whom he had no iſſue.

He was firſt collated (by his father) to the rectory of Michelmerſh, March 8, 1737; to that of Wroughton (ſinecure), in Wiltſhire, Sept. 8, 1737: and to that of Alresford, and a prebend of Wincheſter, (both vacated by the ſudden death of the Reverend Mr. Soley), on November 29 of the ſame year.

He was inſtituted to the rectory of St. Mary's, near Southampton, June 9, 1743, on the preſentation of Martin Folkes, Eſq; &c. executors of the will of Archbiſhop Wake, his nephew, the preſent Dr. Wake not being then capable of orders.

Dec. 16, 1746, he was collated to the rectory of Overton (ſinecure), void by the death of Biſhop Clagett.

Jan. 4, 1747, he was honoured with the degree of LL. D. (the firſt degree conferred) by the excellent Archbiſhop Herring.

In May, 1760, (on the death of Dean Lynch), he was appointed to the maſterſhip of St. Croſs, (ſinecure); which preferments (all in the county of Hants) he enjoyed till his death; except the ſinecure of Wroughton; the prebend of Wincheſter, which on that occaſion the Biſhop permitted him to reſign in favour of his wife's brother, the Rev. Mr. Robert Aſhe; and the rectory of Michelmerſh, in which the ſame gentleman ſucceeded him in 1743, on his removal to St. Mary's. His houſe there, as ſpacious and elegant a parſonage as any in the kingdom, (his predeceſſor, Archdeacon Brideoke, in whoſe time it was burnt down, having expended 4000 l. on it, beſides 500 l. on the church), was

* The preſent Dr. Charles Plumptre (Archdeacon of Ely) was as good an Eudocia; with whom (ſaid Dr. Hoadly to a friend) "I have been in love ever ſince; but chiefly with the virtues of her mind, which are as conſpicuous and ſuper-excellent as thoſe in the play." On the revival of this tragedy in its original form by Mr. Newcome's ſcholars, many years after, Dr. Hoadly wrote the prologue.

† The Prince, knowing the Biſhop's taſte and knowledge of muſic, and the impoſſibility of his gratifying it at the theatre without impropriety, invited him to a rehearſal of an opera at Carleton-Houſe; very politely aſſuring him, that "he ſhould be quite at his eaſe, and alone in the next room, unleſs he would bring his ſon with him, who, he heard, was juſt going into orders, and whom he then begged leave to beſpeak as his chaplain."

embelliſhed with the remains of his mother's pictures, and the beſt of her own paintings, ſhe being a proficient in that art, and a ſcholar of Mrs. Beale and her ſon Charles. A half-length, by her, of her huſband, when Biſhop of Bangor, was added by her ſon in 1773, to the collection of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury at Lambeth.

The late Dr. Hoadly, with every benevolent affection and ſocial virtue, had an eminent taſte and genius for the polite arts, particularly poetry, as appears by his *Force of Truth*, an oratorio (taken from Eſdras), and ſome other muſical performances, written for his friend Dr. Green's academy at the Apollo, and ſet by him; the verſes under the prints of Hogarth's *Rake's Progreſs*; a tranſlation of Mr. Holdſworth's Muſcipula, 1737; and ſeveral other pieces printed in Dodſley's Poems, vol. v. p. 258, &c. the famous ballad, *Fair Sally lov'd a bonny Seaman*, &c. and many other *jeux d'eſprit*. To which we beg leave to add the following anecdotes:

In 1731, late in the ſeaſon, Mr. Rich, contrary to the opinion of all his friends, inſiſted on immediately bringing out a play which was then offered him, of a very peculiar ſort, it being a rehearſal of two modern plays, a comedy and a tragedy, which was played five nights in May to almoſt the ſame audience, and began to make a ſtrange noiſe in the town by the applauſes of ſome, and the fears and jealouſies of others, viz. the wits, critical and poetical. This was written by our author (then but 20) and his eldeſt brother, the phyſician, and was called *The Contraſt*, from the contraſted characters of the two poets, Mr. Simile and Mr. Fuſtian. This, for prudential reaſons, was ſacrificed to the good Biſhop's deſire; and Mr. Rich was ſo honourable as to recall every ſcrap of paper, copy, and parts, &c. that it was never heard of afterwards. The authors had made a few lines as the beginning of an epilogue in the modern looſe taſte, but ſoon found that was a wrong way to burleſque thoſe high ſeaſoned diſhes, and reſolved to make the actreſs herſelf refuſe to ſpeak it "as too indecent;" which had a vaſt effect. Merope, by the late Mr. Jeffreys, acted juſt before this, being in great diſtreſs for an epilogue, they ſupplied it with theſe very lines, which they had originally deſigned for a burleſque on all ſuch fooliſh epilogues, adding a few about critics, to make out a decent number *. Fielding afterwards took up the principal life of this piece, the two poets reciprocally hating and envying one another, and tranſplanted it into his *Paſquin*; which he made ſo abuſive as to get money for ſilencing it, and to be the occaſion of the act for licenſing plays,——too near an encroachment on the liberty of the preſs. *Aliquid Cyaris dignum* Fielding was well qualified to write.

In 1737, after the ingenious but dull morality of Dodſley's *Toyſhop*, Mr. Hoadly made choice of Mr. Hughes's Viſion of *Charon, or the Ferry-boat*, as a ſubject which would admit of as much inſtruction, with more life and ſpirit;

* The printed epilogue is ſaid to be "by an unknown hand."

allowing

allowing of a great number of characters humorous and moral, and at the ſame time ſhort and lively, Charon, a character of humour, and Mercury, of moral eloquence, remaining on the ſtage the whole time, and the reſt of the characters paſſing into the boat, where Charon at the boat-head receives them. It was a *petite piéce* of one long ſcene, with a high compliment both on Lord Chancellor Talbot, juſt then dead, and Lord Hardwicke, his ſucceſſor. All the characters in Mr. Hughes's *Viſion*, that would admit of any dramatical life, were preſerved. Great part of this plan was afterwards adopted by Mr. Garrick in his Lethe. The hint of imitating ſeveral modern authors, in the *Pipe of Tobacco*, was ſuggeſted to the late Mr. Hawkins Browne by Dr. Hoadly; and the imitation of Ambroſe Philips was written by him.

On the publication of the Supplement to the Biographia Britannica, Dr. Hoadly was obliged, in his father's juſt defence, to prepare an article relating to him, and to have it inſerted there, in the place of one actually printed before it was ſuffered to come to his hands or knowledge, very unworthy, and much to the diſgrace, of the Biſhop's character. The character of the compiler may be drawn from the following letter to our author, from the late Lord Chancellor Yorke, deſiring a liſt of his father's works.

" Nov. 10, 1769.

" Dear Sir, I had the honour and pleaſure of a letter from you yeſterday. Though I never ſee you, and during the whole courſe of my life have been little and ſcarce at all known to you, yet I confeſs, that, from various happy circumſtances of private acquaintance and public principles, I have always reſpected and loved you as a friend, and felt that relation, by your attention and goodneſs, to be reciprocal.

" As to your father, the late excellent Biſhop, I can lament with that ancient writer, who ſaid, *Virgilium nunquam vidi* *: but his memorable and great name is paſt, beyond the ſhort date of human life, into the annals and veneration of poſterity. I look up to him as a good and wiſe being far above us. This made me ambitious to trace his footſteps; and though not unverſed in the hiſtory of his life and writings, yet anxious to ſecure ſome catalogue of his tracts, that I might catch when I ſaw, and read when I had caught them, I ſhall be much obliged to you for the liſt.

" Your deſcription of N——ls† entertained me. *Helluo librorum*, I ſuppoſe, from the ſtrength, depth,

* Ovid, the writer here meant, ſays, *Virgilium* tantum *vidi*. Pope ſays the ſame thing of Dryden, and Dryden of Milton.

† LL.D. of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, from whence he was expelled for ſtealing books from the Univerſity library, &c. He wrote the lives in the latter part of the Biograph. Britann. ſigned P. In one of them (that of Dr. Joſeph Smith) was a letter from Sir Thomas Hanmer, reflecting on Biſhop Warburton, in regard to Shakeſpeare, which the Biſhop prevailed on the proprietors to cancel. But ſome time after the caſtrated ſheet was publiſhed ſeparately, by N——ls, on his lordſhip refuſing to give this literary Cerberus a proper ſop.

and

and leger-de-main of his caſſock. One of that name (if I miſtake not) a few years ago was a famous book-ſtealer in libraries, convicted at the Old-Bailey, and perhaps now returned from tranſportation. Nothing is ſo natural as that a felon book-ſtealer ſhould turn hireling panegyriſt, or felon libeller, in his regenerate ſtate. It is a *metempſychoſis* devoutly to be expected. And let me add, that it completes the ridicule and infamy of modern dictionary-writing, that he ſhould be the editor, and (as you ſay) even the Procruſtes of your father's life.—In ſhort, *quocunque modo*, do juſtice to your excellent father; "give the *Helluo* a dinner, and ſit ſtill," as, I know, you love to do.

"Lord Hardwicke is not in town, but very well, and always yours. Dr. Birch is as much alive as ever. I am, dear Sir, your faithful, &c.

C. YORKE."

And in another letter, dated Dec. 26, 1769, (not a month before his much lamented death!) Mr. Y. ſays, "As to your friend N——ls, I am right (it ſeems) in my man, nor quite *out* as to his tranſportation. The truth is, that having formerly been liable to be tranſported by ſentence of law, he tranſported himſelf into foreign parts for fear of the law.—I hope you will carry your point for a decent article."

This point was effectually carried (as mentioned above); and Dr. H. afterwards prefixed this article to a complete edition of his father's works, in 3 vols. folio, which he publiſhed in 1773, with a dedication to his Majeſty. It remains only to add, that he died at St. Mary's, March 16, 1776, in the 65th year of his age, and that "here the family and name of Hoadly (as he himſelf has obſerved *) ſeem to have an end," no male now remaining of that numerous ſtock, though the Biſhop's grandfather (chaplain of Edinburgh caſtle) had twelve children, his father (maſter of Norwich-ſchool) ten, and his uncle John (rector of Halſtead, Kent) five.

As a ſmall inſtance of our author's talent for humour, we ſhall cloſe this account with a parody on Addiſon's concluding ſimile, in the 4th act of Cato.

"So from on high, where Grubſtreet's garrets ſtand,
Sudden th' impetuous hawking race deſcend;
Bawl down the ſtreets, the liſt'ning alleys ſcare,
Till, propp'd upon their mops, the cook-maids ſtare.
Th' affrighted Abigail, with wild ſurprize,
Hears murders and laſt ſpeeches fill the ſkies,
And, by the frontiſpiece deluded, ——buys †."

To the foregoing memoirs may be added a parody on another Act-Simile,

* Article Hoadly, p. lxiii.

† The original is as follows:

"So where our wide Numidian waſtes extend,
Sudden th' impetuous hurricanes deſcend,
Wheel through the air, in circling eddies play,
Tear up the ſands, andſ weep whole plains away.

Th'

Simile, in the manner of the laſt, there being ſufficient reaſon to conſider it as the production of the ſame ingenious writer, in his juvenile years.

Phædra and *Hippolitus*. Act II.

Concluſion.

So, when bright Venus yielded up her charms,
The bleſt Adonis languiſh'd in her arms;
His idle horn on fragrant myrtles hung,
His arrows ſcatter'd, and his bow unſtrung.
Obſcure in coverts lie his dreaming hounds,
And bay the fancy'd boar with feeble ſounds;
For nobler ſports he quits the ſavage fields,
And all the hero to the lover yields.

PARODY.

So, when bright Abigail reſign'd her charms,
The happy Curate languiſh'd in her arms;
His unbruſh'd beaver on the floor was toſt,
His notes were ſcatter'd, and his bible loſt.
In ale-houſe hid his dreaming clerk was found,
And rear'd the fancy'd ſtave with feeble ſound:
For nobler ſheets his concordance he leaves,
And all the parſon to the lover gives.

And ſo on—"the butter-woman's rank to market," as Shakeſpear ſays. Nothing ſo eaſy to write as *pretty things*, but to bring them in properly and judiciouſly—*hic labor, hoc opus. Facilis deſcenſus*—your *down-hill work* is eaſy, but your *hills* are choak-jades,

And 'tis with whip and ſpur the race is won.

Let it be added, that Lillo's *Arden of Feverſham* was reviſed and much improved by Dr. John Hoadly; and that *The Suſpicious Huſband* is ſuppoſed to have been much indebted to the ſame hand. When the Biſhop mentioned this performance, he always called it *his ſon's thing*, or *the thing* which his ſon wrote.

A. B.

Recent Account of the Perſon ſtiled, in England, The Pretender; *and, in* Rome, Il Re, *or* The King. *From Letters from* Italy, *by a Lady* (*Mrs.* Miller), *lately publiſhed.*

7th of Jan. at night.

—I Told you in this letter that we paſſed part of (yeſterday) evening at the Ducheſs of Bracciano's: as we were there early, before much company was arrived, ſhe was ſo obliging as to enter into a particular converſation with me. We were ſeated on a ſofa, when one of the gentlemen in waiting entered, and announced "Il Re." As there were many rooms to paſs

Th' affrighted traveller, with wild ſurpriſe,
Sees the dry deſert all around him riſe,
And, bury'd in the duſty whirlwind, dies."

"Smit with the love of rhyme," the great Addiſon, we ſee, could not reſiſt the temptation of tagging his acts; an abſurdity now exploded. Philips has been betrayed into the ſame.

before

before this perſonage could appear, ſhe ſeized that opportunity to deſire me upon no account to ſpeak to, or take the leaſt notice of him, as it was not only what ſhe inſiſted upon in her houſe, but that it was the Pope's deſire that no ſtranger, particularly Engliſh, ſhould hold any converſation with him. I aſſured her my principles were diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of the Stuart family and their party; adding more of the like ſort: but I concluded with ſaying, that, if he ſpoke to me, I could not, as a gentlewoman, refrain from anſwering him, conſidering him only in the light of a gentleman, and ſhould treat him as I would do any other foreigner or native, with that general civility requiſite on ſuch occaſions; ſhe ſtill inſiſted upon my not anſwering, ſhould he ſpeak to me, with which I refuſed to comply: I think I was right: my reaſons were theſe: I knew before, that no gentlemen of the Britiſh empire make themſelves known to him, but on the contrary avoid it, except ſuch as declare themſelves diſaffected to the preſent royal family; at leaſt, ſo it is underſtood at Rome. I had alſo heard, that he politely avoided embarraſſing them by throwing himſelf in their way: but, as I am not a man, it ſtruck me as very ridiculous for me, a woman, not to reply to the Pretender, if he ſpoke to me, as ſuch a caution would bear the appearance of paſſing myſelf for being of political conſequence; added to theſe conſiderations, I had great curioſity to ſee him, and hear him ſpeak.—But to return: he entered, and, bowing very politely to the company, advanced to the individual ſopha on which I was placed with the Ducheſs of Bracciano, and ſeated himſelf by me, having previouſly made me a particular bow, which I returned with a low curtſey; he endeavoured to enter into converſation with me, which he effected by addreſſing himſelf equally to the Ducheſs, another lady, and myſelf; at laſt he addreſſed me in particular, and aſked me how many days ſince my arrival at Rome, how long I ſhould ſtay, and ſeveral ſuch queſtions. This converſation paſſed in French —what diſtreſſed me was how to ſtyle him—I had but a moment for reflection; it ſtruck me that Mon Prince (though the common appellation (as in France) to every ſtranger whoſe rank as a prince is the moſt dubious) would not come well from me, as it might admit of a double ſenſe in an uncandid mind—Highneſs was equally improper; ſo I hit upon what I thought a middle courſe, and called him Mon Seigneur. I wiſhed to ſhorten the converſation, for all on a ſudden he ſaid, "Speak Engliſh, Madam." Before I could reply, the Ducheſs of Monte Libretti came up, and pulled me by the ſleeve: I went with her to a card-table at which ſhe was going to play: I declined playing, not being perfect in the games; beſides, you know I hate cards. At my departure, I took leave of the Ducheſs of Bracciano (agreeable to the cuſtom) and the Chevalier, who played at her table, officiouſly civil, roſe up, and wiſhed me a good night. He is naturally above the middle ſize, but ſtoops exceſſively; he appears bloated and red in the face, his countenance heavy and ſleepy, which is attributed to his having given into exceſs of drinking;

drinking; but, when a young man, he muſt have been eſteemed handſome. His complexion is of the fair tint, his eyes blue, his hair light brown, and the contour of his face a long oval; he is by no means thin, has a noble preſence, and a graceful manner: his dreſs was ſcarlet, laced with a broad gold lace; he wears the blue ribband outſide of his coat, from which depends a cameo (antique) as large as the palm of my hand; and wears the ſame garter and motto as thoſe of the noble order of St. George in England: upon the whole, he has a melancholic, mortified appearance. Two gentlemen conſtantly attend him; they are of Iriſh extraction, and Roman Catholics you may be ſure. This evening, after quitting the Cardinal's, we were at the Princeſs Paleſtrine's converſazione, where he was alſo. He addreſſed me as politely as the evening before. The Princeſs deſired me to ſit by her; ſhe played with him: he aſked me, if I underſtood the game of Tarrocchi, (what they were about to play at); I anſwered in the negative; upon which, taking the pack in his hands, he deſired to know if I had ever ſeen ſuch odd cards: I replied that they were very odd indeed: he then, diſplaying them, ſaid, "Here is every thing in the world to be found in theſe cards, the ſun, the moon, the ſtars; and here, ſays he, (ſhewing me a card) is the Pope; here is the devil, (and added) there is but one of the trio wanting, and you know who that ſhould be." I was ſo amazed, ſo aſtoniſhed, though he ſpoke this laſt in a laughing, good-humoured manner, that I did not know which way to look; and as to a reply, I made none, but avoided cultivating converſation as much as poſſible, leſt he ſhould give our converſation a political turn. What paſſed afterwards was relative to ſome of the Engliſh manners and amuſements; ſuch as, whether whiſt was in faſhion at London, the aſſemblies numerous, &c. I was heartily glad when my viſit was finiſhed.

A brief Account of that excellent Critic, the late Mr. Jerry Markland. *By an anonymous Hand; with an Addition by* ACADEMICUS.

MR. Jeremiah Markland, who died July 7, 1776, at Milton, near Dorking, in Surry, was one of the moſt learned ſcholars, and penetrating critics of the age. He became firſt publicly known by his "Epiſtola Critica," addreſſed to Biſhop Hare. In this he gave many proofs of extenſive erudition and critical ſagacity. He afterwards publiſhed an edition of Statius, ſome plays of Euripides, and aſſiſted Dr. Taylor in his editions of Lyſias and Demoſthenes, by the notes which he communicated to him. He has alſo very happily elucidated ſome paſſages in the New Teſtament, which may be found in Mr. Bowyer's edition of it; and was author of a very valuable volume of remarks on the epiſtles of Cicero to Brutus; and of an excellent little treatiſe under the title of Quæſtio Grammatica. He was not more valued for his univerſal reading, than beloved for the excellence of his heart, and primitive ſimplicity of manners. He was educated in Chriſt's-Hoſpital. Of the ſame royal foundation were Joſhua Barnes, of Emmanuel-College, Cambridge, the celebrated

celebrated Greek Profeſſor, and the late Dr. Jurin, equally eminent for his ſkill in phyſic, and the ſublimer parts of mathematics.—Mr. Markland was born in Auguſt 1692. He was one of the twelve children of the Rev. Ralph Markland, and has left four ſurviving ſiſters, the youngeſt of whom is 70, and another of them is mother to the preſent Sir Robert Foley, Bart. For more than 20 years paſt he lived almoſt ſequeſtered from the world in the little village of Milton, near Dorking, where the aged and the needy have loſt a moſt generous benefactor. His remains were depoſited in Dorking church, whither, by his own deſire, he was carried by ſix of his poor neighbours.

The foregoing *brief* account of Mr. Jeremiah Markland, might be ſomewhat enlarged by a repreſentation of his incomparable Annotations upon Maximus Tyrius, which were printed in Dr. Davis's ſecond edition of that author in 1740, 4to. under the care of the very learned profeſſor Ward. Mr. Markland has, in his addreſs to the reader prefixed to them, demonſtrated the truth of his diſcovery that Maximus had himſelf publiſhed two editions of this work: a diſcovery ſufficient to immortalize the name of this eminent critic, had he done nothing elſe in the republic of letters. To him we alſo owe "the many additions" to Arnald's "Commentary upon the Book of Wiſdom," noticed at the end of the Author's preface, in the 2d edition, 1760. ACADEMICUS.

Some Account of the Life and Writings of the late Mr. Benjamin Stillingfleet. *By a Gentleman who ſubſcribes himſelf* J. C. *with an Addition by* ACADEMICUS.

SIR,

I Have often been much concerned that none of the friends of the late Mr. Benjamin Stillingfleet have favoured the public with any particulars of his life, to perpetuate the memory of that amiable and ſenſible gentleman. I have therefore thrown together the following notices, in hopes of inducing ſome better qualified perſon to do him more ample juſtice.

He was grandſon of the well-known Biſhop of Worceſter. His father Edward was Fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge, F. R. S. M. D. and Greſham Profeſſor of Phyſic: but marrying in 1692, he loſt his lucrative offices, and his father's favour: a misfortune that affected both himſelf and his poſterity. However, going into orders, he obtained, by his father's means, the living of Newington-Butts, which he immediately exchanged for thoſe of Wood-Norton and Swanton in Norfolk. He died in 1708.

Benjamin, his only ſon, was educated at Norwich ſchool, which he left in 1720, with the character of an excellent ſcholar. He then went to Trinity-College in Cambridge, at the requeſt of Dr. Bentley, the maſter, who had been private tutor to his father, domeſtic chaplain to his grandfather, and much indebted to the family. Here he was a candidate for a fellowſhip; but was rejected by the maſter's influence. This was a ſevere and unexpected diſappointment; and but little alleviated afterwards by the doctor's apology, that it was a pity that a gentleman of Mr. Stillingfleet's

lingfleet's parts ſhould be buried within the walls of a college.

Perhaps, however, this ingratitude of Dr. Bentley was not of any real diſſervice to Mr. Stillingfleet. By being thrown into the world, he formed many honourable and valuable connections. He dedicated ſome tranſlations of Linnæus to the late Lord Lyttelton, partly, he ſays, from motives of private reſpect and honour. The preſent Lord Barrington gave him, in a very polite manner, the place of the maſter of the barracks at Kenſington; a favour to which Mr. Stillingfleet, in the dedication of his Calendar of Flora to that nobleman, alludes with equal politeneſs, as well as with the warmeſt gratitude. His Calendar of Flora was formed at Stratton in Norfolk, in the year 1755, at the hoſpitable ſeat of his very worthy and ingenious friend Mr. Marſham, who had made ſeveral obſervations of that kind, and had communicated to the public his curious obſervations on the growth of Trees. But it was to Mr. Wyndham, of Felbrig in Norfolk, that he appears to have had the greateſt obligations: he travelled abroad with him; ſpent much of his time at his houſe; and was appointed one of his executors (Mr. Garrick, I think, was another), with a conſiderable addition to an annuity which that gentleman had ſettled upon him in his life-time.

Mr. Stillingfleet's genius ſeems, if we may judge from his works, to have led him principally to the ſtudy of natural hiſtory, which he proſecuted as an ingenious philoſopher, an uſeful citizen, and a good man. In this walk of learning he mentions, as his friends, Dr. Watſon, Mr. (now Dr.) Solander, Mr. Hudſon, Mr. Price of Foxley, and ſome others: and I have heard the ingenious Mr. Pennant acknowledge many obligations to him. Nor can I omit the flattering mention which the late Mr. Gray makes of him in one of his letters, dated from London in 1761. "I have lately made an acquaintance with this philoſopher, who lives in a garret here in the winter, that he may ſupport ſome near relations who depend upon him. He is always employed, conſequently (according to my old maxim) always happy, always cheerful, and ſeems to me a very worthy honeſt man. His preſent ſcheme is to ſend ſome perſons, properly qualified, to reſide a year or two in Attica, to make themſelves acquainted with the climate, productions, and natural hiſtory of the country, that we may underſtand Ariſtotle, Theophraſtus, &c. who have been Heathen Greek to us for ſo many ages; and this he has got propoſed to Lord Bute, no unlikely perſon to put it in execution, as he is himſelf a botaniſt."

I know not whether Mr. Stillinfleet has publiſhed any thing in this way, except a volume of miſcellaneous tracts, which is in much eſteem, and does great honour to his head and heart. They are chiefly tranſlations of ſome eſſays in the Amœnitates Academicæ, publiſhed by Linnæus, interſperſed with ſome obſervations and additions of his own. In this volume he ſhews alſo a taſte for claſſical learning, and entertains us with ſome elegant poetical effuſions of his own. But his *Eſſay on Converſation*, publiſhed in the firſt volume of Dodſley's *Collection of Poems*, entitles him to a di-

a diſtinguiſhed rank among our Engliſh poets. And I am the rather pleaſed at being able to view him in this light, as ſome perſons have affected to deſpiſe the ſtudy of natural hiſtory (particularly ſome of the more minute parts of it) as beneath the character of a gentleman, and rarely engaged in but by perſons of inferior and unpoliſhed underſtandings. This poem is addreſſed to Mr. Wyndham, with all that warmth of friendſhip which diſtinguiſhes Mr. Stillingfleet. As it is chiefly didactic, it does not admit of ſo many ornaments as ſome compoſitions of other kinds. However, it contains much good-ſenſe, ſhews a conſiderable knowledge of mankind, and has ſeveral paſſages that in point of harmony and eaſy verſification would not diſgrace the writings of our moſt admired poets. Here more than once Mr. Stillingfleet ſhews himſelf ſtill ſore from Dr. Bentley's cruel treatment of him; and towards the beautiful and moral cloſe of it (where I think he gives us a ſketch of himſelf), ſeems to hint at a mortification of a more delicate nature, which he is ſaid to have ſuffered from the other ſex.

To theſe diſappointments it was perhaps owing that Mr. Stillingfleet neither married, nor went into orders. His London reſidence was at a ſadler's in Piccadilly, where he died in 1771, aged above 70, leaving ſeveral valuable papers behind him, none of which, I believe, have been printed. He was buried in St. James's church, without the ſlighteſt monument of his having exiſted. Theſe poſthumous tributes are indeed unavailing to the dead; but ſooth, however, the regret of the living: and therefore I ſomewhat wonder, that none of the gentlemen who greatly valued him, ſhould have indulged their own grief by at leaſt ſome ſlender memorial of their affection for him.

J. C.

To the above account of the writings of Mr. Benjamin Stillingfleet, may be added a ſmall 8vo. anonymous pamphlet, publiſhed about 1733, intitled, "Some Thoughts concerning Happineſs;" though it is not noticed by Profeſſor Ward in p. 283 of the "Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-College," where Mr. Stillingfleet is mentioned as an author.—*Gent. Mag.*

ACADEMICUS.

Memoirs of the late Mr. Peter Collinſon, *Fellow of the Royal Society, and the Society of Antiquaries, in* London; *and of the Royal Societies of* Berlin *and* Upſal.

THE ſatisfaction ariſing from the view of a life continually employed in commendable purſuits, and in acts of laſting and extenſive utility, is not a ſmall one. We participate afreſh in every ſocial action of the friend whom we loved whilſt living, and pay that tribute to his name, which love and friendſhip demand—a grateful and honourable remembrance.

The juſt eſteem which Mr. Peter Collinſon had acquired, among the chief promoters of *natural hiſtory* in moſt parts of the world, and among men of underſtanding in general, in every part of uſeful ſcience; muſt render any apology unneceſſary for exhibiting ſome account of him.

Mr.

Mr. Peter Collinſon was the great-grandſon of Peter Collinſon, who lived on his paternal eſtate, called Hugal-Hall, near Windermere Lake, ten miles from Kendal in Weſtmoreland. He was born in the year 1693, and whilſt a youth he diſcovered a ſtrong attachment to natural hiſtory. Inſects, and their ſeveral metamorphoſes, employed many of thoſe hours, which at his time of life are moſtly ſpent by others in very different purſuits. Plants likewiſe engaged his attention; he began early to make a collection of dried ſpecimens, and had acceſs to the beſt gardens in the neighbourhood of London. In the year 1740 he was conſidered among thoſe who were beſt acquainted with botany and natural hiſtory in England—his collection was very large—the ſpecimens well choſen—his botanic garden contained many curious plants not to be met with in any other; and the number of ſuch kept increaſing to the laſt period of his life.

The firſt-rate naturaliſts of the age, Drs. Derham, Woodward, Dale, Lloyd, Sir Charles Wager, and Sir Hans Sloane, were among his friends.—He was one of thoſe few who viſited Sir Hans at all times familiarly, and continued ſo to do to the lateſt period—and among the great variety of articles which formed his friend's ſuperb collection, ſmall was the number of thoſe, with whoſe hiſtory Mr. Collinſon was not well acquainted. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, December 12, 1728, and was one of the moſt diligent and uſeful members of that reſpectable body, not only in ſupplying them with many curious obſervations himſelf, but in promoting and preſerving an extenſive correſpondence with learned foreigners in all countries, and on every uſeful ſubject—and thus excited others to contribute largely to the inſtruction and entertainment of the ſociety.

Indeed he ſuffered nothing uſeful in either art or ſcience to eſcape him.—There were but few men of learning and ingenuity of all profeſſions who were not of his acquaintantance—he acquainted the learned and ingenious in diſtant parts of the globe with the diſcoveries and improvements in natural hiſtory in this country, and received the like information from the moſt eminent perſons in almoſt every other. His correſpondence with Cadwallader Colden, Eſq; of New-York, and the celebrated Dr. Franklin of Philadelphia, furniſh many inſtances of the benefit reſulting from his attention to all improvements. To him Dr. Franklin communicated his firſt eſſays on electricity. Their minds in this reſpect were congenial, ever intent upon promoting public good.

Perhaps in ſome future period, the account he procured of the management of ſheep in Spain, in reſpect to their migrations from the mountains to the plains, and their ſtated returns, may not be conſidered among the leaſt of the benefits accruing from his extenſive and inquiſitive correſpondence. When America is better peopled, the mountainous parts more habitable, the plains unloaded of their vaſt foreſts and cultivated, the fineſt ſheep in the world may poſſibly cover the plains of Carolina, Georgia, and the Floridas, in the winter months, and retreat to the moun-

mountains as the ſummer heats increaſe, and dry up the herbage. Probably it might be practiſed even in this iſland to advantage; with this difference, that the higheſt ground ſhould be choſen for the winter reſidence of theſe animals, proper ſhelter being made for them, and the wetter low lands left for ſummer.

Mr. Collinſon's converſation was chearful, and uſefully entertaining —it generally turned to ſome intereſting diſquiſition, or imparting ſome beneficial information. With ſome of the moſt eminent perſonages in the kingdom, as diſtinguiſhed by their taſte in planting and horticulture, as by their rank, he frequently ſpent a few days at their ſeats, imparting many advantageous hints as to the improvements they were deſigning. By his extenſive obſervation and experience of the effects of different methods of cultivation; what ſoil, what aſpect beſt ſuited different plants and trees; how beſt to cover incurable defects; how to improve beauties, &c.—he often prevented young planters from committing capital miſtakes, rectified others who had been miſled, and prevailed upon many of his friends, and young people of fortune, to embark in this rational amuſement, and to perſevere in it greatly to their own emolument, and the laſting advantage of their country.

Planting, he uſed to ſay, and gardening, ſupply a fund of entertainment, the moſt laſting and reaſonable of any occupation in this life; pleaſures not to be purchaſed. The trees which we ourſelves have planted, the fruits we have raiſed, the plants we have cultivated, ſeem to be like our children, a kind of new creation; their ſhade, their taſte, their fragrance and their beauties, affect us with a richer repaſt than any others. What a pleaſing ſcene, would he obſerve, lies open to a young man of fortune devoted to ſuch amuſements! Each ſucceeding year produces new ſhades, other fruits, freſh beauties, and brings beſides moſt certain profit. To behold the riſing groves, barrenneſs made fertile, our country improved, ourſelves made uſeful and happy, and poſterity enriched! When on this favourite ſubject, a very natural reflection often eſcaped him, that he ſeldom knew a man poſſeſſed of a taſte for ſuch pleaſures, who was not at the ſame time temperate and virtuous. And indeed he had a right to make the obſervation; for he had the ſatisfaction of reckoning among his moſt intimate friends, men of the moſt amiable and unblemiſhed characters in all ſtations, parties, and diſtinctions.

Nor was he only employed in promoting this taſte amongſt his friends, in enlarging their views, correcting and refining their judgment, but alſo in furniſhing them with the means of increaſing their plantations: and it is but doing juſtice to his memory, to mention that he was the firſt who introduced the great variety of ſeeds and ſhrubs, which are now the principal ornaments of every garden; and that it was owing to his indefatigable induſtry, that ſo many perſons of the firſt diſtinction are now enabled to behold groves tranſplanted from the weſtern continent flouriſhing ſo luxuriantly in their ſeveral domains, as if they were already become indigenous to Britain.

His buſineſs in the mercantile

way was chiefly to North-America and the Weſt-Indies, the former particularly. He had peruſed every performance that was wrote reſpecting the natural hiſtory and produce of all our own ſettlements, and indeed of all the European colonies in the new world. This enabled him to make enquiries after every thing that was curious and uſeful, and brought him acquainted with the moſt intelligent people who came over from America; his enquiries raiſed ſome curioſity in thoſe countries, and excited a taſte for natural hiſtory and botanical reſearches. It perhaps may ſafely be ſaid, that every thing of this ſort that has appeared in thoſe parts of the world, was chiefly owing to his encouragement. That eminent naturaliſt, John Bartram, may almoſt be ſaid to have been created ſuch by Mr. Collinſon's aſſiſtance: he firſt recommended the collecting of ſeeds, and afterwards aſſiſted in diſpoſing of them in this country, and conſtantly excited him to perſevere in inveſtigating the plants of America, which he has executed with indefatigable labour, through a long courſe of years, and with amazing ſucceſs.

The quantities of new ſeeds he received from America, not only ſupplied his own garden with every thing that was curious, but furniſhed him with the means of procuring others, in exchange, from other parts of the globe. He had ſome correſpondents in almoſt every nation in Europe; ſome in Aſia, and even at Pekin; who all tranſmitted to him the moſt valuable ſeeds they could collect, in return for the treaſures of America. In this exchange of good offices, there is abundant cauſe to believe no man ever exceeded him in reſpect to punctuality, care, or generoſity; few had ever more intelligent correſpondents, or ſucceeded better in enriching this country with the vegetable produce of every other, that could either add to its advantage or ornament.

The great Linnæus, during his reſidence in England, contracted an intimate friendſhip with him, which was reciprocally increaſed by good offices, and continued to the laſt without any diminution. Mr. Collinſon frequently prompted the Americans to purſue improvements alike beneficial to themſelves and to his country. He often urged the benefit, nay neceſſity of cultivating flax, hemp, wine, ſilk, and other products. In moſt of the northern and ſouthern colonies, there are a variety of native grapes growing wild in the woods, and thriving among the trees and buſhes for their ſupport. Theſe yield fruit in plenty of different kinds, and many of them capable of producing a rich good wine. It would be eaſy in autumn to collect a ſufficient quantity of the fruit to make trial of the wine. A few have done it with ſucceſs, and the fault ſeems not ſo much in the fruit, as want of ſkill or care in making the wine. It is certainly now high time for the Americans to apply themſelves diligently to cultivate their native produce: and the meaſures of adminiſtration have at length forced them to do it, whether they choſe it or not.

He was a member of the Society of Antiquarians from its firſt inſtitution, and ſupplied them often with many curious articles of intelligence, and obſervations reſpecting

this and other countries — for wherever he was, or however ſeemingly engaged, nothing eſcaped his notice, if it appeared likely to be uſeful or inſtructive. He had no greater ambition than to collect what knowledge he could, and to render this knowledge ſubſervient as much as poſſible to the good of mankind. He lived many years in great domeſtic happineſs, and his family took the ſame bias, and aided his purſuits. He had a pleaſing and ſocial aſpect — his temper open and communicative — capable of feeling for diſtreſs, and ready to relieve. He roſe very early, and whilſt in the country, his time was almoſt conſtantly employed in his garden, obſerving and aſſiſting the operations of nature, or in the ſtudy of other parts of phyſical knowledge, which contributed to his health and pleaſure.

He was fond of fruit to an extreme, and of flowers a perpetual admirer: he was ſeldom without them in his houſe, from the early ſnowdrop to the autumn cyclamen. He would often relate with pleaſure the aſtoniſhing advancement made in his time in horticulture; gave inſtances of many plants, which at their firſt introduction would not bear our winters without ſhelter, and now endured almoſt our hardeſt froſts; ſo that foreigners ſtood amazed at the power of vegetation in this country, and the happy temperature we enjoy, notwithſtanding the unmerited murmurs of the unthinking and injudicious, againſt a climate the moſt favourable of all others to the real happineſs of mankind.

He hath left behind him a vaſt treaſure of dried ſpecimens of plants, and in ſpite of repeated and cruel depredations on his garden, whereby he loſt a multitude of valuable plants and ſhrubs, and had many others deſtroyed by the villains in the act of plunder, he has nevertheleſs left a ſmall treaſure of rare plants, in greater perfection than can be ſeen perhaps in any other ſpot.

Excepting ſome attacks of the gout, in general he enjoyed perfect health, and great equality of ſpirits; bearing thoſe trials which are incident to man with fortitude and reſignation.

In ſuch a courſe he arrived at his 75th year; when being on a viſit to Lord Petre, in Eſſex, for whom he had a ſingular regard, he was ſeized with a total ſuppreſſion of urine, which baffling every attempt to relieve it, proved fatal on the 11th of Auguſt 1768, and deprived his family, his friends, and country of a man devoted to their intereſt and advantage. Incloſed in his will was found a paper, importing, "that he hoped he ſhould leave behind him a good name, which he valued more than riches; that he had endeavoured not to live uſeleſsly; and that all his days he conſtantly aimed to be a friend to mankind." Such indeed he was, to the utmoſt of his ability; and he may juſtly be conſidered as a latent ſpring to many important improvements, as well as one of the principal promoters of natural hiſtory in general, and of horticulture in particular, in the age in which he lived.

Additions to the above Memoirs, by a Gent. who ſubſcribes himſelf Y.

AMONG Mr. Collinſon's particular friends ſtands the name of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, to whom he

he communicated many valuable particulars. Their minds were congenial, and ever intent on promoting the public good.—The following letter is one proof thereof, and therefore deſerves a place in your valuable repoſitory. Y.

To MICHAEL COLLINSON, Eſq;

DEAR SIR,

UNDERSTANDING that an account of our dear departed friend Mr. Peter Collinſon is intended to be given to the public, I cannot omit expreſſing my approbation of the deſign. The character of good men are exemplary, and often ſtimulate the well-diſpoſed to an imitation, beneficial to mankind, and honourable to themſelves. And as you may be unacquainted with the following inſtances of his zeal and uſefulneſs in promoting knowledge, which fell within my obſervation, I take the liberty of informing you, that in 1730, a ſubſcription library beng ſet on foot at Philadelphia, he encouraged the deſign by making ſeveral very valuable preſents to it, and procuring others from his friends: and as the library company had a conſiderable ſum ariſing annually to be laid out in books, and needed a judicious friend in London to tranſact the buſineſs for them, he voluntarily and chearfully undertook that ſervice, and executed it for more than thirty years ſucceſſively; aſſiſting in the choice of books, and taking the whole care of collecting and ſhipping them, without ever charging or accepting any conſideration for his trouble. The ſucceſs of this library, (greatly owing to his kind countenanee and good advice) encouraged the erecting others in different places on the ſame plan: and it is ſuppoſed there are now upwards of thirty ſubſiſting in the ſeveral colonies, which have contributed greatly to the ſpreading of uſeful knowledge in that part of the world; the books he recommended being all of that kind, and the catalogue of this firſt library being much reſpected and followed by thoſe libraries that ſucceeded.

During the ſame time he tranſmitted to the directors of the library the earlieſt accounts of every new European improvement in agriculture and the arts, and every philoſophical diſcovery: among which, in 1745, he ſent over an account of the new German experiments in electricity, together with a glaſs tube, and ſome directions for uſing it, ſo as to repeat thoſe experiments. This was the firſt notice I had of that curious ſubject, which I afterwards proſecuted with ſome diligence, being encouraged by the friendly reception he gave to the letters I wrote to him upon it. Pleaſe to accept this ſmall teſtimony of mine to his memory, for which I ſhall ever have the utmoſt reſpect; and believe me, with ſincere eſteem, dear Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

Lond. Mag. R. FRANKLIN.

Some Account of the late celebrated Mr. Ferguſon, *by Dr.* Tho. Houlſton, *of* Liverpool.

MR. James Ferguſon was born in Scotland, of very poor parents. At the earlieſt age his extraordinary genius began to exert itſelf. He firſt learned to read

by overhearing his father teach his elder brother: and he had made this acquiſition before any one ſuſpected it. He ſoon diſcovered a peculiar taſte for mechanics, which firſt aroſe on ſeeing his father uſe a lever. He purſued this ſtudy a conſiderable length, even whilſt very young, and made a watch in wood work, from having once ſeen one. As he had no inſtructor, nor any help from books, every thing he learned had all the merit of an original diſcovery; and ſuch, with infinite joy, he believed it to be. As ſoon as his age would permit, he went to ſervice, in which he met with hardſhips, which rendered his conſtitution feeble through life. Whilſt he was ſervant to a farmer (whoſe goodneſs he acknowledges in the modeſt and humble account of himſelf which he prefixed to his laſt publication), he frequently contemplated the ſtars, and began the ſtudy of aſtronomy, by laying down, from his own obſervations only, a celeſtial globe. His kind maſter, obſerving theſe marks of his ingenuity, procured him the countenance and aſſiſtance of his ſuperiors. By their help and inſtructions, he went on gaining farther knowledge, and was ſent to Edinburgh. There he began to take portraits, an employment by which he ſupported himſelf and family for ſeveral years, both in Scotland and England, whilſt he was purſuing more ſerious ſtudies. In London he firſt publiſhed ſome curious aſtronomical tables and calculations, and afterwards gave public lectures in experimental philoſophy, which he repeated (by ſubſcription) in moſt of the principal towns in England, with the higheſt marks of general approbation. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, without paying for admiſſion (an honour ſcarcely ever conferred on a native) and had a penſion of 50l. per ann. given him, unſolicited, by our gracious king, at his acceſſion, who had heard lectures from him, and frequently ſent for and converſed with him on curious topics. He alſo received ſeveral preſents from his majeſty, the patron of real merit. To what a degree of conſideration Mr. Ferguſon mounted by the ſtrength of his natural genius, almoſt every one knows. He was univerſally conſidered as at the head of aſtronomy and mechanics in this nation of philoſophers. And he might juſtly be ſtiled ſelf-taught, or rather heaven-taught; for in his whole life he had not above half a year's inſtruction at ſchool. He was a man of the cleareſt judgment, and the moſt unwearied application to ſtudy; benevolent, meek and innocent in his manners as a child: humble, courteous and communicative; inſtead of pedantry, philoſophy ſeemed to produce in him only diffidence and urbanity—a love for mankind and for his Maker. His whole life was an example of reſignation and chriſtian piety. He might be ſaid to be an enthuſiaſt in his love of God, if religion, founded on ſuch ſubſtantial and enlightened grounds as his was, could be like enthuſiaſm. After a long and uſeful life, unhappy in his family connections, in a feeble and precarious ſtate of health, worn out with ſtudy, age, and infirmities, he was at length permitted to attain that heaven, on which his thoughts and views had long been fixed, and which is the ultimate reward of learning, virtue, patience, and piety.

Liverpool, Nov. 20, 1776.

Memoirs

Memoirs of the late Mr. George Edwards, *Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies.*

GEORGE EDWARDS was born at Stratford, a hamlet belonging to Weſtham, in Eſſex, on the 3d of April, 1694. He paſſed ſome of his early years under the tuition of a clergyman, named Hewit, who was then maſter of a public ſchool at Layton-Stone, which is only a few miles diſtant from the village where he was born. After quitting the ſchool, he was placed with another miniſter of the eſtabliſhed church at Brentwood; and, being deſigned by his parents for buſineſs, was put apprentice to a tradeſman in Fenchurch-ſtreet. His maſter, not leſs diſtinguiſhed for his ſtrict regard to religion, than for his uncommon ſkill in the learned languages, treated him with remarkable kindneſs and civility.

An event happened about the middle of the term of his apprenticeſhip, which it is neceſſary to mention. Dr. Nicholas, a perſon of eminence in the phyſical world, and a relative of his maſter, happened to die. His books, which were very numerous, having been removed from Covent-Garden to an apartment then occupied by our young naturaliſt, he availed himſelf of this unexpected incident, and paſſed all the leiſure of the day, and, not unfrequently, a conſiderable part of the night, in turning over this collection of natural hiſtory, ſculpture, painting, aſtronomy, and antiquities.

The expectation of obtaining that opulence, which commerce beſtows on her aſſiduous votaries, now ceaſed. The ſhop and the Exchange had loſt all their delights; and, on the expiration of his ſervitude, he conceived a deſign to travel into foreign countries, to improve his taſte, and enlarge his mind.

In 1716, having no intention of entering on buſineſs, he took ſhipping for Holland, and viſited moſt of the principal towns of the United Provinces, remaining abſent a month. On his return, he was two years unemployed in London and its neighbourhood, and then went on board a ſhip bound to Norway, at the invitation of a gentleman, who was diſpoſed to be his friend, and whoſe nephew was maſter of the veſſel in which he embarked.

Nothing material occurred on the voyage, and they ſoon arrived at the deſigned port. A country diverſified with rocks of ſtupendous magnitude, and trees of unfading verdure, where ſome of the natives have ſcarce experienced the arts of civilization, could not fail to afford novelty, if it did not impart ſatisfaction to an Engliſhman. The ſun, during his ſtay, ſet only to riſe; and few hours were allotted to ſleep, either by him or his company. Sometimes he wandered on the banks of creeks, the haunt of ſea-fowl, and other rude birds, where no articulate voice was heard; and, at other ſeaſons, remarked the progreſs of vegetation among the hills: and yet, ſuch is the force of cuſtom in the human mind, that the rude inhabitant has no ambition to quit his native mountains, clad with perpetual ſnow, for the ſunny regions of more ſouthern latitudes. Our author frequently experienced among theſe illiterate people that hoſpi-

tality which flouriſhes leſs vigorouſly in more civilized countries.

In his excurſion to Frederickſtadt, he was not diſtant from the thunder of Charles the XII's cannon, who at that time beſieged Fredericksſhall; where that unfortunate monarch ſtained his laurels by an ignominious defeat, and was deprived of his life as well as his crown.

He was diſappointed of viſiting that country by this circumſtance, as the Swediſh army was particularly aſſiduous in confining ſtrangers, and thoſe who could not give a good account of themſelves when they happened to meet with them. But, notwithſtanding all his precaution, he was confined by the Daniſh guard, who erroneouſly ſuppoſed him a ſpy employed by the enemy to obtain intelligence of their deſigns. However, by procuring teſtimonials of his innocence, a releaſe was granted.

In July he embarked for England, but the ſhip, on its arrival at Scilly, was detained by contrary winds. During his confinement here, his leiſure time was chiefly taken up with fiſhing, and ſuch other amuſements as his ſituation would admit of; and he was not a little delighted with the vaſt cliffs of that romantic iſland, and the harſh clamours of its feathered inhabitants. Soon after his arrival in London, he retired to his native place, where he ſpent the winter: but, being deſirous of viſiting France, went by way of Dieppe to Paris, in 1719; and, having ſeen its curioſities, took a lodging in a village called Greencourt, in the great park of Verſailles: but, to his mortification, the menagery, at that time, had no living creature in it; the court not reſiding there in the king's minority, the famous collection of animals, &c. had been neglected, and all dead or diſperſed.

The pompous cavalcades, and expoſition of reliques, in the ſeveral churches and religious houſes, excited his attention; and the labours of the ſculptor and painter, in the public buildings, claimed his admiration.

During his ſtay in France, he made two journies of one hundred miles each; the firſt to Chalons in Champagne, in May 1720; the ſecond on foot to Orleans and Blois, in a diſguiſed habit, with a view to eſcape thoſe ſons of rapine, who often make their depredations on travellers. An edict happened at that time to be unfortunately iſſued, to ſecure vagrants, in order to tranſport them to America, as the banks of the Miſſiſippi wanted population; and our author narrowly eſcaped a weſtern voyage.

On his arrival in England, Mr. Edwards cloſely purſued his favourite ſtudy of natural hiſtory, applying himſelf to drawing and colouring ſuch animals as fell under his notice. A ſtrict attention to natural, more than picturesque beauty, claimed his earlieſt care: birds firſt engaged his particular attention; and, having purchaſed ſome of the beſt pictures of theſe ſubjects, he was induced to make a few drawings of his own; which were admired by the curious, who encouraged our young naturaliſt to proceed, by paying a good price for his early labours.

Among his firſt patrons and benefactors may be mentioned James Theobalds, Eſq; of Lambeth; a gentleman

gentleman zealous for the promotion of ſcience. Our artiſt, thus unexpectedly encouraged, increaſed in ſkill and aſſiduity, and procured, by his application to his favourite purſuit, a decent ſubſiſtence, and a large acquaintance. However, he remitted his induſtry in 1731, when, in company with two of his relations, he made an excurſion to Holland and Brabant, where he collected ſeveral ſcarce books and prints, and had an opportunity to examine the original pictures of ſeveral great maſters at Antwerp, Bruſſels, Utrecht, and other great cities.

In December 1733, by the recommendation of the great Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. preſident of the College of Phyſicians, he was choſen librarian, and had apartments in the college. This office was peculiarly agreeable to his taſte and inclination, as he had the opportunity of a conſtant recourſe to a valuable library, filled with ſcarce and curious books on the ſubjects of natural hiſtory, which he ſo aſſiduouſly ſtudied. By degrees he became one of the moſt eminent ornithologiſts in this, or any other country. His merit is ſo well known in this reſpect, as to render any eulogium on his performances unneceſſary: but it may be obſerved, that he never truſted to others what he could perform himſelf; and often found it ſo difficult to give ſatisfaction to his own mind, that he frequently made three or four drawings to delineate the object in its moſt lively character, attitude, and repreſentation.

In 1743, the firſt volume of the Hiſtory of Birds was publiſhed in quarto.

His ſubſcribers exceeding even his moſt ſanguine expectation, a ſecond volume appeared in 1747.

The third volume was publiſhed in 1750.

In 1751 the fourth volume came from the preſs.

This volume being the laſt he intended to publiſh at that time, he ſeems to have conſidered it as the moſt perfect of his productions in natural hiſtory; and therefore devoutly offered it up to the great God of nature, in humble gratitude for all the good things he had received from him in this world.

Our author, in 1758, continued his labours under a new title, viz. Gleanings of Natural Hiſtory.

A ſecond volume of the Gleanings was publiſhed in 1760.

The third part, which made the ſeventh and laſt volume of his works, appeared in 1764.

Thus our author, after a long ſeries of years, the moſt ſtudious application, and the moſt extenſive correſpondence to every quarter of the world, concluded a work which contains engravings and deſcriptions of more than ſix hundred ſubjects in natural hiſtory, not before deſcribed or delineated. He likewiſe added a generical index in French and Engliſh, which is now perfectly compleated with the Linneæan names, by that great naturaliſt, Linnæus himſelf, who frequently honoured him with his friendſhip and correſpondence.

Upon finiſhing the work, we find the following declaration, or rather remarkable petition of the author, where he ſeems afraid that his paſſions for his favourite ſubject of Natural Hiſtory ſhould get the better of nobler purſuits, viz. the contemplation of his Maker;

"My

'My petition to God (if petitions to God are not presumptuous) is, that he would remove from me all desire of pursuing Natural History, or any other study; and inspire me with as much knowledge of his Divine Nature as my imperfect state is capable of; that I may conduct myself, for the remainder of my days, in a manner most agreeable to his will, which must consequently be most happy to myself. What my condition may be in futurity is known only to the wise Disposer of all things; yet my present desires are (perhaps vain and inconsistent with the nature of things!) that I may become an intelligent spirit, void of gross matter, gravity and levity, endowed with a voluntary motive power, either to pierce infinitely into boundless ethereal space, or into solid bodies; to see and know, how the parts of the great Universe are connected with each other, and by what amazing mechanism they are put and kept in regular and perpetual motion. But, oh vain and daring presumption of thought! I most humbly submit my future existence to the supreme will of the one Omnipotent!'

Some time after Mr. Edwards had been appointed library keeper to the Royal College of Physicians, he was, on St. Andrew's day, in the year 1750, presented with an honorary compliment by the President and Council of the Royal Society, with the gold medal, the donation of Sir Godfrey Copley, Bart. annually given on that day to the author of any new discovery in art or nature, in consideration of his Natural History just then completed. A copy of this medal he had afterwards engraved and placed under the general title in the first volume of his History. He was a few years afterwards elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries, London, and also a member of many of the Academies of sciences and learning in different parts of Europe. In compliment to these honorary distinctions from such learned bodies, he presented elegant coloured copies of all his works, to the Royal College of Physicians, the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquarians, and to the British Museum; also to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, from whom he received the most polite and obliging letter of thanks by their then Secretary Monsieur Defouchy.

The nobility and gentry frequently honoured him with their friendship and generous support; and he mentions with peculiar pleasure being patronised by four great men, who were perhaps the greatest promoters of learning, science, and arts, of any in the present age. These were the late Duke of Richmond, Sir Hans Sloane, Dr. Mead, and Martin Folkes, Esq.

His collection of drawings, which amounted to upwards of nine hundred, were purchased by the Earl of Bute, who would confer a favour on posterity by publishing engravings from them, as they contain a great number of English as well as foreign birds and other animals hitherto not accurately delineated or described.

After the publication of the last work, being arrived at his 70th year, he found his sight begin to fail, and his hand lost its wonted steadiness. He retired from public employment to a little house which he

he purchaſed at Plaiſtow; previous to which, he diſpoſed of all the copies, as well as plates, of his works. The converſation of a few ſelect friends, and the peruſal of a few ſelect books, were the amuſement of the evening of his life; and now and then he made an excurſion to ſome of the principal cities in England, particularly to Briſtol, Bath, Exeter, and Norwich.

Mr. Edwards was of a middle ſtature, rather inclined to corpulence: of a liberal diſpoſition, and a chearful converſation. All his acquaintance experienced his benevolent temper, and his poor neighbours frequently partook of his bounty.

His diffidence and humility were always apparent, and to perſons who had a taſte for ſtudies congenial to his own he was a moſt entertaining as well as communicative companion.

Some years before his death the alarming depredations of a cancer, which baffled all the efforts of phyſical ſkill, deprived him of the ſight of one of his eyes: he alſo ſuffered much from the ſtone, a complaint to which at different periods of life he had been ſubject. Yet it has been remarked, that in the ſevereſt paroxiſms of miſery he was ſcarcely known to utter a ſingle complaint.

Having completed his 80th year, emaciated with age and ſickneſs, he died on the 23d of July 1773, deſervedly lamented by a numerous acquaintance. He left two ſiſters, to whom he bequeathed the fortune acquired by aſſiduous application to his favourite purſuits; they died lately, within a few hours of each other, and were buried together.

His remains were interred in the church-yard of Weſtham, his native pariſh, where his executors have erected a ſtone, with the following inſcription, to perpetuate to poſterity his ſkill as an artiſt:

EPITAPH.

Here lies interred
The Body of GEO. EDWARDS, Eſq; F. R. S.
Who departed this Life the 23d Day of July 1773,
Aged 81 Years;
Formerly LIBRARIAN
To the ROYAL COLLEGE of PHYSICIANS,
In which Capacity,
As well as in private Life,
He was univerſally
And deſervedly eſteemed.
His NATURAL HISTORY of BIRDS
Will remain
A laſting MONUMENT of his Knowledge
And Ingenuity.

Some

Some Account of the Death, &c. *of the* Abbé Lawrence Ricci, *General of the* Jeſuits, *at the time of their Diſſolution*; *with an authentic Copy of a Declaration, left by him in writing, concerning the Crimes imputed to himſelf and his Order*; *collected from Letters written from* Rome, *upon that Occaſion.*

LAWRENCE Ricci was born at Florence, the 2d of Auguſt, 1703, of an illuſtrious family: he entered into the Society of Jeſus in the year 1720, and was made General of it on the 21ſt of May 1758. After the deſtruction of the ſociety, he was ſent priſoner to the caſtle of St. Angelo, on the 22d of September 1773, where death put an end to his ſuffering life.

His laſt illneſs was but of a few days: the eighth was the laſt of pain and life, loaded with a weight of years, rendered more weighty by many heavy croſſes, and by a variety and long ſeries of afflictions; with accumulated woe on the latter period of them, by the ſuppreſſion of his order; by the calumnies caſt on it and himſelf; by the impriſonment of his own perſon, and a long, painful, and cloſe confinement, eſpecially for the firſt eighteen months of it; —under this complication of years and ſorrows, he was little able to ſupport a violent attack of an inflammatory fever. The relief and ſuccours which his Holineſs vouchſafed to afford him in his ſick ſtate, by giving in charge to his own phyſician Doctor Sallicetti, to leave no endeavours untried for his recovery, were without effect. Bleeding was repeated to the fourth time, and bliſters were applied, but it ſoon appeared that all means to ſave his life were unavailing.

The firſt ſymptoms of his diſeaſe diſcovered themſelves on Thurſday evening, November 16. After having taken his walk, according to his cuſtom, on the terras of the caſtle, on his return to his apartment he was ſeized with a chilneſs and a cold, which immediately became very violent. The fever ſoon increaſed upon him. On Saturday evening his life was judged to be in danger; and, on the Friday following, the 24th of November, a little after noon, at a time when all oppoſition to his enlargement ſeemed to be removed, he ſweetly gave up his ſoul to his Redeemer at the age of ſeventy-two years, three months, and twenty-two days, having lived fifty-five years, three months, and ſix days in religion. It had been his requeſt, that the crucifix, which he always carried about him, ſhould be delivered to his nephew; that his little wardrobe ſhould be diſtributed, by way of ſome ſmall recompence to thoſe who had ſerved him; and that he ſhould be buried at the late profeſſed houſe of the Jeſuits.

He retained his ſenſes to the laſt; and bore the pains of his illneſs, as he had done all the afflictions of body and mind, of which the many and great injuries and affronts offered to himſelf and his order, particular by a long and cloſe confinement, muſt have been productive, with the greateſt patience and reſignation. Before he took the ſacrament, which as well as the extreme-unction he called for with the greateſt fervour, and received

ceived with the greateſt devotion, judging he ought not to be wanting to himſelf, by a ſolemn declaration of his own innocence, and that of his order, which he had governed for the ſpace of 15 years, he began to ſpeak, as follows, in the preſence of the Vice-governor of the caſtle of St. Angelo, his Secretary Don Giovanni, Abbé Orlandi, a ſerjeant, and a corporal, the apothecary, the domeſtics of the Governor Camillo and Pietruccio, nine ſoldiers and galley-ſlaves (all whoſe names we could mention), who had accompanied the ſacrament into his apartment: "That he ſincerely pardoned all thoſe who had been inſtrumental in the deſtruction of the ſociety:---He did not omit to pray particularly for thoſe who had reduced him to this ſtate of inability and ſufferings, and to implore the bleſſing of heaven on them:" After which, raiſing his voice, and with a remarkable firm tone, he ſaid, "that in the preſence of God, whom he adored in his auguſt ſacrament, and by whom ſhortly he was going to be judged, he declared to the whole world, that he was entirely innocent of all that had been laid to his charge, and of whatever might have contributed to the deſtruction of the Society entruſted to his care, or to his own perſonal impriſonment. He thanked God for withdrawing him from this world, and hoped that his death would procure ſome alleviation to thoſe who ſuffered with him in the ſame cauſe."

During his illneſs, ſeveral cardinals ſent conſtantly to enquire after his health; and the Pope, on ſending him his apoſtolical benediction, accompanied it with the moſt tender and paternal expreſſions.

All thoſe who were preſent at the death of this late and laſt General of the Society of Jeſus, (indeed, we may ſay all Rome, as they were not ignorant of the circumſtances) and even to the galley-ſlaves of the caſtle, all conceived the greateſt veneration for his memory, and all look on his death as precious in the ſight of God. Dr. Sallicetti declared openly, that he had been preſent at the deaths of many perſons in repute for piety and virtue, but that he had never been witneſs to ſuch ſentiments as thoſe he had juſt been preſent at.

The Pope gave orders to Cardinal Corſini for the funeral of Abbé Ricci; and the will of his Holineſs was, that all ſhould be done according to the quality of the ſubject, and that his body ſhould be depoſited in the vault of the church of Jeſus, near the other Generals of the Society his predeceſſors.

Accordingly the national church of Florence was hung with black, and on Saturday, November the 25th, two hours after ſun-ſet, the corpſe was conveyed in a coach attended by four flambeaux, and followed by another coach, to the ſaid church, where, on the morning of the day following, veſted in his ſacerdotal habits, he was expoſed on a lofty bed of ſtate, round which were burning thirty grand tapers.

During this whole morning, which was Sunday Nov. 26th, there was an extraordinary concourſe of people to this church, of all ſorts and conditions. Maſs

was

was continued to be ſaid at all the altars till noon. The funeral ſervice was celebrated with great decency and ſolemnity, by the clergy who ſerve that pariſh. The throng of people did not diſcontinue, and many gave tokens of great veneration and tender affection, though curioſity perhaps was the chief motive that firſt led them thither.

I muſt not paſs over in ſilence one remarkable token of reſpect given by the Biſhop of Commachio. This worthy prelate, who is in equal repute for piety and learning, the ſame who had lately entered Rome barefoot at the head of many of his clergy, came alſo to the Florentine church, and placing himſelf on his knees near the Catafalque, he ſaid, with a voice loud enough to be heard by many, that "he did not come to pray for the ſoul of the deceaſed, but to ſolicit the credit of that ſingularly juſt man, whom he regarded as a predeſtinated ſoul, and as a martyr." Many others ſeemed to think the ſame, without daring to declare their ſentiments ſo openly. In citing this paſſage, I have nothing in view but to ſhew the high eſteem his virtue was held in, and the homage paid to it.

At mid-day the church was ſhut, and the corpſe withdrawn from the ſight of the people. It was removed into the ſacriſty, where no one was allowed to enter. Towards midnight it was put into the ſame coach that had brought it thither, followed alſo by the ſecond, and conveyed with lighted torches to the church of the Jeſuits, where every thing was ready for the burial, according to the Pope's orders, and the requeſt of the venerable old man. The preſident of the houſe ſaid the prayers of the church over the corpſe, before it was let down into the vault. The body was then put into a coffin, which was placed on the ſide of his predeceſſors Centurioni and Viſconti, in quality of General of the Society of Jeſus. To ſerve by way of epitaph, a ſcroll of parchment was fixed to the coffin, on which were written his name, his age, the time and place of his death, and the number of years he had been General of his order.

Such was the end of this, the eighteenth and laſt General of the Jeſuits. Some time before his death, he had the precaution to draw up, write himſelf, and ſign with his own hand, a declaration of his own and his order's innocence; leſt his laſt illneſs ſhould prevent his vindicating both by word of mouth; and he then entruſted this declaration to one of the ſoldiers of the caſtle, on whoſe fidelity he thought he could beſt rely, and who in effect diſcharged his truſt faithfully.

This authentic piece is preſerved with great care, and from this original is drawn the Italian copy, from whence are taken the French and Engliſh tranſlations.

It ſeems impoſſible to call in queſtion the authenticity of this piece; for the characters and ſignature of his hand cannot but be known, and they may be confronted with many of his letters, ſome of which no doubt are ſtill in being.

An authentic Copy of the Proteſtation which Abbé Lawrence Ricci *left at his Death.*

"THE uncertainty of the time when it will pleaſe Almighty God

to

to call me to himſelf, and the certainty that this time is not far diſtant, conſidering my advanced age, the multitude, the long duration, and weight of my ſufferings, warn me to be before-hand in the diſcharge of every duty I think incumbent on me;——and this precaution is the more neceſſary, as it may eaſily happen that my laſt ſickneſs may diſable me from doing it at the time of my death.

Therefore conſidering myſelf as at this inſtant going to appear before the tribunal of infallible truth and juſtice, ſuch as is the ſole tribunal of God;—after long and mature reflection; and after having humbly prayed to my moſt merciful Redeemer and aweful Judge, not to permit me, eſpecially in this my laſt act and deed of my life, to be led away, or influenced by paſſion, or by any bitterneſs of heart or mind, or by any other vicious end or motive; but purely becauſe I judge it my duty to render juſtice to truth and innocence;—I make the two following declarations and proteſtations;

Firſt, I declare and proteſt, That the Society of Jeſus, now extinct, has not given any cauſe for its own ſuppreſſion. This I declare and proteſt with that moral certainty which a ſuperior can have who is well informed of what paſſes in his order.

Secondly, I declare and proteſt, That I have not given the leaſt occaſion towards my own impriſonment. This I declare and proteſt with that great certainty and evidence which each one has in the conſciouſneſs of his own actions. My only motive for making this ſecond proteſtation is, becauſe I judge it neceſſary for the credit of the Society of Jeſus, now extinct, of which I was General.

But my intention is not, that, in conſequence of theſe two proteſtations, any of thoſe ſhould be judged guilty in the ſight of God, who have brought theſe diſaſters on the Society and myſelf: I ſhall religiouſly abſtain from paſſing any ſuch like judgments. The views of the mind of man, and the affections of his heart are known by God. He alone ſees the errors of the human underſtanding, and diſcerns how far they are excuſable. He alone penetrates the views which ſet man on action, and the ſpirit with which he acts; ——the affections and inclinations of the heart which accompany the action,—and from whence depends the rectitude or culpability of the exterior action; conſequently, I leave all judgment to him, *who will examine the works of men, and ſearch out their thoughts.* (Book of Wiſdom, ch. vi. ver. 4.)

And, not to be wanting to my duty as a Chriſtian, I proteſt, that, with the divine aſſiſtance, I have always pardoned, and that I do now ſincerely pardon, all thoſe who have perſecuted me, firſt by their perſecution of the Society of Jeſus, and the many hardſhips they cauſed individuals, my late ſubjects, to undergo——then by the ſuppreſſion and extinction of it —— and by what ſoon followed, my impriſonment, with all the ſufferings that have attended it, and by the injuries done to my reputation:——theſe are known facts, and notorious to the whole world. I pray the Lord, out of his pure bounty and goodneſs, and out of

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the infinite merits of Jeſus Chriſt his Son, firſt to pardon my own innumerable ſins; and next to pardon the authors and inſtruments of thoſe loſſes which I have ſuſtained, and thoſe ſufferings I have undergone, in conjunction with the whole body of which I was head——and I deſire to die with this prayer and theſe ſentiments in my heart.

Laſtly, I pray and intreat all thoſe into whoſe hands this my declaration and proteſtation may fall, that they will make it public to the world, as much as may be. I crave the performance of this my laſt requeſt by all the claims of human benevolence, of juſtice, and of Chriſtian charity; and a claim grounded on ſuch titles cannot but be perſuaſive to every one to comply with this my earneſt will and deſire.

(Signed) *Lawrence Ricci.*"

(in his own hand).

Picture of London *and its Inhabitants, &c. by the* Abbé Raynal. *From his* Philoſophical and Political Hiſtory of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, *&c.*

THE kind of monopoly which ſome merchants exerciſe in the Britiſh iſlands, is practiſed by the capital of the mother-country, with regard to the provinces. It is almoſt excluſively to London that all the produce of the colonies is ſent. It is in London that moſt of the owners of this produce reſide. It is in London that the profit ariſing from it is ſpent. The reſt of the nation is but very indirectly concerned in it.

But London is the fineſt port in England. It is here that ſhips are built, and manufactures are carried on. London furniſhes ſeamen for navigation, and hands for commerce. It ſtands in a temperate, fruitful and central county. Every thing has a free paſſage in and out of it. It may be truly ſaid to be the heart of the body politic from its local ſituation. It is not of an enormous ſize, though, like all other capitals, it is rather too large; it is not a head of clay, that wants to domineer over a coloſſus of gold. That city is not filled with proud and idle men, who only incumber and oppreſs a laborious people. It is the reſort of all the merchants; the ſeat of the national aſſembly. There the king's palace is neither vaſt nor empty. He reigns in it by his enlivening preſence. There the ſenate dictates the laws, agreeable to the ſenſe of the people it repreſents. It neither fears the eye of the monarch, nor the frowns of the miniſtry. London has not arrived to its preſent greatneſs by the influence of government, which ſtrains and over-rules all natural cauſes; but by the ordinary impulſe of men and things, and by a kind of attraction of commerce. It is the ſea, it is England, it is the whole world, that makes London rich and populous.

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

An Account of ſome curious Articles in the Abbé Rozier's *Fifth Volume of* Obſervations ſur la Phyſique, *&c. or* Obſervations in Natural Philoſophy, Natural Hiſtory, and the Arts, *publiſhed in* Paris, *relating to various Experiments lately made in* France, *to aſcertain the Truth of Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Doctrine, concerning the Difference in the Gravitation of Bodies towards the Earth, at different Diſtances both above and below her Surface.*

ARTICLE the FIRST.

The Judgment of certain impartial and diſpaſſionate Philoſophers, on ſeventeen Experiments made during the Courſe of two Years and a half, &c. which prove, that Bodies acquire an Increaſe *of* Weight *on being raiſed to Heights above the Surface of the Earth.*

THE Newtonian Syſtem of attraction, or rather that particular branch of it that relates to the gravitating principle by which bodies tend to the earth, has lately undergone, in France and elſewhere, a ſcrupulous and ſevere *examen*. According to that theory, the truth of which has been confirmed by every phænomenon in the whole planetary ſyſtem, that bears relation to it, bodies gravitate towards the centre of the earth, in an inverſe ratio of the ſquare of the diſtance. In conſequence of this law, it is evident, that the weight of bodies ought to diminiſh in proportion as they recede from the earth's ſurface. Father Bertier, however, and ſeveral other philoſophers affirm, that this propoſition is contradicted by the experiments lately made by them. The trials on which they ground their aſſertion, are of a ſimilar nature to ſome that were made in this country, in the laſt century, by certain members of the royal ſociety; who very judiciouſly inferred from them, that this mode of trial was not adequate to the ſolution of the queſtion. In relating the moſt eſſential particulars of one of the experiments made by theſe new *Anti-Newtonians*, we ſhall convey to our philoſophical readers ſome idea of the manner in which they have, in general, been executed.

A ſtrong and accurate balance, which would ſupport a weight of 3000 pounds, and which would turn on the addition of a ſingle ounce weight in either of the baſons, was fixed within the ſteeple of a church, at the height of 170 feet from the pavement. The balance was ſo conſtructed, that after loading each baſon, *above*,

with a weight of 1120 pounds, ſo as to make a perfect *equilibrium*; the weight on one ſide could be lowered, and placed in a ſecond baſon, attached to the ſame ſide by means of a rope, ſo as nearly to reach the pavement of the church. In ſome of the experiments, ſtrong iron wire was employed inſtead of the rope. When this weight, which had, above, been *in equilibrio* with that in the oppoſite baſon, had been thus brought 170 feet nearer the ſurface of the earth; the *equilibrium*, we are told, was deſtroyed, and, inſtead of preponderating, in conſequence of its ſituation, it roſe; ſo that it was neceſſary to add to the weight in this lower ſcale. We obſerve, however, that one ounce and ſix drachms were found ſufficient to reſtore the *equilibrium*; and that the balance might be made to incline either to the one ſide or the other, on the addition of another ounce to either of the baſons.

The reader is not to conſider this particular experiment as one of the moſt favourable to the cauſe of the *Anti-attractionaires*. We relate it chiefly to ſhew the grounds on which they found their objections to the Newtonian ſyſtem of attraction, and the method by which they endeavour to ſupport them; obſerving only, that in the many other experiments of the ſame kind, related in this and other numbers of M. Rozier's work, the reſults have been, at different times, more or leſs favourable to their hypotheſis.

We ſhall next attend to the experiments and reaſonings of the oppoſite party, who ſupport the doctrine of attraction, principally collected from the following article.

Article the Second.

A Memoir, indicating the different Cauſes which may accidentally change the apparent Effects of the Gravity of Bodies, placed at unequal Heights: read before the Academy of Dijon.

THE balance that was uſed in the experiments related in this Memoir, would carry 250 pounds in each baſon; and was ſo ſenſible, that when it was loaded with this weight, it would turn on the addition of half a drachm. The experiments were made in the tower of a church, at the height of 120 feet. They were conducted nearly in the ſame manner as the preceding, and with a ſcrupulous attention to every circumſtance that might influence the reſults. Barometers and thermometers, in particular, were placed both above and below. In the firſt experiment, the balance, containing on each ſide 200 pounds, including the weight of a long rope in one of the baſons, being in perfect *equilibrium*; this laſt mentioned baſon was let down 120 feet below its former ſtation, ſuſpended by the rope above-mentioned. At firſt, the equilibrium was ſomewhat diſturbed by the oſcillations of this lower baſon; ſo that it was found neceſſary to add two drachms to the upper weight, to render the balance even. This motion, however, at length ceaſing, it was found requiſite to take out this ſmall additional weight; and then the ſuperior and inferior

weights

weights were obſerved to equiponderate, in the ſame manner as when they had both been ſuſpended at the ſuperior ſtation.

As the denſity of the air is greater near the ſurface of the earth than at different heights above it, the author of this Memoir calculates, from *data* furniſhed by other experiments here mentioned, the quantity of the effect which this difference muſt produce in the *apparent* gravity of the upper and lower weights; which were each of caſt iron, and equal to two-fifths of a cubic foot. From his calculations it appears, that, in conſequence of the difference between the denſity, or weight, of two-fifths of a cubic foot of air at the earth's ſurface, diſplaced by the lower weight, and that of an equal bulk of the ſame fluid diſplaced by the upper weights, the *lower* weight ought to weigh 52 grains and three-fifths leſs than the upper. On the other hand, he calculates the *increaſe* of gravity which, according to the Newtonian ſyſtem, the *lower* weight ought to have acquired, in conſequence of its greater proximity to the ſurface. Eſtimating the ſemidiameter of the earth to be 3,268,965 toiſes, he obſerves, that the force with which the lower weights were attracted, is to that which acted on the upper ones, placed 20 toiſes higher, and conſequently diſtant 3,268,985 toiſes from the earth's centre, as the ſquare of the laſt number is to that of the firſt; and finds that, on this account, the lower weights ought to have acquired an increaſe of gravity equal only to $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

As the lower weights therefore ought to have loſt 52 grains and three-fifths, in conſequence of the *denſity* of the air; and, on the contrary, to have acquired $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains, in conſequence of *attraction*; there remains only a difference of 30 grains and one-tenth, which is too inconſiderable a quantity to be rendered ſenſible in a balance loaded with 500 weight.

In the ſecond experiment the reſults were ſimilar, as likewiſe in a third, in which iron wire was ſubſtituted for the rope. In a fourth, on uſing a counterpoiſe, conſiſting of dry wooden billets, inſtead of the metal weights, and which were firſt perfectly poiſed above; the billets evidently loſt weight, on being let down to within a ſmall diſtance from the pavement; ſo that it was found neceſſary to take away ſeven drachms from the upper baſon to reſtore the equilibrium. This experiment is preſented as offering an equivocal proof of the influence of the ſuperior denſity of the air, at the lower ſtation, in diminiſhing the relative gravity of bodies weighed in it. In fact, it appears from calculation, that the voluminous wooden counterpoiſe above-mentioned ought to have loſt nearly this quantity of its weight, in conſequence of the ſuperior denſity of the medium in which it was ſuſpended, independent of any other cauſe.

ARTICLE the THIRD.

Experiments on the Weight of Bodies at different Diſtances from the Centre of the Earth, made in the Mines of Montrelay *in* Britany. *By the* Chevalier de Dolomieu, &c.

THESE experiments, which likewiſe relate to the preceding queſtion, were made in a different order. The ſcales were fixed on the ſurface of the earth, and after procuring an exact equilibrium between the oppoſite weights in that ſituation, thoſe contained in one of the baſons were let down to the depths of 114 and 190 yards, into a coal mine. Sometimes the undermoſt weight preponderated, but more frequently the ſuperior. The quantity however, in either caſe, was ſo ſmall, that the author very properly concludes, from the reſults both of his own and the many other experiments that have lately been made on this ſubject, that they are inſufficient to determine the queſtion. In this opinion we readily concur with him; nor ſhould we have taken ſo much notice of the ſubject, were not the queſtion itſelf of great importance, and had it not likewiſe been ſo very extenſively and warmly litigated, of late, among our neighbours on the continent. The experiments which have been produced in ſupport of the theory of gravitation have indeed the merit of evincing the feebleneſs of this late attack upon it; but nothing further is or can be determined from them: nor does the Newtonian ſyſtem ſtand in need of ſuch feeble ſupports.—*Non tali auxilio, nec defenſoribus iſtis, &c.* [*Monthly Review.*]

Subſtance of two curious Articles in the ſecond Part of the ſixty-fifth Volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, *being that for the Year 1775; viz. the forty-eighth, being* A Propoſal for meaſuring the Attraction of ſome Hills in this Kingdom by aſtronomical Obſervations; *by the* Rev. Nevil Maſkelyne, D.D. F.R.S. *and Aſtronomer Royal; and the forty-ninth, being* An Account of Obſervations made in Scotland on the Mountain of Schehallien, *(at his Majeſty's Expence)* for finding its Attraction; *by the ſame Gentleman.*

THESE two articles contain the hiſtory of a late important philoſophical expedition, very properly undertaken and executed under the auſpices of the Royal Society; with the intention of aſcertaining, by deciſive experiments, the truth of the great law of univerſal gravitation:—the baſis of that noble ſyſtem which the world owes to the genius and ſagacity of Newton.

According to the Newtonian theory, an attractive power is not only exerted between thoſe large maſſes of matter which conſtitute the ſun and planets; but likewiſe between all comparatively ſmaller bodies, and even between the ſmalleſt particles of which they are compoſed. Agreeably to this hypotheſis, a heavy body, which ought to gravitate or tend toward the centre of the earth, in a direction perpendicular to its ſurface, ſuppoſing the ſaid ſurface to be perfectly even and ſpherical, ought likewiſe, though in a leſs degree, to be attracted and tend towards a mountain placed on the earth's ſurface: ſo that a plumb-line, for inſtance, of a quadrant, hanging in the neighbourhood of ſuch

ſuch a mountain, ought to be drawn from a perpendicular ſituation, in conſequence of the attractive power of the quantity of matter of which it is compoſed, acting in a direction different from that exerted by the whole maſs of matter in the earth, and with a proportionably inferior degree of force.

'It will eaſily be imagined,' ſays the Aſtronomer Royal, in the firſt of theſe papers, which was read before the Royal Society in the year 1772, 'that to find a ſenſible attraction of any hill from undoubted experiment, would be a matter of no ſmall curioſity, would greatly illuſtrate the general theory of gravity, and would make the univerſal gravitation of matter palpable, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, to every perſon, and fit to convince thoſe who will yield their aſſent to nothing but downright experiment. Nor would its uſes end here; as it would ſerve to give us a better idea of the total maſs of the earth, and the proportional denſity of the matter near the ſurface compared with the mean denſity of the whole earth. The reſult of ſuch an uncommon experiment, which I ſhould hope would prove ſucceſsful, would doubtleſs do honour to the nation where it was made, and the ſociety which executed it.'

Though Sir Iſaac Newton had long ago hinted at an experiment of this kind; and had remarked that "a mountain of an hemiſpherical figure, three miles high and ſix broad, would not, by its attraction, draw the plumb-line two minutes out of the perpendicular*:" yet no attempt to aſcertain this matter, by actual experiment, was made till about the year 1738; when the French academicians, particularly Meſſrs. Bouguer and Condamine, who were ſent to Peru to meaſure a degree under the equator, attempted to diſcover the attractive power of Chimboraço, a mountain in the province of Quito. According to their obſervations, which were however made under circumſtances by no means favourable to an accurate ſolution of ſo nice and difficult a problem, the mountain Chimboraço exerted an attraction equal to eight ſeconds. Though this experiment was not perhaps ſufficient to prove ſatisfactorily even the reality of an attraction, much leſs the preciſe quantity of it; yet it does not appear that any ſteps had been ſince taken to repeat it.

The Royal Society having, through the munificence of his Majeſty, been enabled to undertake the execution of this delicate and important aſtronomical experiment; the aſtronomer royal was choſen to conduct it. After various inquiries, the mountain *Schehallien*, ſituated nearly in the centre of Scotland, was pitched upon as the moſt proper for the purpoſe that could be found in this iſland. The obſervations were made by taking the meridian zenith diſtances of different fixed ſtars, near the zenith, by means of a zenith ſector of ten feet radius; firſt on the ſouth,

* By a very eaſy calculation it is found that ſuch a mountain would attract the plumb-line 1′ 18″ from the perpendicular.

and afterwards on the north ſide of the hill, the greateſt length of which extended in an eaſt and weſt direction.

It is evident that if the maſs of matter in the hill exerted any ſenſible attraction, it would cauſe the plumb-line of the ſector, through which an obſerver viewed a ſtar in the meridian, to deviate from its perpendicular ſituation, and would attract it contrary ways at the two ſtations, thereby doubling the effect. On the ſouth ſide the plummet would be drawn to the northward, by the attractive power of the hill placed to the northward of it: and on the north ſide, a contrary and equal deflection of the plumb-line would take place, in conſequence of the attraction of the hill, now to the ſouthward of it. The apparent zenith diſtances of the ſtars would be affected contrary ways; thoſe being increaſed at the one ſtation, which were diminiſhed at the other: and the correſpondent quantities of the deflection of the plumb-line would give the obſerver the *ſum* of the two contrary attractions of the hill, acting on the plummet at the two ſtations; the *half* of which will, of courſe, indicate the attractive power of the hill.

After deſcribing his excellent aſtronomical apparatus, and relating in detail the hiſtory of a part of his various operations during his aſtronomical campaign, which laſted about four months; the author gives the reſult of them, from which it appears that the *ſum* of the two contrary attractions of the mountain Schehallien, in the two temporary obſervatories which were ſucceſſively fixed half way up the hill (where the effect of its attraction would be greateſt) was equal to 11″. 6.——From a rough computation, founded on the known law of gravitation; and on an aſſumption that the denſity of the hill was equal to the mean denſity of the earth; the author finds that the attraction of the hill ſhould amount to about the double of this quantity. From thence he infers that the denſity of the hill is only about half the mean denſity of the earth. It does not appear however that the mountain Schehallien has ever been a volcano, or is hollow; as it is extremely ſolid and denſe, and ſeemingly compoſed of an intire rock.

Having by this curious and accurate experiment ſatisfactorily aſcertained the attraction of matter, and its quantity in the preſent caſe, the author proceeds to conſider ſome of the conſequences which may be drawn from it, relative to ſeveral of the moſt important queſtions in natural philoſophy. We ſhall quote, with ſome abridgments, what he obſerves on this ſubject:

'1. It appears from this experiment, that the mountain Schehallien exerts a ſenſible attraction; therefore, from the rules of philoſophiſing, we are to conclude that every mountain, and indeed every particle of the earth, is endued with the ſame property, in proportion to its quantity of matter.

'2. The law of the variation of this force, in the inverſe *ratio* of the ſquares of the diſtances, as laid down by Sir Iſaac Newton, is alſo confirmed by this experiment. For, if the force of attraction of the hill had been only to that of the earth, as the matter in the hill

hill to that of the earth, and had not been greatly increaſed by the near approach to its centre, the attraction thereof muſt have been wholly inſenſible. But now, by only ſuppoſing the mean denſity of the earth to be double to that of the hill, which ſeems very probable from other conſiderations, the attraction of the hill will be reconciled to the general law of the variation of attraction in the inverſe duplicate *ratio* of the diſtances, as deduced by Sir Iſaac Newton from the compariſon of the motion of the heavenly bodies with the force of gravity at the ſurface of the earth; and the analogy of nature will be preſerved.

3. 'We may now, therefore, be allowed to admit this law, and to acknowledge that the mean denſity of the earth is at at leaſt double of that at the ſurface, and conſequently that the denſity of the internal parts of the earth is much greater than near the ſurface. Hence alſo, the whole quantity of matter in the earth will be at leaſt as great again as if it had been all compoſed of matter of the ſame denſity with that at the ſurface; or will be about four or five times as great as if it were all compoſed of water.—This concluſion, he adds, is totally contrary to the hypotheſis of ſome naturaliſts, who "ſuppoſe the earth to be only a great hollow ſhell of matter; ſupporting itſelf from the property of an arch, with an immenſe vacuity in the midſt of it. But, were that the caſe, the attraction of mountains, and even ſmaller inequalities in the earth's ſurface, would be very great, contrary to experiment, and would affect the meaſures of the degrees of the meridian much more than we find they do; and the variation of gravity, in different latitudes, in going from the equator to the poles, as found by pendulums, would not be near ſo regular as it has been found by experiment to be."

4. He obſerves, laſtly, that as mountains are, by theſe experiments, found capable of producing ſenſible deflections of the plumb-lines of aſtronomical inſtruments; it becomes a matter of great importance in the menſuration of degrees in the meridian, either to chuſe places where the irregular attractions of the elevated parts may be ſmall; or where, by their ſituation, they may compenſate or counteract the effects of each other. [*Monthly Review.*]

Parallel between the Old and New Worlds, with regard to Extent, Situation, Climate, Soil, Inhabitants, &c.; from the Abbé Raynal's *Philoſophical and Political Hiſtory of the Settlements and Trade of the* Europeans *in the* Eaſt *and* Weſt-Indies. *Tranſlated by Mr.* Juſtamond.

IT is ſurpriſing that ſo little ſhould have been known of the new world, for ſo long a time after it was diſcovered. Barbarous ſoldiers and rapacious merchants were not proper perſons to give us juſt and clear notions of this hemiſphere. It was the province of philoſophy alone to avail itſelf of the informations ſcattered in the accounts of voyagers and miſſionaries, in order to ſee America, ſuch as nature hath made it; and to find out its analogy to the reſt of the globe.

It is now pretty certain that the new continent has not half the extent of ſurface that the old has.

At the ſame time, the form of both is ſo ſingularly alike, that we might eaſily be inclined to draw conſequences from this particular, if it were not always neceſſary to be upon our guard againſt the ſpirit of ſyſtem which often ſtops us in our reſearches after truth, and hinders us from attaining it.

The two continents ſeem to form as it were two broad tracts of land that begin from the arctic pole, and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, divided on the eaſt and weſt by the ocean that ſurrounds them. Whatever may be the ſtructure of theſe two continents, and the equality or ſymmetry of their form; it is plain their equilibrium does not depend upon their poſition. It is the inconſtancy of the ſea that conſtitutes the ſolid form of the earth. To fix the globe upon its baſis, it ſeemed neceſſary to have an element which, floating inceſſantly round our planet, might by its weight counterbalance all other ſubſtances, and by its fluidity reſtore that equilibrium which the conflict of the other elements might have diſturbed. Water, by its natural fluctuation and weight, is the moſt proper element to preſerve the connection and balance of the ſeveral parts of the globe round its center. If our hemiſphere has a very wide extent of continent to the north, a maſs of water of equal weight at the oppoſite part will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals; under the ſame latitude America will have a ſea filled with fiſh. While foreſts full of trees, bending with the largeſt fruits, quadrupeds of the greateſt ſize, the moſt populous nations, elephants and men are a load upon the ſurface of the earth, and ſeem to abſorb all its fertility throughout the torrid zone; at both poles are found whales with innumerable multitudes of cods and herrings, clouds of inſects, and all the infinite and prodigious tribes that inhabit the ſeas, as it were to ſupport the axis of the earth, and prevent its inclining or deviating to either ſide: if, indeed, elephants, whales, or men can be ſaid to have any weight on a globe, where all living creatures are but a tranſient modification of the earth that compoſes it. In a word, the ocean rolls over this globe to faſhion it, in conformity to the general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers a hemiſphere, a pole or a zone, which at other times it leaves bare; but in general it ſeems to affect the equator, more eſpecially as the cold of the poles in ſome meaſure counteracts that fluidity which is eſſential to it, and from which it receives all its power of motion. It is chiefly between the tropics that the ſea extends itſelf and is agitated, and that it undergoes the greateſt change both in its regular and periodical motions, as well as in thoſe violent agitations occaſionally excited in it by tempeſtuous winds. The attraction of the ſun, and the fermentations occaſioned by its continual heat in the torrid zone, muſt have a very remarkable influence upon the ocean. The motion of the moon adds a new force to this influence, and the ſea, to conform itſelf to this double impulſe, muſt, it ſhould ſeem, flow towards the equator. Nothing but the flatneſs of the globe at the poles, can poſſibly account for that immenſe extent of water, that has hitherto concealed from us the lands near

the ſouth pole. The ſea cannot eaſily paſs the boundaries of the tropics, if the temperate and frozen zones are not nearer the center of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the ſea therefore that maintains an equilibrium with the land, and diſpoſes the arrangement of the materials that compoſe it. One proof that the two analogous portions of land which the two continents of the globe preſent at firſt view, are not eſſentially neceſſary to its conformation, is, that the new hemiſphere has remained covered with the waters of the ſea, a much longer time than the old. Beſides, if there is an evident ſimilarity between the two hemiſpheres, there are alſo differences between them, which will perhaps deſtroy that harmony we think we obſerve.

When we conſider the map of the world, and ſee the local correſpondence between the iſthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, between the Archipelago of the Eaſt-Indies and that of the Caribbee-Iſlands, and between the mountains of Chili and thoſe of Monomotapa; we are ſtruck with the ſimilarity of the ſeveral forms this picture preſents. Land ſeems on all ſides to be oppoſed to land, water to water, iſlands and peninſulas ſcattered by the hand of nature to ſerve as a counterpoiſe, and the ſea by its fluctuation conſtantly maintaining the balance of the whole. But if on the other hand we compare the great extent of the Pacific Ocean, which ſeparates the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, with the ſmall ſpace the ocean occupies between the coaſt of Guinea and that of Brazil; the vaſt quantity of inhabited land to the North, with the little we know towards the South; the direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe, which is from Eaſt to Weſt, with that of the Cordeleras which run from North to South; the mind is in ſuſpenſe, and we have the mortification to ſee the order and ſymmetry vaniſh with which we had embelliſhed our ſyſtem of the earth. The obſerver is ſtill more diſpleaſed with his conjectures, when he conſiders the immenſe height of the mountains of Peru. He is then aſtoniſhed to ſee a continent ſo recent and yet ſo elevated, the ſea ſo much below the tops of theſe mountains, and yet ſo recently come down from the lands that ſeemed to be effectually defended from its attacks by thoſe tremendous bulwarks. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that both continents of the new hemiſphere have been covered with the ſea. The air and the land confirm this truth.

The rivers which in America are wider and of greater extent; the immenſe foreſts to the ſouth; the ſpacious lakes and vaſt moraſſes to the north; the almoſt eternal ſnows between the tropics; few of thoſe pure ſands that ſeem to be the remains of an exhauſted ground; no men entirely black; very fair people under the line; a cool and mild air in the ſame latitude as the ſultry and uninhabitable parts of Africa; a frozen and ſevere climate under the ſame parallel as our temperate climates; and laſtly, a difference of ten or twelve degrees, in the temperature of the old and new hemiſpheres; theſe are ſo many tokens of a world that is ſtill in its infancy.

Why ſhould the continent of America be much warmer and much colder in proportion than that

that of Europe, if it were not for the moiſture the ocean has left behind, in quitting it long after our continent was peopled? Nothing but the ſea can poſſibly have prevented Mexico from being inhabited as early as Aſia. If the waters that ſtill moiſten the bowels of the earth in the new hemiſphere had not covered its ſurface, the woods would very eaſily have been cut down, the fens drained, a ſoft and watery ſoil would have been made firm, by ſtirring up, and expoſing it to the rays of the ſun, a free paſſage would have been opened to the winds, and dikes raiſed along the rivers: in ſhort, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemiſphere denotes a recent world; when the ſea, about its coaſts, ſtill flows obſcurely in its channels. A leſs ſcorching ſun, more plentiful rains, and thicker vapours more diſpoſed to ſtagnate, are evident marks of the decay or the infancy of nature.

The difference of climate, ariſing from the waters having lain ſo long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals. From this diverſity of cauſes, muſt neceſſarily ariſe a very great diverſity of effects. Accordingly we ſee more ſpecies of animals by two thirds, in the old continent than in the new; animals of the ſame kind conſiderably larger; monſters that are become more ſavage and fierce, as the countries have become more inhabited. On the other hand, nature ſeems to have ſtrangely neglected the new world. The men have leſs ſtrength and leſs courage; no beard and no hair; they have leſs appearances of manhood; and are but little ſuſceptible of the lively and powerful ſentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment, the firſt inſtinct, the firſt band of ſociety, without which all other artificial ties have neither energy nor duration. The women, who are ſtill more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and conſider them merely as ſubſervient to their will: they rather ſacrifice them to their indolence, than conſecrate them to their pleaſures. This indolence is the great delight and ſupreme felicity of the Americans, of which the women are the victims from the continual labours impoſed upon them. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have ſentenced the women to work, have been ſo equitable as to take upon themſelves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fiſhing. But their indifference for the ſex, which nature has intruſted with the care of multiplying the ſpecies, implies an imperfection in their organs, a ſort of ſtate of childhood in the people of America, ſimilar to that of the people in our continent who are not yet arrived to the age of puberty. This ſeems to be a natural defect prevailing in the continent of America, which is an indication of its being a new country.

But if the Americans are a new people, are they a race of men originally diſtinct from thoſe who cover the face of the old world? This is a queſtion which ought not to be too haſtily decided. The origin of the population of America is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we aſſert that the Greenlanders firſt came from Norway,

way, and then went over to the coaſt of Labrador; others will tell us it is more natural to ſuppoſe that the Greenlanders are ſprung from the Eſquimaux, to whom they bear a greater reſemblance than to the Europeans. If we ſhould ſuppoſe that California was peopled from Kamtſchatka, it may be aſked what motive or what chance could have led the Tartars to the north-weſt of America. Yet it is imagined to be from Greenland or Kamtſchatka that the inhabitants of the old world muſt have gone over to the new, as it is by thoſe two countries that the two continents are connected, or at leaſt approach neareſt to one another. Beſides, how can we conceive that in America the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed ſpread from north to ſouth, but it muſt naturally have begun under the equator, where life is cheriſhed by warmth. If the people of America could not come from our continent, and yet appear to be a new race, we muſt have recourſe to the flood, which is the ſource and the ſolution of all difficulties in the hiſtory of nations.

Let us ſuppoſe that the ſea having overflowed the other hemiſphere, its old inhabitants took refuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the Cordeleras, which are far higher than our mount Ararat. But how could they have lived upon thoſe heights, covered with ſnow, and ſurrounded with waters? How is it poſſible that men who had breathed in a pure and delightful climate, could have ſurvived the miſeries of want, the inclemency of a tainted atmoſphere, and thoſe numberleſs calamities, which muſt be the unavoidable conſequences of a deluge? How will the race have been preſerved and propagated in thoſe times of general calamity, and in the miſerable ages that muſt have ſucceeded? Notwithſtanding all theſe objections, we muſt allow that America has been peopled from theſe wretched remains of the great deva-ſtation. Every thing carries the veſtiges of a malady, of which the human race ſtill feels the effects. The ruin of that world is ſtill imprinted on its inhabitants. They are a ſpecies of men degraded and degenerated in their natural conſtitution, in their ſtature, in their way of life, and in their underſtanding, which is but little advanced in all the arts of civilization. A damper air, and a more marſhy ground, muſt neceſſarily have infected the firſt principles of the ſubſiſtence and increaſe of mankind. It muſt have required ſome ages to reſtore population, and ſtill a greater number before the ground could be ſettled and dried, ſo as to be fit for tillage, and for the foundation of buildings. The air muſt neceſſarily be purified, before the ſky could be clear, and the ſky muſt neceſſarily be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable. The imperfection therefore of nature in America is not ſo much a proof of its recent origin, as of its regeneration. It was probably peopled at the ſame time as the other hemiſphere, but may have been overflown later. The large foſſil bones that are found under ground in America, ſhew that it had formerly elephants, rhinoceros, and other enormous quadrupeds, which have ſince diſappeared in thoſe regions. The gold and ſilver mines that are found juſt below the ſurface, are ſigns of a very ancient

revolution

revolution of the globe, but later than thoſe that have overturned our hemiſphere.

Suppoſe America had, by ſome means or other, been repeopled by our roving hords, that period would have been ſo remote, that it would ſtill give great antiquity to the inhabitants of that hemiſphere. Three or four centuries will not then be ſufficient to allow for the foundation of the empires of Mexico and Peru; for though we find no trace in theſe countries of our arts, or of the opinions and cuſtoms that prevail in other parts of the globe, yet we have found a police and a ſociety eſtabliſhed, inventions and practices which, though they did not ſhew any marks of times anterior to the deluge, yet they implied a long ſeries of ages ſubſequent to this cataſtrophe. For, though in Mexico, as in Egypt, a country ſurrounded with waters, mountains, and other invincible obſtacles, muſt have forced the men incloſed in it to unite after a time, though they might at firſt deſtroy each other in continual and bloody wars; yet it was only in proceſs of time that they could invent and eſtabliſh a worſhip and a legiſlation, which they could not, poſſibly, have borrowed from remote times or countries. It required a greater number of ages to render familiar the ſingle art of ſpeech, and that of writing, though but in hieroglyphics, to a whole nation unconnected with any other, and which muſt itſelf have created both thoſe arts, than it would take up days to perfect a child in them. Ages bear not the ſame proportion to the whole race as years do to individuals. The whole race is to occupy a vaſt field, both as to ſpace and duration, while the individuals have only ſome moments or inſtants of time to fill up, or rather to run over. The likeneſs and uniformity obſervable in the features and manners of the American nations, plainly ſhew that they are not ſo ancient as thoſe of our continent which differ ſo much from each other; but at the ſame time this circumſtance ſeems to confirm that they did not proceed from any modern hemiſphere, with which they have no kind of affinity that can indicate an immediate deſcent.

Experiments on Water obtained from the melted Ice of Sea-Water, to aſcertain whether it be freſh or or not; and to determine its ſpecific Gravity with reſpect to other Water. Alſo Experiments to find the Degree of Cold in which Sea-Water begins to freeze. By Mr. Edward Nairne, *Addreſſed to Sir* John Pringle, *Bart. Preſident of the Royal Society; and read before that learned Body the 1ſt of* February 1776.

Hampſtead,

SIR, Feb. 1, 1776.

IT having been ſuggeſted, in a converſation at which I was preſent, that the ice of ſea-water is not freſh; and that if the ice found near the poles be really ſo, it muſt probably be the ice of freſh water diſcharged into the ſea from large rivers in thoſe parts: I thought the preſent cold weather afforded an opportunity too favourable to be loſt, of aſcertaining by experiment, whether the water obtained from the melted ice of ſea-water be free from the taſte of ſalt or not; of comparing its gravity with that of the ſea-water, &c.; and

and of finding the degree of cold in which the latter begins to freeze: and I beg leave to lay before you an account of my reſearches in theſe matters, and of the methods I followed in making them. If you, Sir, ſhould think them worthy of notice, and would communicate them to the learned body over which you preſide, you would confer an honour on, &c.

THE ſea-water uſed in the following experiments was furniſhed by Mr. Owen, who keeps the Mineral Water Warehouſe, at Temple-Bar; who aſſured me, that it was taken up off the North Foreland.

On the 27th of January, 1766, at ten o'clock in the evening, I filled a jar $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, with ſea-water, and expoſed it to the open air, the thermometer ſtanding at 15°. At noon the next day, on taking it in, I found it frozen very hard, except a very little at the bottom, which remained quite fluid: I now ſet it by a ſtove in a heat of 56° to thaw. The ice when taken in from the open air was one quarter of an inch above the edge of the jar. When the jar had continued in the degree of heat abovementioned during eight hours, I took out the ice, which was then $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and two inches in diameter; about two thirds of the water appeared to remain. In order to clear the ice from any brine that might adhere to it, I waſhed it in a pail of pump-water, in which it was ſuffered to remain about a quarter of an hour, and then ſet it in a ſieve to drain off the water in which it had been waſhed.

On the 29th of January, 1776, I ſet the beforementioned ice in a baſin in a heat of about 46°, in which it continued nine hours before the whole was diſſolved. The bulb of a thermometer reſted on the ice during the time of the ſolution, and continued without variation at 32°. The water thus obtained was, to my palate, perfectly free from any taſte of ſalt.

In order to aſcertain the comparative gravity of this water, I filled a bottle with it to a certain mark in its neck, which was very narrow, and weighed the bottle ſo filled very carefully. I weighed the ſame bottle, filled to the ſame mark in its neck with ſea-water and other waters ſucceſſively, which were all brought to the ſame degree of heat by a thermometer. The reſults were as follow; viz.

	Grains.
Water obtained from the melted ice of the ſea-water,	1614
Diſtilled rain water, —	1612
Water taken out of a water tub, being a mixture of rain and ſnow water,	1615
The ſea-water, —	1653
The *reſiduum* of the ſea-water from which the ice beforementioned had been taken,	1659

To find the degree of cold in which ſea water begins to freeze, I made the following experiments.

I expoſed to the open air a decanter filled with the ſea water, in which a thermometer was ſuſpended, the bulb of which reached to the middle of the wideſt part of the decanter; a jelly glaſs filled with the ſame ſea-water, in which alſo a thermometer was put, reſting on the bottom, was placed in the ſame expoſure. The reſult will be ſeen in the following table:

January 29, 1776.

Veſſel.	Time.	Immerſed Therm.	Therm. in the open Air.	Effects, &c.
	h ′			
Decanter, Jelly glaſs,	11 30 A.M.		19	
Decanter, Jelly glaſs,	12 0	33 25 to 28.5	19	A number of beautiful feathered cryſtals appeared in the jelly glaſs; they began to ſhoot from the top, which was covered with ice, toward the bottom; when they reached it, the thermometer roſe immediately from 25 to 28.5.
Decanter, Jelly glaſs,	12 15	31 28.5	19	Ice began to form in the decanter, though hardly perceptible at the edge of the water.
Decanter, Jelly glaſs,	12 20	30 28.5		
Decanter, Jelly glaſs,	12 30	29 28.5	19	Cryſtals of a laminated appearance began to ſhoot downwards obliquely from the ice at the ſurface, which at the edge of the water was barely two-tenths of an inch thick; no appearance of ice in the middle of the ſurface.
Decanter,	1 0 P.M.	27.5	19	Cryſtals began to ſhoot round the neck of the decanter cloſe to the glaſs.
Decanter,	1 15	28.5	19	The inſide became covered with finely feathered cryſtals, which made it impoſſible to obſerve the height of the thermometer, without raiſing it till the quickſilver in the tube appeared above the ice.
Decanter,	4 0	28.5	19	

January 29, at eight o'clock in the evening, I expoſed to the open air, two ſimilar jars, each $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep and $1\frac{7}{10}$ inch in diameter; one of which I ſhall, for the ſake of diſtinction, call A; the other, B. A was filled with the ſea water; B with water taken out of a water-tub, which was a mixture of rain and ſnow water. In A two thermometers were placed; one reſted on the bottom; the upper part of the ball of the other was a quarter of an inch only below the ſurface of the water; one thermometer was alſo placed in B, reſting on the bottom. The following table ſhews the reſult.

Veſſel.	Time.	Therm. at the Top.	Therm. at the Bottom.	Therm. in the open Air.	
	h				
A	8 0 P. M.	60	60	19.5	
B			60		
A	8 15	40	33		
B			38		
A	8 20	35	29.5		
B			37.5		The ſurface of the water in B covered with ice.
A	8 25	31	26.5		
B			34		Surface as before.
A	8 30	29	25		No appearance of ice.
B			32		The ice on the ſurface increaſed.
A	8 32	28.5	24.5		Ice began to appear on the ſurface.
B			32		Quite frozen.
A	8 36	28.2	28.5		Cryſtals over every part of the glaſs.
B			32	20	As before.

N. B. During the time in which theſe obſervations were made, the thermometer in the open air roſe half of a diviſion.

The following table ſhews the reſult of ſome further obſervations on the effects of cold on the ſea-water in the jar A of the laſt table, which had been thawed in order to be now expoſed again to the open air. The thermometer in the jar continued in the ſame ſituation as before.

January

January 30, 1776, A. M.

Time.	Therm. at the Top.	Therm. at the Bottom.	Therm. in the open Air.	Effects, &c.
h ′				
10 32	34.5	35.5	16.5	The water fluid.
10 39	29	32		Ice began to be formed about the glaſs at the edge of the water.
10 42	28.5	30.5		Still continued to have ice only about the edge of the water.
10 48	28	28		The ſurface of the water rendered ſtagnant by the ice.
11 1	27	24.5	18.5	The cryſtals had almoſt reached the bottom.
11 1½ 2	27+	28.5		During the half minute employed in this obſervation, the cryſtals reached the bottom of the jar; the lower thermometer roſe almoſt inſtantaneouſly from 24.5 to 28.5, and was immediately rendered obſcure by the ice.
11 45	26.5	28.5	19	The jar was taken in from the open air, and the lower thermometer lifted out of the ice to a ſufficient height for the obſervation.

From theſe obſervations it ſeems that the freezing point of ſea-water ſhould be fixed in Fahrenheit's ſcale at 28.5.

As the water, when it began to freeze in two experiments, exhibited phenomena different from any I had obſerved before, it may not be improper to ſubjoin an account of them.

At fourteen minutes after eight in the morning of January 31, I put the jar B of the ſecond table, containing the ſame water; viz. a mixture of rain and ſnow-water, in a window, having the evening before placed a ſecond thermometer in it, the bulb of which was juſt below the ſurface of the water. This as well as the thermometer at the bottom ſtood at 27.5, and the water was perfectly fluid: the thermometer placed near the jar within the window was at 23.5. At twenty-ſeven minutes after eight it began to freeze at the bottom of the jar, the thermometers at the top and bottom ſtanding alike at 27. The inſtant the cryſtals began to encompaſs the ball of the ther-

mometer

mometer below, which they very ſoon did after it began to freeze, the quickſilver roſe in it to 32°, the upper one continuing at 27°. The cryſtals continued to ſhoot upward, and in leſs than half a minute reached the bulb of the thermometer at the ſurface, which immediately roſe to 32°.

At ten minutes before ſix in the evening of the ſame day, I put the jar A of the ſecond table into the open air, its contents the ſame; *viz.* ſea-water. The thermometers in it were likewiſe the ſame, not having been moved; they both ſtood at 34°; that in the open air at 19.5. At ſix o'clock the thermometer above was at 31°, that below at 28.25. At this time I diſcovered ſome ice on the ſurface of the water; but as it was by candle-light, I could not diſcern its firſt appearance. At ten minutes after ſix, the thermometer above was at 29°; that below at 26.5. At fifteen minutes after ſix, the upper thermometer at 28.5; that below at 25°. At ſeventeen minutes after ſix, both the thermometers ſtood at 28.5, cryſtals having riſen from the bottom covered the ball of that below, on which it roſe inſtantly from 25° to 28.5. The thermometer in the open air continued as at firſt; *viz.* at 19.5.

The ſcale of all the thermometers uſed in theſe experiments was Fahrenheit's. I have ſent herewith ſpecimens of the water; *viz.* of the ſea-water; of the water procured from its melted ice; and of the *reſiduum* of the ſea-water from which the ice was taken.

I am, &c.

A Compariſon of the Heat of London *and* Edinburgh. *By* John Roebuck, *M. D. F. R. S. in a Letter to* William Heberden, *M. D. F. R. S. From the* Philoſophical Tranſactions.

SIR,

I DELIVERED to you ſome time ago, a regiſter of the thermometer at Hawkhill for ten years; but as theſe obſervations were made at eight o'clock in the morning and four in the afternoon, and yours at eight o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon, the correſponding years of the morning's obſervations only admit of a compariſon. It appears by your regiſter, that the mean heat at London for nine years, from the end of 1763 to the end of 1772, at eight o'clock in the morning, was 47°.4; and the mean heat at Hawkhill, during the ſame period of time, was 46°. The difference of which is only 1°.4. A difference much leſs than might be expected from the difference of latitude, and not ſufficient to account why nonpareils, golden renets, peaches, nectarines, and many kinds of grapes, generally come to maturity near London, and ſcarce ever near Edinburgh, without the aid of artificial heat. Before I proceeded further to perplex myſelf with this difficulty, I procured from Hawkhill and from yourſelf the regiſter of the thermometer for three years at the ſame periods of time; copies of which I here incloſe to you. And by theſe it appears, that the mean heat of London of theſe three years exceeded that of Edinburgh by 4°.5. And the mean heat of

the three hotteſt months in London exceeded the mean of the ſame three at Edinburgh by 5°.8. And the mean heat of theſe three ſummer months, at two o'clock in the afternoon in London, exceeded the mean heat of the ſame months, at the ſame hour, in Edinburgh, by 7°.3; which ſufficiently accounts why ſome fruit may come to maturity in one country and not in the other: and alſo why corn and graſs, which vegetate with a more temperate heat, but require a longer continuance of it, may arrive at maturity in both countries. The reaſon why the mean heat of London exceeds that of Edinburgh may ariſe principally from the difference of latitude. But the reaſon why the exceſs is greater in proportion in the three hotteſt months of the year, at the hotteſt time of the day, than in the winter months, ariſes from Edinburgh's being ſituated nearer to the ſea than London. We might ſpeak with more preciſion on this ſubject, if we had a regiſter of the thermometer at Moſcow, which is nearly of the ſame latitude as Edinburgh; though it is well known, that the heat of ſummer is much more intenſe, and the cold of winter much more ſevere, at Moſcow than at Edinburgh. The mean heat of ſprings near Edinburgh ſeems to be 47°; and at London 51°. It is probable, that the mean heat of good ſprings in any country is very nearly the mean heat of the country *. A faithful account of the heat of ſprings in different latitudes, and of water taken from the ſame depth of the ſea in different latitudes, is yet wanted.

I am, &c.

* We ſhall have an eaſy method of finding the mean heat of any place, if it be always nearly equal to that of its ſprings. This matter might be aſcertained by a proper number of obſervations; and it is therefore very deſireable, to have an account taken of the heat of the ſprings, wherever a regiſter is kept of the heat of the air. W. HEBERDEN.

MEAN

MEAN HEAT IN PALL-MALL, LONDON.

	1772.		1773.		1774.		Mean Heat of Three Years.	
	8A.M.	2P.M.	8A M.	2P.M	8A.M	2P.M.	8A M.	2P.M.
January	36	38	42	44	34	39	37·3	40.3
February	38	42	36	41	38	44	37·3	42.3
March	41	47	40	51	41	52	40.7	50
April	44	51	45	55	47	55	45·3	53.7
May	49	60	50	60	51	60	50	60
June	64	73	58	67	59	67	60.3	69
July	61	72	60	68	61	69	60.7	69.7
Auguſt	60	70	62	72	62	70	61.3	70.7
September	56	65	56	63	55	63	55.7	63.7
October	56	61	51	59	48	58	51.7	59·3
November	45	55	40	47	40	44	41.7	48.7
December	41	44	41	45	39	43	40.3	44
Mean heat	49.2	56.5	48.4	56	47·9	55·3	48.5	56

Mean Heat of three Years Morning and Afternoon was 52.2.

Mean Heat at HAWKHILL, ſituated about one Mile North of EDINBURGH, and 103 Feet above the Level of the Sea.

	1772.		1773.		1774.		Mean Heat of Three Years.	
	8A.M	2P.M.	8A.M.	2P.M	8A.M	2P.M	8A M.	2P.M.
January	31.5	34.3	38.5	40.3	29.1	33	33·3	35·8
February	30.9	36.5	35.1	40.7	36.2	40.4	34	39.2
March	37	42.8	42.1	48.4	37.1	43.2	38.7	44.8
April	42.9	48.5	45.6	51.1	44.1	48 9	44.2	49.5
May	49.1	54.5	48.6	53.1	46.6	50.8	48.1	52.8
June	57.2	62.1	55.2	60.1	51.1	59.7	54.5	60.6
July	58.7	64.6	57.7	61.9	57.4	63.3	57.9	63.3
Auguſt	57.4	63,9	58.3	64.8	57.2	62.5	57.6	63.7
September	51.5	58.1	51.3	55.8	51.7	57.8	51.5	57.2
October	48.8	51.6	46	50.7	48.3	52.8	47.7	51.7
November	41.7	44.6	38.2	42 3	38.	42	39·3	42.9
December	39.7	41.6	36.4	38.5	37·3	40	37.8	40
Mean heat	45·5	50.3	46.1	50.6	44·5	49·5	45·4	50.1

Mean Heat of three Years Morning and Afternoon was 47·7.

An Account of ſome curious Experiments tried lately in London *and* Liverpool, *with very great Degrees of Heat and Cold upon animal and vegetable Bodies, and of cold upon vegetable Bodies, proving that ſuch Bodies, while alive, are endued with many uncommon Powers, particularly thoſe of bearing Heat and Cold, and even generating the one, occaſionally, in oppoſition to the other. From the* Philoſophical Tranſactions.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

Experiments in an heated Room. By Matthew Dobſon, *M. D. In a Letter to* John Fothergill, *M. D. F. R. S.*

Liverpool, April 25, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

I PERUSED with particular pleaſure, your ſhort account of the curious experiment made by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. The ſame, and ſome additional experiments, have been made here; the reſult of which I ſhould ſooner have tranſmitted to you, had I not been prevented by the conſtant engagements of my profeſſion.

Experiments.

I. The ſweating-room of our Public Hoſpital at Liverpool, which is nearly a cube of nine feet, lighted from the top, was heated till the quickſilver ſtood at 224° on Fahrenheit's ſcale, nor would the tube of the thermometer indeed admit the heat to be raiſed higher. The thermometer was ſuſpended by a ſtring fixed to the wooden frame of the ſky-light, and hung down about the centre of the room. Myſelf and ſeveral others were at this time incloſed in the ſtove, without experiencing any oppreſſive or painful ſenſation of heat, proportioned to the degree pointed out by the thermometer. Every metallic about us ſoon became very hot.

II. My friend Mr. Park, an ingenious ſurgeon of this place, went into the ſtove heated to 202°. After ten minutes I found the pulſe quickened to 120. And to determine the increaſe of the animal heat, another thermometer was handed to him, in which the quickſilver already ſtood at 98°; but it roſe only to 99½, whether the bulb of the thermometer was incloſed in the palms of the hands, or received into the mouth *. The natural ſtate of this gentleman's pulſe is about 65.

III. Another gentleman went through the ſame experiment in the ſame circumſtances, and with the ſame effects.

IV. One of the porters to the Hoſpital, a healthy young man, and the pulſe 75, was incloſed in the ſtove when the quickſilver ſtood at 210°; and he remained there, with little inconvenience, for 20 minutes. The pulſe, now 164, and the animal heat, determined by another thermometer as in the former experiments, was 101½.

V. A young gentleman of a delicate and irritable habit, whoſe natural pulſe is about 80, remained in the ſtove ten minutes when heated to 224°. The pulſe roſe

* The ſcale of the thermometer, which was ſuſpended by the ſtring about the middle of the room, was of metal; this was the only one I could then procure, on which the degrees ran ſo high as to give any ſcope to the experiment. The ſcale of the other thermometer, which was employed for aſcertaining the variations in the animal heat, was of ivory.

to

to 145, and the animal heat to 102°. This gentleman who had been frequently in the ſtove during the courſe of the day, found himſelf feeble, and diſpoſed to break out into ſweats for 24 hours after the experiment.

VI. Two ſmall tin veſſels, containing each the white of an egg, were put into the ſtove heated to 224°. One of them was placed on a wooden ſeat near the wall, and the other ſuſpended by a ſtring about the middle of the ſtove. After ten minutes, they began to coagulate; but the coagulation was ſenſibly quicker and firmer in that which was ſuſpended, than in that which was placed on the wooden ſeat. The progreſs of the coagulation was as follows: it was firſt formed on the ſides, and gradually extended itſelf; the whole of the bottom was next coagulated; and laſt of all the middle part of the top.

VII. Part of the ſhell of an egg was peeled away, leaving only the film which ſurrounds the white; and part of the white being drawn out, the film ſunk ſo as to form a little cup. This cup was filled with ſome of the *albumen ovi*, which was conſequently detached as much as poſſible from every thing but the contact of the air and of the film which formed the cup. The lower part of the egg ſtood upon ſome light tow in a common gallipot, and was placed on the wooden ſeat in the ſtove. The quickſilver in the thermometer ſtill continued at 224°. After remaining in the ſtove for an hour, the lower part of the egg which was covered with the ſhell, was firmly coagulated; but that which was in the little cup was fluid and tranſparent. At the end of another hour it was ſtill fluid, except on the edges where it was thinneſt; and here it was ſtill tranſparent; a ſufficient proof that it was dried, not coagulated.

VIII. A piece of bees wax, placed in the ſame ſituation with the *albumen ovi* of the preceding experiment, and expoſed to the ſame degree of heat in the ſtove, began to melt in five minutes: another piece ſuſpended by a ſtring, and a third piece put into the tin veſſel and ſuſpended, began likewiſe to liquify in five minutes.

Obſervations.

That heated air ſhould have ſuch a ſpeedy and powerful effect in quickening the pulſe, while the animal heat is little altered from its natural ſtandard; that the human body ſhould ſo eaſily bear to be ſurrounded with air heated to 224°; that the *albumen ovi*, which begins to coagulate in water at 150°, ſhould remain fluid in 224°; and that the ſame *albumen ovi*, ſtill placed in air heated to 224°, ſhould coagulate if in contact either with tin or its own ſhell, are facts as ſingular as they are difficult of explanation. From the different effects of heated air on the pulſe and the heat of the body, do we not diſcover the fallacy of that theory of animal heat which has been adopted by Boerhaave and other celebrated phyſiologiſts? They ſuppoſe that animal heat is produced by the attrition of the *globules* of the circulating fluids againſt the ſides of the containing veſſels; but in ſeveral of the preceding experiments, the circulation was amazingly quickened, with little increaſe of the animal heat. But whence is it that the human body

can bear, without immediate injury, to be ſurrounded with air heated to 224°? And whence is it, that the *albumen ovi* does not coagulate in this degree of heat? Is it that fire as it paſſes into ſome bodies becomes latent, agreeable to a doctrine which has for ſome time been taught at Edinburgh by Profeſſor BLACK? Or does fire become fixed and *quieſcent*, according to a ſimilar ſyſtem adopted by Dr. Franklin *? Air we know exiſts either in a fixed or elaſtic ſtate; and fire may in like manner exiſt in bodies, either in a latent, fixed, and *quieſcent*; or in a ſenſible, fluid, and active ſtate. Agreeable to this idea, the bees wax receives the fire in an active ſtate, and diſſolves; while the human body and the *albumen ovi*, receiving the fire in a latent ſtate, are little altered in their temperature. Let each of theſe, however, be put in contact with a different body, tin for inſtance; and though the heat of the air continues the ſame, yet the fire no longer enters in a latent ſtate, but with all its ſenſible and active powers; for the *albumen ovi* ſuſpended in a tin veſſel ſoon coagulates; and the human body, covered with the ſame metal, would quickly experience an intolerable and deſtructive degree of heat. Or are the above phœnomena more ſatisfactorily explained, by conſidering different bodies as poſſeſſing different conducting powers; ſome being ſtrong, others weak conductors of fire? All thoſe bodies then which are weak conductors of fire from air, may be placed in air, without receiving the heat of this medium. Hence the *albumen ovi* remains fluid in air heated to 224°. Hence likewiſe the frog, the lizard, the camelion, &c. retain their natural temperature, and feel cold to the touch, though perpetually ſurrounded with air hotter than their own bodies. Hence alſo, the human body keeps nearly its own temperature, in a ſtove heated to 224°: or may even paſs without injury into air heated to a much greater degree, according to the obſervations of DU HAMEL and TILLETT, publiſhed in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences †. On the other hand, all thoſe bodies which are powerful conductors of fire from air, are influenced in proportion when ſurrounded with this medium. The bees wax melted from the mere contact of the air in experiment VIII; and in experiment VI, the *albumen ovi* was coagulated on the intervention of another body, which is a ſtrong conductor of fire from air. But whether this method of reaſoning on the natural cauſe of theſe effects be juſt or not, the final cauſe is obvious, and is to be reſolved into the wiſe and benevolent appointment of the Almighty. Man is happily ſo framed, as to poſſeſs a power of keeping nearly the ſame tenor of heat, in all the variations of the temperature of the air in ſummer and winter, in hot and cold climates; and conſequently changes his ſituation on the ſurface of the globe, with much leſs inconvenience or injury, than he could otherwiſe have done. The ſame power likewiſe happily adapts different animals to their

* Exper. and Obſerv. p. 346. and 412.

† Memoires pour 1761: And likewiſe our Volume for 1768, Second Part, p. 91.

reſpective

reſpective deſtinations. The lizard and the camelion remain cool under the equator, while the whale and porpoiſe retain a degree of heat above that of the human body, though ſurrounded with the waters of the coldeſt Northern ſeas, and amidſt mountains of ice in the neighbourhood of the Pole.

Should you think theſe experiments and obſervations on heated air of ſufficient importance to be communicated to the Royal Society, they are at your diſpoſal.

I have the pleaſure to find, that Dr. Prieſtley is proſecuting his very ingenious inquiries on air. In a letter I lately received from him, he informs me, that he has diſcovered a ſpecies of air, which will preſerve animal life ſix times longer than atmoſpheric air.

I remain with great eſteem, &c.

Article the Second.

Experiments on Animals and Vegetables, with reſpect to the Power of producing Heat. *By* John Hunter, *F. R. S.*

THE ingenious experiments and obſervations lately preſented to this learned Society, upon a power which animals ſeem to poſſeſs of generating cold, induced me to look over my notes of certain experiments and obſervations made in the year 1766, which indicate an oppoſite power in animals; whereby they are capable of reſiſting any external cold while alive, by generating within themſelves a degree of heat ſufficient to counteract it. Theſe experiments were not originally inſtituted in view of the diſcovery, which in the event reſulted from them, but for a very different purpoſe; which was no other than to ſatisfy myſelf, whether an animal could retain life after it was frozen, as had been confidently aſſerted both of fiſh and ſnakes. I mention this, to account for what might otherwiſe be attributed to negligence and inattention; namely, that little nicety was uſed in meaſuring the preciſe degrees of the cold applied in theſe experiments. Accuracy in this particular was not aimed at, being of no conſequence in the inquiry more immediately before me. The cold produced was firſt by means of ice and ſnow with *ſal ammoniac* or ſea-ſalt, and was about 10° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. Then ice, ſo cooled, was mixed with ſpirit of nitre; but what degree of cold was thus produced I did not examine. This cold mixture was made in a tub ſurrounded with woollen cloths, and covered with the ſame, to prevent the effects of the heat of the atmoſphere upon the mixture itſelf, and to preſerve as much as poſſible a cold atmoſphere within the veſſel. The animal juices, the blood for example, freeze at 25°; ſo that a piece of dead fleſh could be frozen in ſuch an atmoſphere.

Experiments.

I. The firſt experiment was made on two carp. They were put into a glaſs veſſel with common river water, and the veſſel put into the freezing mixture; the water did not freeze faſt enough; and therefore, to make it freeze ſooner, we put in as much cooled ſnow as to make the whole thick. The ſnow round the carp melted; we put in more freſh ſnow, which

melted alſo; and this was repeated ſeveral times, till we grew tired, and at laſt left them covered up in the yard, to freeze by the joint operation of the ſurrounding mixture and the natural cold of the atmoſphere. They were frozen at laſt, after having exhauſted the whole powers of life in the production of heat. That this was really the caſe, could not be known, till I had compleated that part of the experiment, for which the whole was begun; *viz.* the thawing of the animals. This was done very gradually; but the animals did not with flexibility recover life. While in this cold, they ſhewed ſigns of great uneaſineſs by their violent motions. In ſome of theſe experiments, where air was made the conductor of the cold and heat, that the heat might be more readily carried off from the animal, a leaden veſſel was uſed. It was ſmall for the ſame reaſon; and as it was neceſſary, for the animal's reſpiration, that the mouth of the veſſel ſhould communicate with the open air, it was made pretty deep, that the cold of the atmoſphere round the animal might not be diminiſhed faſt by the warmth of the open air, which would have ſpoiled it as a conductor.

II. The ſecond experiment was upon a dormouſe. The veſſel was ſunk in the cold mixture almoſt to its edge. The atmoſphere round the animal ſoon cooled; its breath froze as it came from the mouth; an hoar-froſt gathered on its whiſkers, and on all the inſide of the veſſel; and the external ends of the hair became covered with the ſame. While this was going on, the animal ſhewed ſigns of great uneaſineſs: ſometimes it would coil itſelf into a round form, to preſerve its extremities, and confine its heat; but finding that ineffectual, it then endeavoured to make its eſcape *; its motions became leſs violent by the ſinking of the vital powers; and its feet were frozen; but we were not able to keep up the cold a ſufficient time to freeze the whole animal, its hair being ſuch a bad conductor of heat, that the conſumption was not more, than the animal powers were capable of ſupporting †.

III. The third experiment was made upon another dormouſe. From the failure of the laſt experiment, I took care that the hair ſhould not a ſecond time be an obſtruction to the ſucceſs of our experiment. I therefore firſt wetted it all over, that the heat of the animal might be more inſtantaneouſly carried off; and then it was put into the leaden veſſel. The whole was put into the cold mixture as before. The animal ſoon gave ſigns of its feeling the cold, by repeated attempts to make its eſcape. The breath, and the evaporating water from its body

* This ſhews, that cold, carried to a great degree, rather rouſes the animal into action than depreſſes it; but it would appear, from many circumſtances and obſervations, that a certain degree of cold produces inactivity both in the living and ſenſitive principle, which will be farther illuſtrated hereafter.

† Theſe experiments were made in preſence of Dr. George Fordyce, and Dr. Erwin, teacher of Chemiſtry at Glaſgow; the latter of whom came in accidentally in the middle of our operations.

were

were ſoon frozen, and appeared like a hoar-froſt on the ſides of the veſſel, and on its whiſkers; but while the vigour of life laſted, it defied the approach of the cold. However, from the hair being wet, and thereby rendered a good conductor of heat, there was a much greater conſumption of it than in the former experiment. This haſtened on a diminution of the power of producing it. The animal died, and ſoon became ſtiff; upon thawing it, we found it was dead.

IV. The fourth experiment was upon a toad. It was put into water juſt deep enough not to cover its mouth, and the whole was put into the cold mixture, now between 10° and 15°. It allowed the water to freeze cloſe to it, which as it were cloſed it in; but the animal did not die, and therefore was not frozen: however, it hardly ever recovered the uſe of its limbs.

V. The fifth experiment was with a ſnail, which froze very ſoon, in a cold between 10° and 13°; but this experiment was made in the winter, when the living powers of thoſe animals are very weak: it might have reſiſted the cold more ſtrongly in the ſummer.

To aſcertain whether vegetables could be frozen, and afterwards retain all their properties when thawed, or had the ſame power of generating heat with animals, I made ſeveral experiments. Vegetable juices when ſqueezed out of a green plant, ſuch as cabbage and ſpinnage, froze in a cold about 29°; and between 29° and 30° thawed again, which is about 4° above the point at which the animal juices freeze and thaw.

I. I took a young growing bean, about three inches long in the ſtalk, and put it into the leaden veſſel with common water, and then immerſed the whole into the cold mixture. The water very ſoon froze all round it; however, the bean itſelf took up a longer time in freezing than the ſame quantity of water would have done; yet it did freeze, and was afterwards thawed, and planted in the ground, but it ſoon withered. The ſame experiment was made upon the bulbous roots of tulips, and with the ſame ſucceſs.

II. A young Scotch fir, which had two compleat ſhoots and a third growing, and which conſequently was in its third year, was put into the cold mixture which was between 15° and 17°. The laſt ſhoot froze with great difficulty, which appeared to be owing in ſome meaſure to the repulſion between the plant and the water. When thawed, the young ſhoot was found flaccid. It was planted; the firſt and ſecond ſhoot we found retained life, while the third, or growing ſhoot, withered.

III. A young ſhoot of growing oats with three leaves, had one of the leaves put into the cold mixture at 22°, and it ſoon was frozen. The roots were next put in, but did not freeze; and when put into the ground, the whole grew, excepting the leaf which had been frozen. The ſame experiment was made upon the leaves and roots of a young bean, and attended with the ſame ſucceſs.

IV. A leaf taken from a growing bean was put into the cold mixture, and frozen, and afterwards thawed, which ſerved as a ſtandard.

ſtandard. Another freſh leaf was taken and bent in the middle upon itſelf; a ſmall ſhallow leaden veſſel was put upon the top of the cold mixture, and the two leaves put upon its bottom; but one half of each leaf was not allowed to touch the veſſel by the bend; the cold mixture was between 17° and 15°, and the atmoſphere at 22°. The ſurfaces of the two leaves which were in contact with the lead were ſoon frozen in both; but thoſe ſurfaces which roſe at right angles, and were therefore only in contact with the cold atmoſphere, did not freeze in equal times; the one that had gone through this proceſs before, froze much ſooner than the freſh one. The above experiment was repeated when the cold mixture was at 25°, 24°, and the atmoſphere nearly the ſame, and with the ſame ſucceſs; only the leaves were longer in freezing, eſpecially the freſh leaf.

V. The vegetable juices abovementioned being frozen in the leaden veſſel, the cold mixture at 28°, and the atmoſphere the ſame, a growing fir-ſhoot was laid upon the ſurface, alſo a bean-leaf; and upon remaining there ſome minutes, they were found to have thawed the ſurface on which they lay. This I thought might ariſe from the greater warmth of theſe ſubſtances at the time of application; but by moving the fir-ſhoot to another part, we had the ſame effect produced.

VI. A freſh leaf of a bean was exactly weighed; it was then put into the cold atmoſphere and frozen. In this ſtate it was put back into the ſame ſcale, and allowed to thaw. No alteration in the weight was produced.

It appears from the above experiments, that an animal muſt be deprived of life before it can be frozen. Secondly, that there is an exertion, or an expence of animal powers, in doing this, in proportion to the neceſſity; and that the whole animal life may be exhauſted in this way. Thirdly, that this power is in proportion to the perfection of the animal, the natural heat proper to each ſpecies, and to each age. It may alſo perhaps depend, in ſome degree, on other circumſtances not hitherto obſerved: for from experiment II. and III. upon dormice, I found that in theſe animals, which are of a conſtitution to retain nearly the ſame heat in all temperatures of the air, it required the greateſt cold I could produce to overcome this power; while in experiment IV. and V. this power in the toad and ſnail, whoſe natural heat is not always the ſame, but is altered very materially according to the external heat or cold, was exhauſted in a degree of cold not exceeding 10° or 15°: and the ſnail being the moſt imperfect of the two, its powers of generating heat were by much the weakeſt.

That the imperfect animals will allow of a conſiderable variation in their temperature of heat and cold, is proved by the following experiments. The thermometer being at 45°, having introduced the ball by the mouth into the ſtomach of a frog, which had been expoſed to the ſame cold, it roſe to 49°. I then put the frog into an atmoſphere made warm by heated water, and allowed it to ſtay there twenty minutes; when, upon introducing the thermometer into the ſtomach, it raiſed the quick-

ſilver

ſilver to 64°. But to what degree the more imperfect animals are capable of being rendered hotter and colder, at one time than another, I have not been able to determine. The torpidity of theſe animals in our winter is probably owing to the great change wrought in their temperature by the external heat and cold. The cold in their bodies is carried to ſuch a degree, as in great meaſure to put a ſtop, while it laſts, to the vital functions. In warmer climates no ſuch effect is produced. In this reſpect they reſemble vegetables.

From the foregoing experiments it appears; firſt, that plants when in a ſtate of actual vegetation, or even in ſuch a ſtate as to be capable of vegetating under certain circumſtances, muſt be deprived of their principle of vegetation before they can be frozen. Secondly, vegetables have a power within themſelves of producing or generating heat; but not always in proportion to the diminution of heat by application of cold, ſo as to retain at all times an uniform degree of heat; for the internal temperature of vegetables is ſuſceptible of variations to a much greater extent indeed than that of the more imperfect animals; but ſtill within certain limits. Beyond theſe limits the principle of vegetable, as of animal life, reſiſts any further change. Thirdly, the heat of vegetables varies, according to the temperature of the medium in which they are, which we diſcover by varying that temperature, and obſerving the heat of the vegetable. Fourthly, the expence of the vegetating powers in this caſe is proportioned to the neceſſity, and the whole vegetable powers may be exhauſted in this way. Fifthly, this power is moſt probably in proportion to the perfection of the plant, the natural heat proper to each ſpecies, and the age of each individual. It may alſo perhaps depend, in ſome degree, on other circumſtances not hitherto obſerved; for in experiment II. the old ſhoot did not loſe its powers, while that which was young or growing did; and in experiment III. and IV. we found, that the young growing ſhoot of the fir was with great difficulty frozen at 10°, while a bean-leaf was eaſily frozen at 22°; and in experiment V. the young ſhoot of the fir thawed the ice at 28°, much faſter than the leaf of the bean. Sixthly, it is probably by means of this principle, that vegetables are adapted to different climates. Seventhly, that ſuſpenſion of the functions of vegetable life, which takes place during the winter ſeaſon, is probably owing to their being ſuſceptible of ſuch a great variation of internal temperature. Eighthly, the roots of vegetables are capable of reſiſting cold more than the ſtem or leaf; therefore, though the ſtem be killed by cold, the root may be preſerved, as daily experience evinces. The texture of vegetables alters very much by the loſs of life, eſpecially thoſe which are watry and young; from being brittle and criſp they become tough and flexible. The leaf of a bean when in full health is thick and maſſy, repels water as if greaſy, and will often break before it is conſiderably bent; but if it is killed ſlowly by cold, it will loſe all theſe properties, becoming then pliable and flaccid; deprived

of

of its power of repelling water, it is eaſily made wet, and appears like boiled greens. If killed quickly, by being frozen immediately, it will remain in the ſame ſtate as when alive; but upon thawing, will immediately loſe all its former texture. This is ſo remarkable, that it would induce one to believe, that it loſt conſiderably of its ſubſtance; but from experiment VI. it is evident that it does not. The ſame thing happens to a plant when killed by electricity *. If a growing juicy plant receives a ſtroke of electricity ſufficient to kill it, its leaves droop, and the whole becomes flexible.

So far animal and vegetable life appear to be the ſame; yet an animal and a vegetable differ in one very material circumſtance, which it may be proper to take particular notice of in this place, as it ſhews itſelf with remarkable evidence in theſe experiments. An animal is equally old in all its parts, excepting where new parts are formed in conſequence of diſeaſes; and we find, that theſe new or young parts in animals, like the young ſhoots of vegetables, are not able to ſupport life equally with the old; but every plant has in it a ſeries of ages. According to its years, it has parts of all the ſucceſſive ages from its firſt formation; each part having powers equal to its age, and each part, in this reſpect, being ſimilar to animals of ſo many different ages. Youth in all caſes is a ſtate of imperfection; for we find that few animals that come into the world in winter live, unleſs they are particularly taken care of; and we may obſerve the ſame of vegetables. I found that a young plant was more eaſily killed than an old one; as alſo the youngeſt part of the ſame plant.

This power of generating heat ſeems to be peculiar to animals and vegetables while alive. It is in both a power only of oppoſition and reſiſtance; for it is not found to exert itſelf ſpontaneouſly and unprovoked; but muſt always be excited by the energy of ſome external frigorific agent. In animals it does not depend on the motion of the blood, as ſome have ſuppoſed, becauſe it belongs to animals who have no circulation; beſides, the noſe of a dog, which is nearly always of the ſame heat in all temperatures of the air, is well ſupplied with blood: nor can it be ſaid to depend upon the nervous ſyſtem, for it is found in animals that have neither brain or nerves. It is then moſt probable, that it depends on ſome other principle peculiar to both, and which is one of the properties of life; which can, and does, act independently of circulation, ſenſation, and volition; viz. that power which preſerves and regulates the internal machine, and which appears to be common to animals and vegetables. This principle is in the moſt perfect ſtate when the body is in health, and in many deviations from that ſtate, we find that its action is extremely uncertain and irregular; ſometimes riſing higher than the ſtandard, and at

* To kill a whole plant by electricity, it is neceſſary to apply the conductor, or give a ſhock to every projecting part; for any part that is out of the line of direction will ſtill retain life.

other

other times falling much below it. Inſtances of this we have in different diſeaſes, and even in the ſame diſeaſe, in very ſhort intervals of time. A very remarkable one fell under my own obſervation, in a gentleman who was taken with an apoplectic fit; while he lay inſenſible in bed, and covered with blankets, I found that his whole body would, in an inſtant, become extremely cold in every part; continue ſo for ſome time; and, in as ſhort a time, he would become extremely hot. While this was going on for ſeveral hours alternately, there was no ſenſible alteration in his pulſe.

Two Caſes of great Fatneſs and Somnolency, treated by Dr. Fothergill; *in one of which the Patient happily recovered by perſevering in the Regimen preſcribed by that Gentleman; while the Patient, in the other, unfortunately periſhed by neglecting it for the Advice of Friends. From an Article, by the Doctor himſelf, in* Medical Obſervations and Inquiries, *by a Society of Phyſicians in* London.

A Country tradeſman, aged about thirty, of a ſhort ſtature, and naturally of a freſh, ſanguine complexion, and very fat, applied to me for aſſiſtance. He complained of perpetual drowzineſs and inactivity. His countenance was almoſt livid; and ſuch a degree of ſomnolency attended him, that he could ſcarce keep awake whilſt he deſcribed his ſituation. In other reſpects he was well.

I adviſed him immediately to quit all animal food, to live ſolely on vegetables, and every thing prepared from them, allowed him a glaſs of wine or a little beer occaſionally, but chiefly to confine himſelf to water. He purſued the plan very ſcrupulouſly, loſt his redundant fat, grew active as uſual in about ſix months. I recommended a perſeverance for a few months longer; then to allow himſelf light animal food one or twice a week, and gradually to fall into his uſual way of living. He grew well, and continued ſo.

A young unmarried woman, about twenty-three years of age, of a low ſtature, and very fat, applied to me for aſſiſtance in a great difficulty of breathing, ſomnolency, and incapacity for any exerciſe. It was a hardſhip to her to be obliged to go up ſtairs, and at laſt to croſs the floor of her apartment.

It ſeemed to me that mere obeſity was her principal malady: indeed ſhe had no other complaint but ſuch as apparently might be accounted for from this ſuppoſition. She was ordered to purſue a vegetable diet, and in the ſummer to drink the waters at Scarborough. She conformed to theſe directions, became more agile, leſs ſleepy, leſs averſe to exerciſe. She walked up the ſteps at Scarborough from the ſpaw, a taſk of no little difficulty to people much leſs encumbered. I urged a continuance of the ſame diet: ſhe was diſſuaded from it by her friends, and died of fat in the twenty-ſeventh year of her age. She left permiſſion with her ſiſter, to be opened, if it was deſired: the caſe was too ſingular to be neglected: all the viſcera were perfectly ſound, but larded with fat beyond apprehenſion. In dividing the external teguments,

we cut through 2½ inches of fat. She died ſuddenly.

Some inſtances of a ſimilar nature, in which a vegetable diet has ſafely contributed to reduce immoderate corpulency, induces me to think that a prudent trial in the caſe I am treating of (an *Angina Pectoris*) would be adviſeable. Perhaps a reaſonable uſe of wine, not a generous one, ſhould here be allowed, leſt the ſtrength ſhould be diminiſhed too much in proportion; and if the power of abſorption ſhould by this means fail, we may probably loſe more ground, by the increaſe of the *ſeroſa colluvies* in the cavity of the thorax, than what we gain by ſubtracting the fat.

All the means of increaſing the thinner ſecretions are evidently pointed out as neceſſary, from this diſſection; and if to theſe we join ſmall doſes of chalybeates, or other medicines, and an abſtinence from animal food, ſo far as the patient's health, ſituation, and manner of life will admit of it, we are perhaps rendering all the reaſonable aſſiſtance we can, till future diſcoveries make us better acquainted with the real cauſes of this ſingular diſtemper.

Some Account of a very remarkable Medical Caſe, in which all the Bones, particularly thoſe of the Thighs and Legs, loſt their Solidity; by Mr. Henry Thomſon, *Surgeon to the* London-Hoſpital. *From* Medical Obſervations and Inquiries *by a Society of Phyſicians in* London.

JAMES Stevenſon, a ſhoemaker in Wapping, aged thirty-three, five feet ſeven inches high, enjoyed a good ſtate of health till about the year 1766, when he was ſeized with violent pains in his knees and feet, and was tormented with a head-ach, which came on at irregular periods; theſe pains he ſuppoſed to be rheumatic, and had recourſe to a variety of medicines, and to empirical aid, without finding any alleviation whatever of his complaints. In the month of November of the ſame year, he injured his left ſhoulder by a fall, which occaſioned him conſiderable pain; and he was unable to move it for ſeveral months afterwards.

In November 1768, he ſlipped down in his ſhop, and fancied he had ſprained his right thigh; this injury confined him to his bed about a week; and he was afterwards unable to walk without the ſupport of a perſon's arm and a crutch-ſtick. On the twenty-firſt of December following, as he was endeavouring to go up ſtairs to bed, ſupported by his wife, he ſtruck the toe of his right foot upon the edge of the ſtep, and inſtantly cried out that his thigh was broke. He was put to bed, and an apothecary being ſent for the next morning, who, paying little attention to the injured thigh, attributed the great pain he ſuffered to an increaſe of his rheumatic complaints, and gave him medicines accordingly. In this ſituation he continued upwards of a fortnight, when Dr. Dickſon, phyſician to the London-Hoſpital, was called in. Upon his viewing the thigh ſo much complained of, he found it crooked and much ſhorter than the other, and therefore adviſed a ſurgeon to be ſent for.

I ſaw him the following day, and

and on examination, found a fracture of the thigh-bone near its upper extremity. I effected the reduction as well as I could, by means of very little extenſion, and had reaſon to ſuppoſe that the ends of the bone were in due contact, by the limb being of an equal length with the other. It was ſecured in this poſition with the uſual apparatus; and I was in hopes that his pain would now ceaſe: the event however proved different; his pains continued, though not ſo violent. This circumſtance obliged me frequently to unbind the ſplints, and to reaccommodate the bandage, judging that either the puckering of the bandage, or tightneſs of the ſplints, might occaſion in ſome meaſure the uneaſineſs which he felt. About the end of five weeks from the time I had replaced the thigh-bone, deſirous of knowing how far the union was completed, I undid the whole apparatus, and requeſted his wife to lift up the leg, by placing one hand under the ham, and the other to embrace the leg above the ancle, whilſt I examined the degree of firmneſs where the fracture had been. In doing this, I was ſurprized to find the thigh-bone yield and fall in, about a hand's-breadth above the knee, ſimilar to that of a fracture, excepting that in this caſe, there was no ſenſation of grating, as is uſual, where the broken bone is of a ſolid texture. Upon turning my head about to give his wife directions to lower the leg upon the pillow, I became more aſtoniſhed, for I found the leg almoſt doubled in her hands; a ſimilar ſeparation of the *tibia* and *fibula* (the two bones of the leg) had taken place about a hand's breadth below the tuberoſity, as has been juſt before noticed, in the *os femoris* (the thigh bone). Both theſe ſeparations were unaccompanied with any remarkable ſigns of additional pain to the patient.

This deplorable ſituation of the patient urged me to a particular inquiry into the cauſe of ſo uncommon a calamity. I could however learn nothing ſatisfactory, further than concerning the rheumatic complaints before mentioned, which gave me ſome ſuſpicion that a venereal virus might poſſibly have laid the foundation for the ſufferings he had undergone. I queſtioned him upon this head; he acknowledged that he had had a venereal complaint between two and three years before he married; that he never thought himſelf cured of it, though he had then been married about ſix years; that he had ſcorbutic blotches upon him for ſome years, and declared he had then a gleet.

Upon viewing the eruption, I was confirmed in my opinion, that it was venereal; I therefore reſolved that he ſhould begin a mercurial courſe, and accordingly directed a drachm of the ſtrong mercurial ointment to be rubbed in every night, under the ham of the ſound limb.

Previous to my dreſſing up the miſerable leg and thigh, I examined the ſeparation (for I could not call it fracture) which had been produced in the *tibia* (the great bone of the leg.) The ſkin being very thin, from the emaciated condition of the patient, I could perceive by the finger a regular tranſverſe cleft in the *tibia*; there was no appearance of ecchymoſis (livid ſpots or blotches

blotches in the skin) nor tumefaction, nor did any appear afterwards: upon tracing the surface of the *tibia* with my fingers, below the fissure, I found a remarkable softness and yielding of the bone down to its lower extremity, similar to a fluid being contained therein. So extraordinary a circumstance excited my curiosity, and I determined to explore the nature of so uncommon a feel, by laying it open. The following day I made an incision, about five inches in length, with a scalpel, through the skin, along the spine of the *tibia*, and turning the knife about an inch across upon the surface of the bone, I made a second incision parallel with the first, and then removed this incised portion clear from the *periosteum* (the skin covering the bone), which was remarkably thin. Finding upon examination by my fingers, that the external part of the bone was extremely pliant and yielding, I passed my knife through it, and removed all that had been denuded with the greatest ease, its texture being only about the solidity and thickness of the rind of cheese.

This being done, I found a dusky red, or liver-coloured flesh, occupying the whole internal part of the bone, devoid of sensibility, and from which the osseous covering had been removed, without the least hæmorrhage: in short, it appeared to me an unorganized mass, similar to the flesh-like substance or coagulum which may be formed upon a stick or feather, by stirring fresh drawn blood in a bason.

The mercurial unction was continued every night for the space of a fortnight: the ptyalism gradually advanced, and he spat about a pint in the twenty-four hours, when it arrived to its height. The wound of the leg suppurated in the most kindly manner, and healed in a short time. The spitting alleviated the pains in his limbs, the eruption upon the skin gradually disappeared, and upon the whole, his health seemed much amended.

The right leg and thigh began to shorten, and acquired soon a considerable degree of deformity. The bandage and splints were discontinued, as being no longer serviceable; and finding the left *tibia* become softened in the manner which had been observed in that of the right, I lamented his fate, as judging him past all hope of relief. However, his case being made known to the Medical Society, who from time to time assisted him with money, several of its members visited and directed the use of various things. He drank wort for a considerable time, and likewise the antiscorbutic juices, and for a great while took a decoction of the bark with elixir of vitriol, by the order of Dr. Dickson, who frequently saw him: but nothing which was tried having any effect in checking the progress of this deplorable disease, the poor man grew tired of medicines, and calmly expected his dissolution.

From the time of my first attendance upon him, to the day of his death, he was never able to be removed out of his bed; he lay upon his back, nor could he ever bear to be turned upon his side.

The left leg and thigh lost its straitness, and became deformed in like manner with the right; and in proportion as the contraction and deformity took place, he gradually lost all sense of muscular action;

action; but when it became neceſſary to ſmooth the ſheet under him, he was very ſenſible of pain, upon lifting up and laying down the limbs.

His appetite remained good the whole time of his confinement, till within three weeks of his death: he was ſometimes coſtive, and had recourſe to a laxative electuary at theſe times: his urine for the firſt two years generally depoſited a whitiſh ſediment, which upon evaporation became like mortar; and he voided three or four ſmall jagged ſtones ſome time after a complaint in his loins.

He was at laſt ſeized with a dyſentery, which put an end to a miſerable exiſtence, on the 18th of February 1775, after a confinement to his bed of above ſix years.

Dr. Hunter did me the favour of aſſiſting in the examination of the body. Upon opening the *thorax* (cheſt), we found the ribs and *ſternum* (the breaſt bone), had loſt all their ſolidity, being eaſily cut through with a common ſcalpel; the cartilages of the ribs were unaltered; the contents of the *thorax* and *abdomen* (belly) appeared in a healthy ſtate, and were no otherwiſe affected than by ſituation, owing to the deformity of what originally formed the bony ſupports of the *thorax*, the *ſpine*, and *pelvis* (hips). The gall-bladder however was deſtitute of bile, greatly contracted, and contained a conſiderable number of very ſmall, black, jagged ſtones, reſembling coal-duſt. We next proceeded to examine the ſtate of every bone in the body; the reſult was, that we could eaſily paſs the knife through thoſe of the *cranium* (ſkull), *ſternum*, ribs, *vertebræ* (joints of the back bone), *pelvis*, and all the cylindrical bones which formed the extremities; and the *phalanges* of the fingers were even ſo much altered, that they were capable of being ſlit through longitudinally. All theſe originally bony parts conſiſted of a mere cortical or outſide oſſeous covering, of the thickneſs of rind of cheeſe, and of an inſide fleſh-coloured maſs. The cartilaginous coverings of the *epiphyſes* of the bones of the extremities appeared to have loſt much of their original thickneſs: in many parts of the *epiphyſes* it appeared as if this cartilaginous covering was in a manner annihilated, whilſt in other parts it appeared prominent and full of bumps. The *epiphyſes* were equally compreſſible and ſpringy to the touch as the *diaphyſes* of the ſame bones; and though there was an apparent diminution of cartilaginous covering, yet it by no means appeared to be abraded, ſince what remained preſerved its pearly colour and ſmooth poliſh; and it is remarkable, that though the joints of the lower extremities, in particular, had been deſtitute of motion above ſix years, the *ſinovia* was perfectly good, and in great quantity.

I have only to add, that the muſcular parts in general, but more particularly of the lower extremities, were exceedingly pale, having loſt the appearance of fleſh; and it would ſcarcely have been poſſible to have traced them by diſſection, from their contortion and adheſion to each other.

Some Account of a new Species of Mortification lately obſerved by Percival Pott, *Eſq; F. R. S. and Surgeon to St.* Bartholomew's-Hoſpital; *and the happy Diſcovery of the extraordinary Efficacy of Opium in the Cure of it, made by the ſaid Gentleman, after the Bark had failed. From a new Work of his lately publiſhed, entitled,* Chirurgical Obſervations relative to the Cataract, Ruptures, Mortifications of the Toes and Feet, &c.

MR. Pott deſcribes the above diſorder, as "making its firſt appearance on the inſide, or at the extremity of one of the ſmaller toes, by a ſmall, black, or bluiſh ſpot: from this ſpot the cuticle is always found to be detached, and the ſkin under it to be of a dark red colour.—Its progreſs in ſome is ſlow; in others rapid, and horridly painful: it generally begins on the inſide of each ſmall toe, before it is viſible either on its under or upper part; and when it makes its attack on the foot, the upper part of it firſt ſhews its diſtempered ſtate, by tumefaction, change of colour, and ſometimes by veſication; but wherever it is, one of the firſt marks of it is a ſeparation or detachment of the cuticle.

"The common method of treating this diſtemper is, by ſpirituous fomentations, cataplaſms actually and potentially warm, by dreſſings of the digeſtive kind, as they are called, animated with warm pungent oils and balſams, &c. and internally by the Peruvian bark."

This method, Mr. Pott ſays, he has ſeldom or never known to ſucceed. He has tried the bark, he ſays, as fully and fairly, and as variouſly as any man has or can; but in the ſpecies of mortification above deſcribed, he cannot aſcribe to it a merit which it does not deſerve.

He proceeds, after deſcribing the various ways in which he has uſed the bark, to relate the caſe which led to the diſcovery of the virtues of opium in the following words:

"Some time ago I had a patient labouring under this complaint, who could not be prevailed on to take the bark in any form whatever. I made uſe of every argument, but to no purpoſe: fomentation, poultice, and the uſual dreſſings, were applied in the uſual manner; the diſeaſe advanced ſome days more, ſome days leſs, and, at the end of a fortnight, the ſmall toes were all completely mortified, the great one became blackiſh, the foot much ſwolen, altered in colour, and the diſeaſe ſeeming to advance with ſuch haſty ſtrides, that I ſuppoſed a very few days would determine the event. The pain in the foot and ancle was ſo great, and ſo continual, as totally to deprive the patient of ſleep. On this account, and merely to procure ſome remiſſion, I gave two grains of opium at night, which not having the deſired effect, I repeated it in the morning. Finding, during the following day, ſome advantage, I repeated the ſame doſe night and morning, for three days; at the end of which time the patient became quite eaſy, and the appearances on the foot and ancle were viſibly more favourable. Encouraged by this, I increaſed the quantity of the medicine, giving one grain every three or four hours, taking care to watch

watch its narcotic effect, and to keep the belly empty by glyſters. In nine days from the firſt adminiſtration of the opium, all the tumefaction of the foot and ancle totally ſubſided, the ſkin recovered its natural colour, and all the mortified parts plainly began to ſeparate; in another week they were all looſe and caſting off, the matter was good, and the incarnation florid.

"During the whole of this time, I continued the uſe of the opium, varying its quantity, as circumſtances required, but never gave leſs than three or four grains in twenty-four hours.

"When the ſloughs were all caſt off, the bones ſeparated, and I had only a clean ſore to dreſs and heal, I gradually left off the medicine.

"I am very willing to acknowledge, that however well pleaſed I might be with the event of this caſe, yet I really regarded it as accidental; ſo much ſo, that having very ſoon after another opportunity, I did not care to truſt to opium alone, but joined the bark with it. The event was equally fortunate. But although I had joined the cortex with the extractum thebaicum, and did therefore attribute the ſucceſs to their united powers, yet the effect was ſo very unlike to what I had ever ſeen from the bark without opium, that I could not avoid ſeriouſly and often reflecting on it, and determining to uſe it by itſelf, whenever another opportunity ſhould offer. I did ſo, and ſucceeded in the ſame happy manner, though under the very diſagreeable circumſtances of ſeventy years of age, a broken, diſtempered conſtitution, and the diſeaſe making a haſty progreſs."

An Account of ſome Experiments tried on the Urine of a Man about thirty-three, labouring under a confirmed Diabetes, with the very extraordinary Reſult thereof; *by* Matthew Dobſon, *Eſq*; *M. D. of* Liverpool. *From* Medical Obſervations and Inquiries, *by a Society of Phyſicians in* London.

EXPERIMENT I.

SOME of this patient's urine, which was quite tranſparent, and of a very pale ſtraw colour, ſweet, and not the leaſt urinous to the taſte, was ſet by in an open veſſel to obſerve its ſpontaneous changes. This was in the month of November, when Fahrenheit's thermometer ſtood about 52 during the warmeſt part of the day.

In 24 hours, a ſeparation began to take place; ſome woolly clouds appeared, which gradually ſubſiding, covered the bottom of the veſſel with a looſe white precipitate. At the ſame time, air bubbles were detached, which carried ſmall portions of the woolly clouds to the ſurface, where they remained ſuſpended. This inteſtine motion continued for ſeveral days, and produced a thin head on the ſurface of the urine, much reſembling that which is formed on the ſurface of fermenting liquors. On ſhaking the veſſel, the inteſtine motion was increaſed, and a vinous ſmell was eaſily diſtinguiſhed. Soon after this, the fluid became ſouriſh; and the reſolution going on, the next change was to the keen ſmell of vinegar. The further and laſt change was to the putrid and offenſive.

EXPERIMENT II.

Eight ounces of blood taken from the arm of this patient, exhibited, after ſtanding a proper time, the following appearances. The *craſſamentum* had a ſlight buff, a due degree of firmneſs, and was in the uſual proportion to the *ſerum*. The *ſerum* was opaque, and much reſembled common cheeſe whey; it was ſweetiſh, but I thought not ſo ſweet as the urine.

EXPERIMENT III.

The urine of this patient, expoſed to a boiling heat, ſuffered no degree of coagulation.

EXPERIMENT IV.

Neither was it coagulated, on being mixed with the mineral acids.

EXPERIMENT V.

Two quarts of this urine were, by a gentle heat, evaporated to dryneſs, under the inſpection of Mr. Poole, apothecary to the hoſpital, and Mr. Walthal, one of the houſe apprentices. There remained, after the evaporation, a white cake which weighed ℥iv. ʒij. and ℈ij. This cake was granulated, and broke eaſily between the fingers; it ſmelled ſweet like brown ſugar, neither could it, by the taſte, be diſtinguiſhed from ſugar, except that the ſweetneſs left a ſlight ſenſe of coolneſs on the palate. It had no ſaltneſs, nor was there any efferveſence, on the addition of the acid elixir of vitriol; but on the addition of a more concentrated vitriolic acid, an efferveſcence enſued, and ſome fumes aroſe which had the pungent ſmell of the marine acid.

EXPERIMENT VI.

The ſame experiment was repeated after the patient was ſo far recovered as to paſs only 14 pints of urine in the 24 hours, to have a moiſt and ſoft ſkin, and to have gained fleſh and ſtrength. There was now a ſtrong urinous ſmell during the evaporation, and the reſiduum could not be procured in a ſolid form, but was blackiſh, and much reſembled very thick treacle.

Singular Inſtances, amongſt many others which might be brought from the ſame Work, of a revived, or newly diſcovered Property in Carrots, grated and reduced with Water into the Form of a Poultice, as firſt recommended by Mr. Soultzer, *to ſubdue, very ſpeedily, the intolerable Stench, and abate the great Pain, attending cancerous ulcers; and of Wort, or the Infuſion of Malt, by correcting the Habit, effectually to cure, in Time, the ſaid nauſeous and deſperate Complaints; by Mr.* Henry Gibſon, *Surgeon at* Newcaſtle upon Tyne. *From* Medical Obſervations and Inquiries, *&c.*

ANN Sandham, a woman about twenty years of age, was admitted a patient of the Infirmary, the 19th of January 1768. She had been afflicted, during two or three years, with a large phagædenic ulcer on the foot, extending over the whole of the upper part of the *metatarſus*, and about two-thirds of the *tarſus*; the edges of the ulcer hard and inflamed; the whole foot ſwelled, and the inflammation of the integuments reaching

reaching halfway up the leg; the ſore very foul, with a gangrenous aſpect, attended with ſuch a fœtid ſmell as is not to be expreſſed.

This miſerable creature, weary of her life, came with an intention to have her limb taken off. She had been my patient five years before, for a mortificatiou of all the toes of the ſame foot, which, with much difficulty, after their ſeparating, had been healed; ſo that, having ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that the toes had formerly ſphacelated from an oſſification of the arteries, my brethren of the Infirmary, as well as myſelf, on conſultation, were averſe to amputation, though much ſolicited to it by the miſerable creature herſelf; her blood alſo appeared to be in a putrid diſſolved ſtate; her breath very fœtid, and her whole look cadaverous. Having experienced in a late caſe, the excellency of the carrot poultice, in removing the nauſeous ſmell of an ulcerated cancer, I ordered it to be applied here, with an intention principally to get the better of that diſagreeable ſymptom, which, in this caſe, was to the greateſt degree that the reſt of the ſurgeons or myſelf had ever known; and as ſhe had formerly, while her toes were ſphacelated, taken vaſt quantities of the *cortex* and wine, yet had mended very ſlowly, ſhe was ordered to drink at pleaſure, from a quart to three pints, of the infuſion of malt, (according to Dr. Macbride) daily; and that the bad ſmell might not be injurious to any of the other patients, ſhe was ordered into the lazaretto. The very next day, the poultice had entirely ſuppreſſed the ſtench; and moreover had ſubſtituted its own ſweet ſmell; the pain was conſiderably aſſuaged; the inflammation and ſwelling diminiſhed; ſhe was able to move her ancle, and moſt thankfully expreſſed, that ſhe had had a better night than for a year and a half before! In ſhort, from this time, the ichorous diſcharge changed for the better every day in colour, conſiſtence, and quantity, and in little more than a week, became very laudable; the hard inflamed lips ſoftened; the ſurface of the ulcer put on a healing appearance; the patient's conſtitution manifeſtly mended, and ſhe was diſcharged cured the 12th of May following; in which time ſhe had taken no other medicine than the malt infuſion, nor had any other topical application beſides the carrot poultice, except when the ſore was contracted to the ſize of a ſhilling; then edgings of *cerat. alb.* were uſed along with it, becauſe, when the diſcharge was become ſmall, I thought the dryneſs of the poultice brought off with it ſome of the new cicatriſed ſkin. In fact, this application agreed ſo well with this ulcer, that what was meant at firſt only to remove the bad ſmell, anſwered fully every curative intention; I mean as a topic: and I have great reaſon to believe, that had we been able to have procured carrots in perfection during the months of February and March, this cure would have been performed in much leſs time; for it was very obſervable, that when none but the old full-grown carrots could be bought, which were become leſs ſucculent by keeping, or the young ſpring ones with their juices leſs exalted, that the cure advanced more ſlowly; and poſſibly that might be the cauſe why we

made no progreſs the laſt two months in the caſe of the other ulcer, after ſuch promiſing appearances.

Upon the whole, I dare not pretend to aſſert, that a cataplaſm of carrots will cure an ulcerated cancer; but I dare advance, that it will ſubdue the *intolerable ſtench*, frequently attending foul, gangrenous cancerous ulcers, which has heretofore been no inconſiderable *deſideratum* in ſurgery, both in reſpect to the patients themſelves, and to the people who are about them.

Mr. Lambert, Mr. Keenlyſide, Mr. Stodart, my worthy friends and colleagues at the Infirmary, were very attentive to the progreſs of this cure, and will bear teſtimony to what I have related concerning it. To conclude, it appears from this hiſtory, that the ſubduing and conquering the bad ſmell, and abating the pain, were due to the *carrot poultice*; but that the correcting the patient's bad habit, may be attributed to the *malt infuſion*; and indeed, it ſeemed to agree wonderfully well with her; it kept her in a gentle laxative ſtate, uſually procuring her daily two ſtools. She was obſtructed before ſhe was admitted, and in the courſe of her recovery, ſhe became regular. In fine, ſhe improved in health every day from her being put upon this courſe, though, when my patient before, ſhe was more months in recovering under a courſe of the *cortex*, &c. than weeks at this time.

I have, in the courſe of this year, had three or four other ſcorbutic patients, with foul ulcers of long ſtanding, under this courſe of malt infuſion, with all of whom it agreed very well; it generally kept them in a gentle laxative ſtate, and apparently did them ſervice; but no one ſo clearly received benefit from it as the ſubject of the laſt related caſe; and I make no doubt, but in long voyages at ſea, where recent vegetables cannot be had, that it will prove a noble ſubſtitute, and fully anſwer the intention of the benevolent, humane, original propoſer of it.

Phyſical Obſervations on the ſurprizing Efficacy of Salt in feeding, fattening, and multiplying Cattle; and of courſe improving Land for every other Purpoſe.—By a Gentleman who ſubſcribes himſelf W. W.

IN looking over the firſt volume of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, I met with a paper entitled, "Phyſical Obſervations on the Effects of Salt in fattening Cattle." The title excited my curioſity; and, on reading the memoir, the author's reaſoning appeared to me not only plauſible, but convincing. His views are certainly enlarged, and directed to objects of the moſt important kind, viz. the improvement of land, and the increaſe of cattle. He lays it down as an axiom, or ſelf-evident truth, that, by increaſing cattle, land may be improved; and, by improving land, cattle may be multiplied.

The farmer, he ſays, who has a more than ordinary ſtock of working cattle, reaps a double advantage: one, by having his work done in ſeaſon; the other, by enriching a greater proportion of his land

land by means of their additional manure; the only difficulty is, how to maintain an increaſed number without increaſing the expence. This, he aſſerts, may be done by the uſe of ſalt; and advances the three following propoſitions:

1. That ſalt, given with the food of cattle, augments the nouriſhment of that food.

2. That, in proportion to the quantity of ſalt eaten by cattle, the effects of that augmentation will be perceivable.

3. That no ill conſequence will follow from exceſs of ſalt eaten by cattle, even though it ſhould be given them without ſtint.

Theſe propoſitions he endeavours to ſupport by unqueſtionable facts.

In the juriſdiction of Arles, in the county of Provence, there is, he ſays, a diſtrict called the Crau, extending in length about ſix leagues, and in breadth about three, the whole ſurface of which is covered with ſmall rough ſtones, and not a tree or buſh is to be ſeen in the whole diſtrict, except here and there on the borders; yet on this ſpot, ſo ſeemingly ſterile, by the free uſe of ſalt, more numerous flocks of ſheep are bred and reared, than upon any other common of equal extent throughout the whole kingdom; and, what is no leſs remarkable, the ſheep are healthier, and hardier, and endure the ſeverity of the winter with leſs loſs, though they have fewer ſheep-cots for covering, than thoſe bred and fed on more copious paſtures, and that have, beſides, the advantage of more convenient ſhelter. Add to this, that the wool of the flocks bred and brought up in the Crau, is not only the fineſt in the whole county, but bears the higheſt price of any in France.—From hence he concludes, that it is to the unlimited uſe of ſalt, that theſe ſurprizing effects are to be aſcribed; for it frequently happens that the Crau is ſo burnt up in the ſummer, that the poor animals are forced to turn up the very ſtones to come at the few blades of graſs that grow round them: and yet none periſh for want of food. Let every excellence, therefore, that can reaſonably be ſuppoſed inherent in the herbage, be allowed to it, yet the quantity of it is ſo ſmall, that, without the abundant uſe of ſalt, a fourth part of the ſheep kept in the Crau, could not ſubſiſt in it.

But, as a ſtill farther demonſtration, that this aſtoniſhing effect is ſolely to be attributed to ſalt, we have, ſays the writer, in Languedoc, on the borders of the Rhone, a ſpot of the ſame kind of ſtony land, in every reſpect ſimilar to that of the Crau; yet, for want of the free uſe of ſalt, that of Languedoc does not maintain a tenth part of the number of ſheep that are brought up in the Crau, though in other reſpects it is no ways inferior, the wines and other fruits produced on the borders of both being, in their goodneſs and other eſſential qualities, equal.

Having proved his firſt propoſition incontrovertibly, he proceeds, in proof of the ſecond, to recommend an eaſy experiment, which it is in every farmer's power to make; and that is, to give to one half of his cattle ſalt, and to the other half none. By this ſimple trial, he ſays, in leſs than a month, the difference will be diſcernible. The cattle to whom the ſalt is given will ſhew it in their looks, in the ſleekneſs of their coats, in their

growth, and in their ſtrength and fitneſs for labour. He adds, that with little more than half their uſual food all theſe effects will be produced.

To eſtabliſh his third propoſition, he appeals to the practice about Arles, where the cattle have as much ſalt as they will eat, and none are ſo healthy, or thrive ſo faſt, as thoſe that eat the moſt of it.

From theſe obſervations, there cannot remain a doubt of the good effects of ſalt in the feeding and fattening of cattle; but it is much to be regretted, that the writer is totally ſilent with reſpect to the method of giving the ſalt to the labouring cattle. He has, indeed, informed his readers, that in 8 days his flock of 300 ſheep eat 15 lb. of ſalt, being one pound to every ſcore; and it ſhould ſeem by his manner of expreſſing himſelf, that he gave them the whole quantity in one day, as he cautions the farmer againſt ſuffering his ſheep to drink on the day the ſalt is adminiſtered, apprizing him at the ſame time how much it ſharpens their appetite; and that he had ſeen them not only browſe upon ſtubbs after eating the ſalt, but even gnaw pieces of wood of a ſurpriſing bigneſs.

As the ſubject of the above Memoir appeared to me of importance, I have only to requeſt of you, Mr. Urban, the immediate inſertion of the few hints which are here extracted from it; as, during the preſent ſcarcity of hay, it may be intereſting to many; and as it has, in its conſequences, a tendency to lower the price of proviſions, it is to be hoped, that a diſcovery that promiſes ſo much benefit to the public, will not wholly be overlooked.

Surry, Dec. 17. W. W.

[*Gent. Mag. for Dec.* 1776.]

The higheſt Exertions *of Human Art in Moſaic Work, compared with the* Moſaic Work of the Wing of a Butterfly.

IT cannot but be extremely pleaſing to a *devout mind*, to contemplate the extreme difference between the productions of human art, and thoſe of the God of nature, when obſerved with exactneſs, in point of elegance and truth of workmanſhip. The diſguſting irregularity that appears in the fineſt needle, when examined by a microſcope, has been compared with the wonderful accuracy of the ſting of a bee or a waſp; and the unequal contexture of the moſt delicate cambrick, when compared with ſome natural productions, has been obſerved, and devoutly acknowledged; but I do not recollect that I have any where ſeen a compariſon inſtituted, between the ſubjects I am now propoſing to conſideration, which yet well deſerves our notice, and may perhaps be as amuſing as any of them.

Few are totally unacquainted with what is meant by Moſaic work. "It is a kind of Paint-"ing," ſays Dr. Johnſon, in his dictionary, "in ſmall pebbles, "cockles, and ſhells of ſundry co-"lours." This is not the moſt happy of his deſcriptions; many other materials are uſed, and ſome more frequently than thoſe he has mentioned, particularly pieces of marble, of burnt clay, and of glaſs,

glaſs. In truth, Moſaic work means in general, the forming flouriſhes and figures with *ſmall bodies of different colours.*

Beautiful pavements of antient Moſaic, are ſometimes found in our country, the remains of old Roman magnificence in this iſland. The *Antiquarian* ſociety has publiſhed plates of ſeveral; as the *Royal* ſociety, before them, gave an account of others, in ſome of their firſt volumes.

The diameter of the ſquare teſſellæ * of a pavement in *Suſſex*, we are told by Dr. Tabor, was about $\frac{4}{10}$ of an inch. I ſuppoſe the *diagonal* was intended, ſince we are informed immediately after, that the longeſt ſide of theſe that were *oblong* at the head, little exceeded $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch †. If the *diagonal* of the ſquare Teſſellæ was meant, then the *ſides* of the ſquare muſt be in courſe, about $\frac{3}{10}$ of an inch; and if $\frac{3}{10}$ of an inch, then 100 teſſellæ would cover nine ſquare inches, and conſequently eleven teſſellæ would nearly cover one inch ſquare.

But the *moderns* have greatly improved the art of making Moſaic work. They form pictures, it ſeems, for altar-pieces moſt amazingly fine. I do not know any author that has deſcribed this ſort of work more minutely, or as carried to an higher degree of perfection than Keyſler. The ſubſtance of what that celebrated traveller has ſaid, is as follows: "That the materials uſed by the "*moderns* in theſe works are ſmall "pieces of glaſs, of all the different ſhades of every tint or "colour, like thoſe of the fine "Engliſh worſted uſed in needle-"work. The glaſs is firſt caſt "into thin cakes, which are afterwards cut into long pieces of "different thickneſſes. Many of "the pieces uſed in roofs, or cie-"lings, which are conſequently "only ſeen at a great diſtance, "appear to be a finger's breadth, "but the more elegant pieces con-"ſiſt of glaſs pins (if that term "might be made uſe of) not "thicker than a common ſew-"ing needle, ſo that a portrait of "four feet ſquare ſhall take up "*two millions* of ſuch pins."

He goes on to inform us, "that "theſe pins are ſo cloſely joined "together, being fixed in a ſort "of paſte which he deſcribes, "that after the piece is poliſhed, "(which is done in the ſame man-"ner as looking-glaſſes) it can "hardly be diſcerned to be an ar-"rangement of an infinite number "of particles of glaſs, but rather "looks like a picture painted with "the fineſt colours, with cryſtal "placed before it.....That it "may be eaſily ſeen how much "this curious art has been im-"proved during the two laſt cen-"turies, by comparing ſome of "the old cupolas of the chapels "in St. Peter's church ‡, with the "other pieces lately erected there. "The ſtuds in the old works are "made of clay burnt, and the "ſurface only tinctured with va-"rious colours; but that they

* This word means the little pieces of ſtone, brick, &c. of which Moſaic work is compoſed.

† Phil. Tranſ. Abrid. Vol. 5. part 2. ch. 2. art. 22.

‡ At Rome.

"were

" were to be gradually removed, " and their places ſupplied by the " more elegant performances of " the moderns."

Keyſler adds, " that a piece of " 80 ſquare feet, if performed " with tolerable care and delica- " cy, would employ eight artiſts " the ſpace of two years." Conſequently it will take an artiſt a twelvemonth, to make five ſquare feet of this curious kind of Moſaic.

Such is the ſubſtance of Keyſler's account; let us now compare this very great improvement, and theſe high exertions of *human* genius and induſtry, with the *divine* Moſaic of the wing of a butterfly.

I took a piece of paper, and cut a quarter of an inch ſquare out of it, as exactly as I could. I afterwards faſtened this ſmall ſquare, with paſte, to one of the wings of a common *peacock* * *butterfly*. I then cut out a portion of the wing (it was one of the upper ones) as near as could be a quarter of an inch ſquare, by cutting cloſe to the edge of the paper to which it was faſtened. I told in this, by the help of the third magnifier of an opaque microſcope, 70 rows of ſcales, and about 90 ſcales in a row. I found, conſequently, that there were 6300 ſcales on one ſide of this ſmall portion of the creature's wing: for $70 \times 90 = 6300$. To be more ſure, I afterwards took a piece of paper of a conſiderable ſize, on which I drew lines, nearly dividing it into ſmall ſquares, and applying the piece of the wing, thus faſtened to the firſt mentioned ſmall paper ſquare, to the large paper divided by thoſe lines, at firſt gently, and afterwards more forcibly, I told the ſcales, that I found ſticking to the large paper from time to time, which I could pretty eaſily do by the help of a ſmall eye-glaſs, as they were divided into ſmall parcels by the lines I had drawn. Upon repeating this operation 6 or 7 times, I found the ſcales, that were detached from the piece of wing to be about 5752 in number, which added to thoſe that were left, (for ſeveral remained after rubbing it pretty hard,) which I found to be 544 at leaſt, make 6296, and comes very near the number found by telling the rows and the ſcales in each row, and multiplying them together.

If now we multiply 6296 by 16, the number of ſmall ſquares contained in an inch ſquare, of the ſize of this piece of the wing, the product will be found to be 100736, which will be the number of ſcales placed on a ſquare inch of one ſide of the wing of this kind of butterfly.

But in the curious Moſaic pictures which Keyſler deſcribes, there were but about 870 pins in an inch ſquare. For he ſays *a picture of four feet ſquare will take up two millions of pins*. Now ſuch a picture contains 16 ſquare feet, and there being 144 ſquare inches in a ſquare foot, ſuch a picture contains 2304 ſquare inches. If therefore we divide two millions (the number of pins in ſuch a picture) by 2304, the number of ſquare inches in it, the quotient will be the number of pins in a ſquare inch;

* So called from its having an eye, in each of its wings, a good deal reſembling thoſe in the tail of a peacock. The inſect is extremely common.

now

now $\frac{2.000.000}{2304} = 868$ and ſomething more: if therefore we ſet the number of glaſs pins at 870, in a ſquare inch, it will make the number in the whole picture 2.004.480, which is 4480 more than Keyſler ſuppoſed would be uſed in ſuch a picture; but, if a few more ſhould be wanted, 4480 muſt be thought ſufficient.

The *coarſeneſs* of ſuch a picture, compared with the Moſaic of the wing of this inſect, is in the proportion of 115 at leaſt to one. That is, ſuch a picture is 115 times coarſer than this natural Moſaic. In truth, almoſt 116 times: for 100.736, the number of ſcales in a ſquare inch, divided by 870, the ſuppoſed number of glaſs pins, gives 115 with a large remainder.

An admired picture then of this kind, compared with this butterfly's wing, is proportionably much coarſer, than a teſſellated pavement, compoſed of pebbles, ſmall bricks, or pieces of marble, $\frac{1}{3}$ of an inch ſquare at the top, is coarſer than ſuch a modern picture, one of the higheſt productions of human induſtry and genius: for there being, as I obſerved at the beginning of this account, 100 ſuch teſſellæ in 9 ſquare inches, 25.600 teſſellæ would be required to cover the 2304 ſquare inches of a picture four feet ſquare. But ſuch a pavement would not be 79 times coarſer than ſuch a picture *, whereas the picture is above 115 times coarſer than the Moſaic of the animal.

This, however, is by no means placing the matter in ſo ſtrong a point of light as it deſerves. The wings of a butterfly, when it firſt breaks out of the integument of its Aurelia † ſtate, are much ſmaller than afterward. It is true, the wings expand themſelves, and even come to their full growth in a few minutes; but, if they are watched with care, they will be found to be very ſmall at firſt, yet all the teſſellæ are then placed in them. Nay, they may be diſcerned, in ſome butterflies, through the ſufficiently tranſparent integument, to be placed in due order ſome days before their quitting the Aurelia ſtate; and conſequently, they may be examined then with the greateſt eaſe, by opening the caſe in which they are incloſed, and taking them out of it. This will ſhew that they poſſeſs a much greater ſuperiority ſtill, in point of *fineneſs of workmanſhip*, to the moſt celebrated Moſaic pictures.

To make this examination in the ſureſt and eaſieſt manner, I purſued the following method. By means of paſte, I faſtened a piece of catgut, extended as evenly as I could, to a card, in which I had cut an hole, near $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ wide. This catgut, I found, had 1792 meſhes in a ſquare inch, having 56 meſhes in the length of an inch one way, and 32 the other ‡. Upon meaſuring an upper and an under wing of this peacock butterfly, which was pretty large, by the meſhes of this catgut, as carefully as I

* For $\frac{2.004.480}{25.600}$ is equal but to $78\frac{7680}{25600}$

† The Aurelia ſtate means the middle ſtate between the creature's being a caterpillar and a butterfly.

‡ For $56 \times 32 = 1792$.

well

well could, I found the ſurface of one ſide of the two wings, equal to 2396 meſhes, conſequently thoſe of both ſides were equal to 4792, and the ſurfaces of all four wings (meaſured on both ſides) were equal to 9584 meſhes, equal to ſomewhat more than five ſquare inches and one third. Conſequently, there were on the four wings of this butterfly alone above 537.258 ſcales, ſuppoſing the ſcales of all the wings, and on both the ſides, were, one with another, equal in bigneſs to thoſe I told.

Applying the *ſame meaſuring inſtrument* to the upper and under wings of a butterfly of this ſpecies, taken prematurely out of its Aurelia ſtate, but with its teſſellæ placed in due order, I found they took up no more than 259 meſhes, this number multiplied by 4 gives the meaſure of both the ſurfaces of the four wings, that is to ſay 1036 meſhes, which is not much more than half a ſquare inch *. But to be more exact, 9584 (the number of meſhes found in the four wings that were fully expanded) being divided by 1036 (the number of meſhes found in the diminutive wings of a butterfly of this ſpecies, taken prematurely out of its Aurelia ſtate) gives $9\frac{1}{4}$. Conſequently the Moſaic of this laſt muſt be $9\frac{1}{4}$ times finer than that of the firſt; and a ſquare inch of this finer ſort muſt contain 931.808 ſcales, whereas a ſquare inch of a full grown wing contains but 100.736. And, if the Moſaic of this laſt butterfly be $9\frac{1}{4}$ times finer than of the firſt, it muſt be above 1063 times finer than the Moſaic of the boaſted pictures of modern Rome, where ingenuity, animated by zeal, has exerted its utmoſt efforts.

The following ſhort table will exhibit the differences between the ſeveral particulars I have been mentioning, at one view.

The Suſſex pavement, —	contains	11	Teſſellæ
A modern Roman picture, —		870	in one
The wing of a butterfly expanded,		100.736	inch
Ditto in its Aurelia ſtate, —		931.808	ſquare.

And, however dazzling a Roman Moſaic picture may be to the naked eye, I doubt not but the glaſs pins would appear through a microſcope, to be ſtuck into the paſte in a *very rude and inartificial* manner; whereas the ſcales of the butterfly will appear, through the beſt glaſſes, ranged in *moſt exquiſite* order.

There is another difference between them, which ought alſo to be remarked, and that is, that *ends* only of thoſe minute glaſs pins are ſeen in the Roman pictures; whereas a conſiderable part of the *broadeſt ſurface* of thoſe minute ſcales that adorn the wing of a butterfly, is ſpread out before the eye there, a good deal after

* I meaſured the wings of two others, and found thoſe of one of them rather larger, of the other conſiderably leſs; but I made my computation from one of a ſize between them, as being moſt unexceptionable.

the

the manner in which the ſcales of fiſh are placed.

How different too the managements of an earthly artiſt from thoſe of the Heavenly, in another reſpect! The firſt is glad to take advantage of the *diſtance* of a cupola or a cieling from the eye, and there the man that employs, it may be, 8 or 900 glaſs pins to cover an inch ſquare of a *near* picture, employs much coarſer materials; but the *Creator of the world* ranges the teſſellæ of the wing of a *deſpiſed inſect* with the niceſt care, and then *expands* the wing to nine or ten times its former ſize, that *the human eye may better take in the beauty*, though after all theſe ſcales are ſo minute, as to appear on the fingers like the fineſt duſt.

The ladies of Great-Britain will not pretend to vye with the workmanſhip of the Author of Nature; how far they may be diſpoſed to endeavour to rival the Roman artiſts, I muſt not pretend to gueſs. I have ſeen ſome beautiful pieces of bead-work, made in the time of our great grandmothers, but none equal to the Roman pictures as to the ſmallneſs of the teſſellæ made uſe of. I found in a piece of work of this kind, which I had an opportunity of minutely examining, that the glaſs beads were of different ſizes, and that 27 of the ſmalleſt of them, when cloſely ſtrung, extended an inch in length, and that 14 of them only, when I meaſured over them the other way, made an inch in length, and conſequently, that 378 of theſe beads would cover an inch ſquare *, in this curious kind of work; conſequently the fineſt part of it was conſiderably more than twice as coarſe as the modern Moſaics †.

If from the bead-work of ancient times we turn to their tapeſtry, we perhaps ſhall get no advantage. In a piece of old tapeſtry, at leaſt, that I examined, there were only 21 ſtitches in the length of an inch one way, and 13 the other: conſequently only 273 ſtitches in a ſquare inch, which is conſiderably above three times coarſer than the modern Moſaic work.

Part of a piece of modern needle-work, which I examined on this occaſion, came much nearer than the old tapeſtry. It was an eaſy chair, wrought partly with what they call croſs-ſtitch, and partly with tent-ſtitch: in that part which was wrought with the ſmalleſt ſtitches, I found no more than 484 ſtitches in an inch ſquare, and conſequently, minute as they appeared, the work was almoſt as coarſe again as the Roman Moſaic pictures.

However, I doubt not but that ſome of our Britiſh *Female* productions equal the elegant minuteneſs of the Moſaic artiſts at Rome, though unfortunately I have not obſerved them.

The adding a table relating to theſe laſt-mentioned matters, ſimilar to that before given, perhaps may not be diſagreeable.

Old tapeſtry,	contained	273 ſtitches	in an inch ſquare.
Bead-work, —		378 beads	
Modern needle-work,		484 ſtitches	
Roman Moſaic, —		870 teſſellæ	

* For $27 \times 14 = 378$. † $\frac{870}{378}$ producing $2\frac{114}{378}$ for the quotient.

PROJECTS.

On the Air propereſt for Perſons labouring under Conſumptions, or chronic Diſeaſes of the Lungs, according to the ſeveral Seaſons of the Year, particularly in the Neighbourhood of London; *with a Word or two upon the Uſe and Abuſe of Exerciſe, Milk, and Spirits, as an Addition to Milk, in the ſame Complaints; extracted from an* Addreſs *of Dr.* Fothergill's *to the* Medical Society. *From* Medical Obſervations *and* Inquiries, *&c.*

CHANGE of air is of much conſequence in all chronic diſeaſes of the lungs, ſometimes even from good to bad. It is not ſeldom that we ſee aſthmatic perſons breathe more freely in the dampeſt confined parts of this metropolis than in the country, at leaſt I have met with many ſuch inſtances. In conſumptive caſes, however, the air of all large cities is found by experience to be particularly injurious. Whence this ariſes, is in this place unneceſſary to explain; the fact is indiſputable. When the phyſician adviſes his patient to a change of air, to point out the moſt proper change becomes an important object.

In the neighbourhood of moſt great towns in England, as well as London, there are places which have acquired a reputation amongſt the inhabitants for the peculiar healthineſs of their ſituation. I will ſuppoſe theſe ſituations are well choſen; that the ſoil is dry; no ſtagnant waters in the neighbourhood; properly ventilated, yet not expoſed to the keen north-eaſt winds; where it will be eaſy to find ſheltered walks, and every invitation to be abroad in fit weather, without hazard from wet and cold. Such, I believe, from the few places I know of this kind, are thoſe ſelected for the retreat of conſumptive patients, in the vicinage of large towns and cities. And here it may not be improper to take a general view of ſuch as are recommended for the like purpoſe, in the neighbourhood of London.

The town is ſurrounded almoſt by a ridge of eminences, incloſing, beſides the city, a low plain to the weſtward, of conſiderable extent; on the north, Highgate, Hampſtead, and Kenſington Gravel-pits; on the South-eaſt, Black Heath, Clapham, and Putney. The ſummits of theſe may be called, comparatively, high ground, and are very much expoſed to the ſharp

ſharp north-eaſt and eaſterly winds.

To direct our patients to any of theſe places, early in the ſpring, whilſt theſe winds are for the moſt part as ſtationary as the trade winds, ſeems to be expoſing them too much to an air that is very unfriendly to ſuch complaints.

The vales, eſpecially to the ſouth-eaſt and weſt of London, as Camberwell, Peckham, the lower parts of Clapham, the drier parts of Lambeth, and Batterſea, Fulham, Chelſea, Brumpton, and Kenſington, and other ſheltered, dry places about the town, would in the ſpring undoubtedly be the moſt proper.

As the more temperate ſeaſon advances, higher ſituations may be allowed; and it would ſeem as improper to ſend a conſumptive patient in ſummer to the low marſhy grounds on the banks of the Thames, amongſt the gardeners grounds at Batterſea, or at Fulham, abounding with the moſt putrid exhalations of manure and corrupting vegetables, as it would be to order them in winter to the top of Highgate or Hampſtead hill, or the bleaker air of Blackheath. Iſlington, the general refuge of the city, would be leſs exceptionable, was it not quite open to the keeneſt north-eaſt winds in the ſpring; and in ſummer to the ſmoak of the city, driven upon it by the ſoutherly winds.

Nor is it a matter perfectly indifferent whether we ſend our patients to the villages at the eaſt or weſt end of this metropolis; the ſouth or the north. The town itſelf is covered almoſt continually with an atmoſphere of ſmoke, embodied with other exhalations, ſo as to form a cloud, more or leſs denſe, which is viſible at a great diſtance.

This vaſt body of ſmoke is ſeen to extend for ſeveral miles beyond the limits of the city and its ſuburbs, and is driven by the winds that prevail in the ſeveral ſeaſons, according to their direction. In the ſummer ſeaſon, for inſtance, whilſt the ſoutherly winds prevail, this denſe body is driven to the north and north-eaſt parts of the environs, and covers the herbage, the trees, and every thing, both living and dead, with black penetrating ſoot. In the winter and ſpring, while the northerly winds prevail, the oppoſite villages on the ſouth-weſt and weſt ſide of London receive this thick atmoſphere; but with this moſt remarkable difference; the winter winds paſſing through this warmed atmoſphere, loſe no ſmall part of their rigorous effects; they are ſoftened by it, and are proportionably leſs injurious to animals, and even to plants; for vegetation is much earlier in general to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt of London, than on the oppoſite extremities.

I have ſeen the double bloſſomed almond tree in bloom at Chelſea, ſooner by twelve days at leaſt than any where to the north or eaſtward of the town in ſimilar ſituations. It ſeems therefore neceſſary to conſider the ſeaſon and ſituation before we fix the abode of conſumptive patients, to whom it is not merely ſufficient to adviſe them to go into the country; they muſt be aſſiſted alſo to determine upon a proper place, and proper conduct, whilſt they are there. They muſt have had but little experience, who are not perfectly ſatisfied, how little ought

ought to be left to the diſcretion of the ſick, in moſt diſeaſes; to the conſumptive eſpecially, in reſpect to their conduct. I have known divers inſtances of perſons who have gone into the country, in conſequence of their phyſicians advice in ſuch caſes, and have had ſo little diſcretion, as to ſleep with the windows of their chambers purpoſely left open, for the benefit of the air, in the moſt inclement part of the ſpring. The conſequence was, that in a few nights, the malady was increaſed beyond the power of art to relieve it. A phyſician, therefore, muſt deſcend to the minuteſt particulars in his directions.

If an attention to circumſtances like theſe is neceſſary, to enable us to determine upon the choice of a proper reſidence in our own neighbourhood, how much greater muſt be our difficulty, when we propoſe to them a migration to the continent of Europe?

But before I enter upon this ſubject, it may not be improper to ſuggeſt ſome hints, relative to the different parts of our own country.

Briſtol will naturally claim our attention, in the firſt inſtance, when change of air is recommended, as in the neighbourhood of that place there are two great advantages, the water and a good air.

But if, from any particular diſlike, or other more ſubſtantial reaſon, this is not complied with, perhaps a journey would be much more advantageous than a fixed reſidence in any ſpot, however healthy. I ſhall only add, that a journey is always preferable to an equal number of miles rode over in one and the ſame tract of country.

In the ſpring this journey ſhould be to the ſouthward; to the weſtern counties;—or the ſea-coaſts; and in the ſummer, to the northward, or to Wales;—the cooler parts of Great-Britain;—Buxton or Matlock, or where any ſimilar water is to be met with, ſeems adviſeable. To meet the advancing ſpring, to return from the approaching winter, and by theſe means to avoid the ſeverity of cold, ſo injurious to tender breaſts, is the evident rule of conduct in ſuch caſes. If it requires ſome conſideration, a knowledge of places in detail in this country, nay, even in the environs of London, to determine with propriety on the choice of places for the retreat of invalids, what muſt be our difficulty when called upon to fix the route and reſidence of a conſumptive patient, who ſeeks an aſylum on the continent?

And here I cannot but lament the want of an inſtitution, which, at no great national expence, might be attended with vaſt national advantages. Was a phyſician, or ſome medical perſon, to be placed in the ſuite of every Britiſh ambaſſador, envoy, or reſident, we ſhould ſoon be informed, and with ſome degree of certainty, of the proper places to which we might ſend our patients with the greateſt proſpect of ſucceſs. Neither the partial opinion of the patients who have reſided at different places, nor the tranſient viſits of the moſt obſerving travellers, nor even the obſervations of ingenious, ſenſible phyſicians themſelves, without a longer

reſidence

reſidence in the place than falls to the lot of moſt of them, can enable us to judge with accuracy of their comparative advantages.

The ſouth of France, Italy, Portugal, I mention, them in the order they are uſually propoſed to us, are the places of general reſort.

Wherever the winter is ſhorteſt, the leaſt ſevere, and the leaſt changeable, every thing elſe being alike, is the moſt adviſeable. To which may be added likewiſe, the place of the moſt eaſy acceſs. Thus, for inſtance, Portugal, by ſome, would be ſtrongly objected to, on account of the ſea-voyage; whilſt others, perhaps, would chuſe it for the ſake of this eaſy conveyance. But if there be juſt reaſon to give one place in the neighbourhood of London, and within the compaſs of a very few miles, the preference to another, the difficulty of giving advice in this caſe, with the preciſion we could wiſh, is too apparent, and it muſt remain ſo, till further obſervations enable us to form a better judgment on this ſubject.

Of all the places we are acquainted with, perhaps the iſland of Madeira enjoys the moſt equal temperature; but the voyage, and other circumſtances attending it, afford very formidable objections.

Nice has of late been the general retreat of the Engliſh conſumptive patients. Some places in the neighbourhood of Marſeilles are alſo well ſpoken of. The neighbourhood of Naples in Italy is alſo much commended; and in Portugal, the vicinage of Liſbon and Cintra, a pleaſant ſpot, not far from that capital. In all theſe places regard ſhould be had to ſituation; that it may be dry, near no ſtagnant water, not environed with thick woods, where the water is good, and the air free, but not ſtormy and impetuous.

To thoſe who object to the continent, a trial of the weſtern counties of England may be properly recommended: Should it not prove ſalutary, the paſſage by ſea to Liſbon from thence is, for the moſt part, both ſafe and ſhort. Even ſea-ſickneſs is often beneficial to the conſumptive, as well as the ſea air. Impaired digeſtion, and, not ſeldom, a redundancy of bile attend theſe caſes; and perhaps repeated mild emetics, ſufficient to cleanſe the firſt paſſages, would often be of uſe.

One great misfortune attending theſe migrations, whether from London or other great cities, into the neighbouring country, or to Briſtol and other places in this kingdom, or to the continent, is that, for the moſt part, they are undertaken too late, both in reſpect to the progreſs of the diſeaſe, and the ſeaſon.

Inſtead of removing at a time when a change of air and its conſequences might prevent the moſt ſerious evils, they are in haſte to quit their country, when perhaps neither this can be beneficial, nor is the ſeaſon for a journey a proper one.

It ſeems too often to be the fate of conſumptive patients, to do that laſt, which they ought to have done firſt; and by this prepoſterous conduct, ſhorten their own lives, and afflict all who have any regard for them. It happens not ſeldom, that when their phyſicians and their friends have in vain urged their departure at the proper ſeaſon,

they have reſolved to ſet out on the moſt fatiguing journies in the depth of winter; by which they are expoſed to every kind of inconveniency and hardſhip; if they eſcape with life, they aggravate their diſeaſes, and too frequently die in the journey, martyrs to their own indiſcretion.

The benefit of exerciſe in this diſtemper has been ſtrongly urged by many writers; as it has been treated of ſo pertinently by Dr. Dickſon, one of your colleagues, I ſhall ſay little more on the ſubject *. It is however evident, that this great auxiliary may be abuſed, and that conſumptive patients may uſe it improperly. They ride out when they ought not, and increaſe their diſeaſe through indiſcretion. Moderate journies, in temperate ſeaſons, and as much as may be on horſeback, are of excellent uſe in conſumptive caſes, obſerving, at the ſame time, exact temperance, both in reſpect to diet and liquors. To ride out early in the ſpring, in very ſharp, or in damp, cold, and foggy weather, and at unſeaſonable hours, as, early in the morning, or late at night, is moſt certainly prejudicial.

Hitherto no mention has been made of the uſe and abuſe of a milk diet in this diſtemper. It may, however, be remarked, that there are conſtitutions in which this moſt excellent nutriment ſeems to diſagree; a proneneſs to generate bile, or too ſtrong a tendency to aceſcency from weak organs of digeſtion, both require the phyſician's attention. Whey, either from cows or goats milk, would probably agree beſt with the former; and lime-water, added to the milk, would counteract acidity.

There is one uſual addition made to milk, which I think ſhould either be totally proſcribed, or the moſt expreſs directions given concerning it. I mean the common addition of rum or brandy to aſſes or cows milk. Theſe have done more miſchief to conſumptive patients, than any but phyſicians can conceive. Theſe additions are moſtly committed to the management of ſervants; theſe, for the moſt part, think every thing of this nature cordial, an idea they annex to growing ſtrong; and therefore too often give liberal doſes. Ardent ſpirits not only heat, but coagulate milk, added beyond a certain quantity. By which means the milk diſagrees, and the ſpirit augments the diſeaſe.

A Relation of ſome of the ſimple, though moſt efficacious Means, by which Captain James Cook, *under the Divine Favour, preſerved himſelf and his Ship's Company, in all one hundred and eighteen Men, in his laſt Voyage round the World, in his Majeſty's Ship the* Reſolution; *a Voyage of three Years and eighteen days, and throughout all the Climates, from fifty-two Degrees North, to ſeventy-one South; with the Loſs of only one Man by Diſeaſe, and that juſtly ſuppoſed to have begun before the Ship ſailed; in a Letter from the Captain to Sir* John Pringle, *Bart. Preſident of the* Royal Society, &c.

* See Medical Obſervations, vol. iv. p. 212.

Mile-end,

Mile-end, March 5, 1776.

SIR,

AS many gentlemen have expreſſed ſome ſurprize at the uncommon good ſtate of health which the crew of the *Reſolution*, under my command, experienced during her late voyage; I take the liberty to communicate to you the methods that were taken to obtain that end. Much was owing to the extraordinary attention given by the Admiralty, in cauſing ſuch articles to be put on board, as either by experience or conjecture were judged to tend moſt to preſerve the health of ſeamen. I ſhall not treſpaſs upon your time in mentioning all thoſe articles, but confine myſelf to ſuch as were found the moſt uſeful.

We had on board a large quantity of malt, of which was made ſweet-wort, and given (not only to thoſe men who had manifeſt ſymptoms of the ſcurvy, but to ſuch alſo as were, from circumſtances, judged to be moſt liable to that diſorder) from one or two or three pints in the day to each man, or in ſuch proportion as the ſurgeon thought neceſſary; which ſometimes amounted to three quarts in the twenty four hours. This is without doubt one of the beſt antiſcorbutic ſea-medicines yet found out; and if given in time will, with proper attention to other things, I am perſuaded, prevent the ſcurvy from making any great progreſs for a conſiderable time: but I am not altogether of opinion, that it will cure it in an advanced ſtate at ſea.

Sour-krout, of which we had alſo a large proviſion, is not only a wholeſome vegetable food, but, in my judgment, highly antiſcorbutic, and ſpoils not by keeping. A pound of it was ſerved to each man, when at ſea, twice a week, or oftener when it was thought neceſſary.

Portable-ſoup, or broth, was another eſſential article, of which we had likewiſe a liberal ſupply. An ounce of this to each man, or ſuch other proportion as was thought neceſſary, was boiled with their peaſe three days in the week; and when we were in places where freſh vegetables could be procured, it was boiled, with them and with wheat or oatmeal, every morning for breakfaſt, and alſo with dried peaſe and freſh vegetables for dinner. It enabled us to make ſeveral nouriſhing and wholeſome meſſes, and was the means of making the people eat a greater quantity of greens than they would have done otherwiſe.

Further, we were provided with rob of lemons and oranges; which the ſurgeon found uſeful in ſeveral caſes.

Amongſt other articles of victualling we were furniſhed with ſugar in the room of oil, and with wheat inſtead of much oatmeal, and were certainly gainers by the exchange. Sugar, I imagine, is a very good antiſcorbutic; whereas oil, ſuch at leaſt as is uſually given to the navy, I apprehend has the contrary effect. But the introduction of the moſt ſalutary articles, either as proviſion or medicines, will generally prove unſucceſsful, unleſs ſupported by certain rules of living.

On this principle, many years experience, together with ſome hints I had from Sir Hugh Palliſer,

the Captains Campbell, Wallis, and other intelligent officers, enabled me to lay down a plan whereby all was to be conducted. The crew were at three watches, except upon ſome extraordinary occaſions. By this means they were not ſo much expoſed to the weather as if they had been at watch and watch; and they had generally dry cloaths to ſhift themſelves when they happened to get wet. Care was alſo taken to expoſe them as little as poſſible. Proper methods were employed to keep their perſons, hammocks, bedding, cloaths, &c. conſtantly clean and dry. Equal pains were taken to keep the ſhip clean and dry between decks. Once or twice a week ſhe was aired with fires; and when this could not be done, ſhe was ſmoaked with gunpowder moiſtened with vinegar or water. I had alſo frequently a fire made in an iron pot at the bottom of the well, which greatly purified the air in the lower parts of the ſhip. To this and cleanlineſs, as well in the ſhip as amongſt the people, too great attention cannot be paid; the leaſt neglect occaſions a putrid offenſive ſmell below, which nothing but fires will remove; and if theſe be not uſed in time, thoſe ſmells will be attended with bad conſequences. Proper care was taken of the ſhip's coppers, ſo that they were kept conſtantly clean. The fat, which boiled out of the ſalt beef and pork, I never ſuffered to be given to the people, as is cuſtomary; being of opinion that it promotes the ſcurvy. I never failed to take in water wherever it was to be procured, even when we did not ſeem to want it; becauſe I look upon freſh water from the ſhore to be much more wholeſome than that which has been kept for ſome time on board. Of this eſſential article we were never at an allowance, but had always abundance for every neceſſary purpoſe. I am convinced that with plenty of freſh water, and a cloſe attention to cleanlineſs, a ſhip's company will ſeldom be much afflicted with the ſcurvy, though they ſhould not be provided with any of the antiſcorbutics before-mentioned. We came to few places where either the art of man or nature did not afford ſome ſort of refreſhment or other, either of the animal or vegetable kind. It was my firſt care to procure what could be met with of either by every means in my power, and to oblige our people to make uſe thereof, both by my example and authority; but the benefits ariſing from ſuch refreſhments ſoon became ſo obvious, that I had little occaſion to employ either the one or the other.

Theſe, Sir, were the methods, under the care of Providence, by which the *Reſolution* performed a voyage of three years and eighteen days, through all the climates from 52° North to 71° South, with the loſs of one man only by diſeaſe, and who died of a complicated and lingering illneſs, without any mixture of ſcurvy. Two others were unfortunately drowned, and one killed by a fall; ſo that of the whole number with which I ſet out from England I loſt only four.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Cook *to Sir* John Pringle, *Bart. dated*

dated Plymouth Sound, July 7, 1776.

I ENTIRELY agree with you, that the dearneſs of the rob of lemons and oranges will hinder them from being furniſhed in large quantities, but I do not think this ſo neceſſary; for though they may aſſiſt other things, I have no great opinion of them alone. Nor have I a higher opinion of vinegar: my people had it very ſparingly during the late voyage; and towards the latter part, none at all; and yet we experienced no ill effects from the want of it. The cuſtom of waſhing the inſide of the ſhip with vinegar I ſeldom obſerved, thinking, that fire and ſmoke anſwered the purpoſe much better.

Remarks on the foregoing Paper, containing a Summary of the Diſcovery of the great antiſcorbutic Virtues of Wort, by Dr. Macbride; *with an Application of the Principles, on which theſe Virtues were firſt attributed to Wort, to other vegetable Preparations, particularly a moſt cheap and eaſy Beverage uſed with amazing Succeſs by the* Ruſſians, *on board their Fleets and in their Jails, &c. and to a ſimilar Meſs adopted with the ſame Succeſs by the Captain of an* Engliſh *Man of War. From Sir* John Pringle's Diſcourſe on the *Royal Society*'s crowning Captain *Cook*'s Paper with Sir *Godfrey Copley*'s Medal.

CAPTAIN Cook begins his liſt of ſtores with *malt*: "Of "this," he ſays, "was made "ſweet-wort, and given not only "to thoſe men who had manifeſt "ſymptoms of the ſcurvy, but to "ſuch alſo as were judged to be the "moſt liable to it." Dr. Macbride, who firſt ſuggeſted this preparation, was led, as he ſays, to the diſcovery by ſome experiments that had been laid before this Society; by which it appeared, that the air produced by alimentary fermentation was endowed with a power of correcting putrefaction. The fact he confirmed by numerous trials, and finding this fluid to be *fixed air*, he juſtly concluded, that whatever ſubſtance proper for food abounded with it, and which could be conveniently carried to ſea, would make one of the beſt proviſions againſt the ſcurvy; which he then conſidered as a putrid diſeaſe, and as ſuch to be prevented or cured by that powerful kind of antiſeptic *. Beer, for inſtance, hath always been eſteemed one of the beſt antiſcorbutics; but as that derived all its *fixed air* from the malt of which its is made, he inferred, that malt itſelf was preferable in long voyages, as it took up leſs room than the brewed liquor, and would keep longer ſound. Experience hath ſince veriſied this ingenious theory, and the malt hath now gained ſo much credit in the navy, that there only wanted ſo long, ſo healthful, and ſo celebrated a voyage as this, to rank it among the moſt indiſpenſable articles of proviſion. For though Captain Cook remarks, that "a proper attention to other "things muſt be joined, and that "he is not altogether of opinion,

* Macbride's Experimental Eſſays, *paſſim*.

" that the wort will be able to " cure the ſcurvy in an advanced " ſtate at ſea; yet he is perſuaded, " that it is ſufficient to prevent " that diſtemper from making " any great progreſs, for a con- " ſiderable time;" and therefore he doth not heſitate to pronounce it, " one of the beſt antiſcorbutic " medicines yet found out*."

This ſalutary *gas*, or *fixed air*, is contained more or leſs in all fermentable liquors, and begins to oppoſe putrefaction as ſoon as the working or inteſtine motion commences.

In wine it abounds, and perhaps no vegetable ſubſtance is more replete with it than the fruit of the vine. If we join the grateful taſte of wine, we muſt rank it firſt in the liſt of antiſcorbutic liquors. Cyder is likewiſe good, with other vinous productions from fruit, as alſo the various kinds of beer. It hath been a conſtant obſervation, that in long cruizes or diſtant voyages, the ſcurvy is never ſeen whilſt the ſmall-beer holds out at a full allowance; but that when it is all expended, the diſorder ſoon appears. It were therefore to be wiſhed, that this moſt wholeſome beverage could be renewed at ſea; but our ſhips afford not ſufficient convenience. The Ruſſians however make a ſhift to prepare at ſea, as well as at land, a liquor of a middle quality between wort and ſmall-beer, in the following manner. They take ground malt and rye-meal in a certain proportion, which they knead into ſmall loaves, and bake in the oven. Theſe they occaſionally infuſe in a proper quantity of warm water, which begins ſo ſoon to ferment, that in the ſpace of twenty-four hours their brewage is compleated, in the production of a ſmall, briſk, and acidulous liquor, which they call *quas*, palatable to themſelves and not diſagreeable to the taſte of ſtrangers. The late Dr. Mounſey, member of this Society †, who had lived long in Ruſſia, and had been *Archiater* under two ſucceſſive ſovereigns, acquainted me that the *quas* was the common and wholeſome drink both of the fleets and armies of that empire, and that it was particularly good againſt the ſcurvy. He added, that happening to be at Moſcow when he peruſed the " Obſervations on the Jail-Fever," publiſhed here, he had been induced to compare what he read in that treatiſe with what he ſhould ſee in the ſeveral priſons of that large city: but to his ſurprize,

* Having been favoured with a ſight of the Medical Journal of Mr. Patten, ſurgeon to the *Reſolution*, I read the following paſſage in it, not a little ſtrengthening the above teſtimony. " I have found the *wort* of the utmoſt " ſervice in all ſcorbutic caſes during the voyage. As many took it by way " of prevention, few caſes occurred where it had a fair trial; but theſe, how- " ever, I flatter myſelf, will be ſufficient to convince every impartial perſon, " that it is the beſt remedy hitherto found out for the cure of the ſea-ſcurvy: " and I am well convinced, from what I have ſeen the *wort* perform, and from " its mode of operation, that if aided by *portable ſoup*, *ſour-krout*, *ſugar*, " *ſago*, *and courants*, the ſcurvy, that maritime peſtilence, will ſeldom or " never make its alarming appearance among a ſhip's crew, on the longeſt " voyages; proper care with regard to cleanlineſs and proviſions being ob- " ſerved."

† The Royal Society.

after

after viſiting them all, and finding them full of malefactors, for the late empreſs then ſuffered none of thoſe who were convicted of capital crimes to be put to death, yet he could diſcover no fever among them, nor learn that any acute diſtemper peculiar to jails had ever been kown there. He obſerved that ſome of thoſe places of confinement had a yard, into which the priſoners were allowed to come for the air; but that there were others without this advantage, yet not ſickly: ſo that he could aſſign no other reaſon for the healthful condition of thoſe men than the kind of diet they uſed; which was the ſame with that of the common people of the country, who not being able to purchaſe fleſh-meat live moſtly on rye-bread, (the moſt aceſcent of any bread) and drink *quas*. He concluded with ſaying, that upon his return to Peterſburg, he had made the ſame enquiry there, and with the ſame reſult.

Thus far my informer: from whoſe account it would appear, that the rye-meal aſſiſted both in quickening the fermentation, and adding more fixed air; ſince the malt alone could not ſo readily produce ſo acidulous and briſk a liquor. And there is little doubt but that whenever the other grains can be brought to a proper degree of fermentation, they will more or leſs in the ſame way become uſeful. That oats will, I am ſatisfied, from what I have been told by one of the intelligent friends of Captain Cook. This gentleman being on a cruize in a large ſhip *, in the beginning of the late war, and the ſcurvy breaking out among his crew, he bethought himſelf of a kind of food, he had ſeen uſed in ſome parts of the country, as the moſt proper on this occaſion. Some oatmeal is put into a wooden veſſel, hot water is poured upon it, and the infuſion continues until the liquor begins to taſte ſouriſh; that is, till a fermentation comes on, which in a place moderately warm may be in the ſpace of two days. The water is then poured off from the grounds, and boiled down to the conſiſtence of a jelly †. This he ordered to be made, and dealt out in meſſes, being firſt ſweetened with ſugar, and ſeaſoned with ſome prize-wine he had taken, which though turned ſour, yet improved the taſte, and made this aliment no leſs palatable than medicinal.

* The Eſſex, a ſeventy gun ſhip.

† This rural food, in the North, is called *ſooins*.

Obſervations on the Method of burying the Pariſh Poor in London, *and on the Manner in which ſome of the capital Buildings in it are conſtructed and kept, as two great Sources of the extraordinary Sickneſs and Mortality, by putrid Fevers, ſo ſenſibly felt in that Capital; with Hints for the Correction of theſe Evils. By a Gentleman who ſigns himſelf* HYGEIA.

THE leaſt attention to the mode of interment in this city, particularly of the bodies of the poor, would lead one to conſider it as a principal cauſe of this ſpecies of diſeaſe. In ſome burying-grounds, near the center of this metropolis, the graves or pits for the reception of the poor are made

ſufficiently wide to contain 3 or 4 wooden coffins a-breaſt, and deep enough to hold twice as many in depth: theſe pits, after each burial, are covered with a few looſe boards, and a little mould to hide the coffin from common view; but they are never filled up till the whole compliment of corpſes has been interred. When this is done, a ſecond grave is opened upon the ſame plan, cloſe to the firſt, leaving the ſides of the former coffins ſtill expoſed; by which means theſe wholeſale receptacles of the dead become ſo offenſive, as frequently to oblige the miniſters, and others upon funeral duty, to ſtand at a conſiderable diſtance, to avoid the ſtench ariſing from them. Barely to mention the exiſtence of a nuiſance of this kind, is ſufficient to ſhock every man of reflection and humanity; and the teſtimonies of numerous writers confirm the inſalubrity of ſuch a practice*.

As much as poſſible, the interment of dead bodies in large cities ſhould be prohibited; and the numerous places hitherto appropriated to that uſe, ſhould be converted into lawns, walks, gardens, ſquares, and ſuch like uſeful and ornamental objects. To ſupply the defect of burying-places ariſing from this change, other grounds ſhould be choſen at proper diſtances, and on the north ſide of a city, as ſouthern winds are more ſultry, and likely to convey to the inhabitants any noxious exhalations, the diffuſion of which, it is well known, northern winds tend rather to check than to promote.

If, however, the practice of burying the dead within the city be continued, ſome regulation ſhould be adopted to prevent its pernicious effects, by fixing the depth of every grave at five feet at the leaſt, and the number of bodies depoſited in each to two at the moſt, and in caſe of two the grave ſhould be made one foot deeper; but on no condition whatever ſhould any grave be left open after the interment of a corpſe.

With reſpect to vaults, they ſhould be diſcouraged as perpetual ſources of putrid exhalations; and

* "I have known inſtances of the hoſpital fever beginning in a ward when there was no other cauſe but one of the men having a mortified limb."

Pringle's Diſeaſes of the Army.

Foreſtus ſays, "he was an eye witneſs to a plague which aroſe from the ſame cauſe."

He likewiſe mentions "a malignant fever which broke out in North Holland, occaſioned by the rotting of a whale that had been left upon the ſhore." In a French treatiſe Sur la Peſte, mention is made of "a malignant fever affecting the crew of a French ſhip, upon the putrefaction of ſome cattle they had killed in the iſland of Nevis, in the Weſt-Indies."

Diodorus Siculus mentions "the putrid ſteams ariſing from the bodies of thoſe who lay unburied, as one of the cauſes of that dreadful diſtemper that broke out among the Carthaginians at the ſiege of Syracuſe."

Pringle mentions, "amongſt the cauſes of malignant fevers, burials within the towns, and the bodies not laid deep."

Diſeaſes of the Army, See alſo Screta de Feb. Caſtror.

Foreſtus mentions "a plague that raged at Venice in his time, owing to the corruption of a ſmall kind of fiſh in that part of the Adriatic.

See alſo Mead, Sir John Colbatch, &c.

no

no dead body ſhould be permitted to be depoſited in a vault, unleſs incloſed in a leaden coffin, well ſoldered down.

From the increaſe of trade in this metropolis, and the larger and more frequent aſſemblies of people at public markets, coffee-houſes, and other places of buſineſs and amuſement, it is probable that many perſons ſuſtain conſiderable injury in their health. The Royal-Exchange affords a ſtriking inſtance to this purpoſe. The 'change hours, a few years ago, ſeldom exceeded two o'clock, and now three is conſidered as the time of high change. The crouds of people that uſually remain at this place for upwards of an hour, muſt certainly be pernicious, of which every one may be convinced who enters upon full 'change immediately from the freſher atmoſphere of the ſtreet; he feels the former not only much hotter, but alſo ſo offenſive as to render reſpiration, at firſt, ſome what difficult. Before the company retire all the gates are ſhut, leaving only one ſmall outlet; and thus the air, tainted, and rendered noxious, is pent up and confined againſt the evening, when the gates are again opened; and valetudinarians, who have not leiſure to go into the country, under a notion of purchaſing a mouthful of freſh air, ruſh into an atmoſphere loaded with human effluvia, which of all others, when become vitiated, is the moſt dangerous to health and life.

To this place, likewiſe, many children are conducted, particularly in the early part of the day, to breathe the aurora matutina; but inſtead of that ſalutary regale, they inſpire chiefly the fæculæ of yeſterday, which are retained under the deep piazzas for want of free ventilation.

It is not expected that, by theſe ſuggeſtions, perſons engaged in buſineſs will be induced to avoid the Exchange, neither do I think the danger exceedingly imminent, as the pepper vaults under this edifice, and the regale gentlemen partake of in the neighbouring coffee-houſes, muſt mutually tend to obviate infection; but, certainly, in the place of the preſent cloſe wooden gates, open iron gates might be ſubſtituted, by which a freer circulation of air would be promoted. It cannot, however, at any time, be adviſeable to frequent this place for the ſake of ſalubrity of air.

The transfer offices, at the Bank, are inſalubrious, not only from the multitudes of people who daily croud them, but alſo from their peculiar conſtruction, which not having ſide windows and common chimnies, like all regular and wiſe buildings, cannot poſſibly admit that free circulation of air, which the health of the people who are ſtatedly employed there indiſpenſably requires. The air, alſo, that iſſues from the ſuperb ſtoves, inſtead of compenſating for the want of vital air, which ſeems to have been deſignedly excluded from thoſe coſtly apartments, ſerves only to increaſe the general inſalubrity, by diffuſing the pernicious particles with which it is impregnated.

Among various other ſources of putridity, may be included levees, play-houſes, public exhibitions, kitchens under ground, night cellars, routs, maſquerades, and nocturnal revels of all kinds. Meeting-houſes, alſo, being uſually built with low roofs, muſt prove pernicious

cious to the health of many individuals, as every thing that deſtroys the purity of the air debilitates the body, and conduces to the production of putrid and other diſeaſes.

Illuminations, and the vaſt increaſe in the uſe of lamps and candles, muſt tend to impair the purity of the circumambient air, as all burning bodies have the property of rendering it leſs fit for reſpiration, of which we may be convinced by the difficulty of breathing over a charcoal fire. It has been, I know, a general received opinion, that fires check the progreſs of plagues, and peſtiferous winds; but experience in London affords a ſtrong proof to the contrary; great fires were made during the ravages of the plague in this city, which were ſo far from abating it, that the week after the general conflagration the deaths were almoſt doubly augmented: there is reaſon, therefore, to conclude, that, as burning bodies emit a mephitic matter, large fires tend to deſtroy the purity of the air.

In this city, where coal fires are principally uſed, with the inflammable, mephitic, and other matters thrown out, probably an acid is decompoſed, and exhaled from the ſulphur in the coal; and thereby certain miaſmata, of a putrid tendency, may be neutralized; but, from the inſtances in the plague abovementioned, there is reaſon to preſume that the injury introduced into the atmoſphere overbalances the good effects ariſing from the acid decompoſition.

One of the moſt univerſal and dangerous channels of infection, has its ſource in the ſtate of the hoſpitals in this city, which are uſually ſo contrived as to be peculiarly adapted to generate contagion. From twenty to forty perſons are generally conſigned to one room, and were they all in health, it might reaſonably be ſuſpected, that the breath and effluvia from ſuch a number of people would ſoon render the air unfit for reſpiration, and at length give riſe to diſeaſes of the putrid kind: what then can be expected, when as many patients, under various diſeaſes, breathe day and night in one confined apartment?

I have now, Mr. Editor, curſorily mentioned a few ſources of injury to the health of my fellow-creatures. I am ſorry that want of leiſure will not permit a more minute detail of theſe and other cauſes of diſeaſe; but ſhould the hints I have given preſerve one uſeful member of the community, it will afford an ample compenſation to

HYGEIA.

[*Gentleman's Magazine.*]

Eaſy Method of effectually preſerving Dead Bodies, as practiſed by the Capuchins *of* Palermo *in* Italy—*From a Voyage to* Sicily *and* Malta, *by Mr.* John Dryden, *Junior, Son to Mr.* Dryden *the Poet.*

BUT the oddeſt and moſt ſurprizing ſight we ever beheld was at the Capuchins, about ſome half a mile out of the gate that leads to Monreal, where one of thoſe fathers conducted us down into a long croſs vault under their church and convent. Here we ſaw an abundance of Capuchins ſtanding in a row one by another againſt the

the wall, ſeemingly in a devout poſture; when coming near to them, we found they were ſo many dead men, all dry'd up, but with all the fleſh and ſkin on their hands and faces entire, nor were the nerves rotted. This wonderful way of preſerving their dead bodies they perform with the greateſt eaſe imaginable, only by extending their dead on four or five croſs ſticks, over a receptacle or ſmall place built up of brick, hollow, and in form of a coffin; and ſo the dead body continuing to lye thus extended or at length over this hollow, ſupported by the croſs ſticks, vents all it's corruption away, and in a year's time the ſkin and fleſh remain dry on the bones: and we ſaw ſeveral ſtanding up that had been but a year, with an inſcription on the bodies who they were; for, notwithſtanding the bodies were all cloath'd in Capuchins habits, yet an abundance of them had been laymen and perſons of the beſt quality in Palermo; and that which is almoſt incredible, the faces retain'd ſome reſemblance of the perſons to whom they did belong; for not only Mr. Gifford at firſt ſight call'd them by their names, ſaying, This was a very honeſt fellow and my broker, this ſuch a one, and ſo of the reſt, but the father who led us down did in particular point to one of the dead bodies, who had been a Capuchin, ſaying, This father was a very handſome comely man; and, indeed, it appear'd ſo, not only below, in reſpect of the other dead, but alſo above ſtairs, where he ſhowed us the picture of that dead father, which he did to convince us that the dead had not loſt the reſemblance of what they had been formerly when alive.

Among theſe dead bodies there were many of an hundred years ſtanding, which were as entire as the neweſt, and you might handle their faces and hands without damaging them.

This way of preſerving the dead among the living is eaſy, I imagine, to be practis'd in any country; but in my mind it is but a very melancholy renewing of an acquaintance with our friends to ſee them in this poſture; tho' in Catholick countries it ſerves to put thoſe who come to ſee them in mind of praying for their ſouls. Mr. Gifford told us, that he had already taken a place for himſelf to ſtand in among the dead of this vault.

The poſture of two among thoſe dead bodies was very remarkable; the one on it's knees, with it's arms extended, and hands clos'd, as at prayers; the other with it's arms quite out at full ſtretch, ſtanding upright in poſture of one crucify'd. The account the fathers gave of theſe two was, that they had both been very devout in their life-time; and that the body of that perſon which is in the poſture of a crucifix could by no means be altered by the fathers, who had ty'd down the arms more than once when the corps was freſh, and ſtill found it ſoon return'd to that poſture, which therefore they judg'd to be the will of God that it ſhould ſo remain, ſince it was known that perſon had been a great and devout contemplator of our Bleſſed Saviour's paſſion: the ſame kind of an account they gave of the other body in the kneeling poſture, averring

ring that they found it rais'd of it ſelf in that faſhion, going in to viſit the bodies that lay aventing in the cloſe vault, which they open only for that end, or to put in a freſh body.

Some Account of Mr. Braidwood's *Academy in* Edinburgh, *for the teaching of Perſons, born deaf and dumb, to ſpeak, write, and read, with underſtanding. From Mr.* Pennant's *Tour into* Scotland.

MR Braidwood, profeſſor of the academy of dumb and deaf, has under his care a number of young perſons, who have received the Promethian heat, the divine *inflatus*; but from the unhappy conſtruction of their organs, were ('till they had received his inſtructions) denied the power of utterance. Every idea was locked up, or appeared but in their eyes, or at their fingers ends, till their maſter inſtructed them in arts unknown to us, who have the faculty of hearing. Apprehenſion reaches us by the groſſer ſenſe. They *ſee* our words, and our uttered thoughts become to them viſible. Our ideas expreſſed in ſpeech ſtrike their ears in vain: Their eyes receive them as they part from our lips. They conceive by intuition, and ſpeak by imitation. Mr. Braidwood firſt teaches them the letters and their powers; and the ideas of words written, beginning with the moſt ſimple. The art of ſpeaking is taken from the motion of his lips; his words being uttered ſlowly and diſtinctly. Their anſwers are ſlow, and ſomewhat harſh.

When I entered the room, and found myſelf ſurrounded with numbers of human forms ſo oddly circumſtanced, I felt a ſort of anxiety, ſuch as I might be ſuppoſed to feel had I been environed by another order of beings. I was ſoon relieved, by being introduced to a moſt angelic young creature, of about the age of thirteen. She honoured me with her new-acquired converſation; but I may truly ſay, that I could ſcarcely bear the power of her piercing eyes: ſhe looked me through and through. She ſoon ſatisfied me that ſhe was an apt ſcholar. She readily apprehended all I ſaid, and returned me anſwers with the utmoſt facility. She read; ſhe wrote well. Her reading was not by rote. She could cloath the ſame thoughts in a new ſet of words, and never vary from the original ſenſe. I have forgot the book ſhe took up, or the ſentences ſhe made a new verſion of; but the effect was as follows:

Original paſſage.

Lord Bacon has divided the whole of human knowledge into hiſtory, poetry, and philoſophy, which are referred to the three powers of the mind, memory, imagination, and reaſon.

Verſion.

A nobleman has parted the total or all of man's ſtudy, or underſtanding, into an account of the life, manners, religion, and cuſtoms of any people or country, verſe or metre, moral or natural knowledge, which are pointed to the three faculties of the ſoul or ſpirit; the faculty of remembering what is paſt, thought or conception, and right judgment.

I left

I left Mr. Braidwood and his pupils with the ſatisfaction which muſt reſult from a reflection on the utility of his art, and the merit of his labours: Who, after receiving under his care a Being that ſeemed to be merely endowed with a human form, could produce the *divina particula auræ*, latent, and, but for his ſkill, condemned to be ever latent in it; and who could reſtore a child to its glad parents with a capacity of exerting its rational powers, by expreſſive ſounds of duty, love, and affection.

The rural Induſtry and Oeconomy of the Chineſe *propoſed as an Example to all the other Nations of the Univerſe, by the* Abbé Raynal—*From that Gentleman's Philoſophical and Political Hiſtory, &c.*

IN a country where the government is ſo ancient, we may every where expect to find deep traces of the continued force of induſtry. Its roads have been levelled with the exacteſt care; and, in general, have no greater declivity than is neceſſary to facilitate the watering of the land, which they conſider, with reaſon, as one of the greateſt helps in agriculture. They have but few, even of the moſt uſeful trees, as their fruits would rob the corn of its nouriſhment. There are gardens, it is true, interſperſed with flowers, fine turf, ſhrubberies, and fountains; but however agreeable theſe ſcenes might be to an idle ſpectator, they ſeem to be concealed and removed from the public eye, as if the owners were afraid of ſhewing how much their amuſements had encroached upon the ſoil that ought to be cultivated for the ſupport of life. They have no parks or extenſive foreſts, which are not near ſo ſerviceable to mankind by the wood they furniſh, as prejudicial by preventing agriculture; and while they contribute to the pleaſure of the great by the beaſts that range in them, prove a real misfortune to the huſbandman. In China, the beauty of a country-ſeat conſiſts in its being happily ſituated, ſurrounded with an agreeable variety of cultivated fields, and interſperſed with trees planted irregularly, and with ſome heaps of a porous ſtone, which at a diſtance have the appearance of rocks or mountains.

The hills are generally cut into terraces, ſupported by dry walls. Here there are reſervoirs, conſtructed with ingenuity, for the reception of rain and ſpring water. It is not uncommon to ſee the bottom, ſummit, and declivity of a hill watered by the ſame canal, by means of a number of engines of a ſimple conſtruction, which ſave manual labour, and perform with two men what could not be done with a thouſand in the ordinary way. Theſe heights commonly yield three crops in a year. They are firſt ſown with a kind of radiſh, which produces an oil; then with cotton, and after that with potatoes. This is the common method of culture; but the rule is not without exception.

Upon moſt of the mountains which are incapable of being cultivated for the ſubſiſtence of man, proper trees are planted for building houſes or ſhips. Many of them contain iron, tin and copper mines, ſufficient to ſupply the empire. The gold mines have been neglec-

neglected, either becauſe their produce did not defray the expence of working them, or becauſe the gold duſt, waſhed down by the torrents, was found ſufficient for the purpoſes of exchange.

The ſandy plains, ſaved from the ravages of the ocean, (which changes its bed as rivers do their courſe, in a ſpace of time ſo exactly proportioned to their different moments, that a ſmall encroachment of the ſea cauſes a thouſand revolutions on the ſurface of the globe) form, at this day, the provinces of Nankin and Tchekiang, which are the fineſt in the empire. As the Egyptians checked the courſe of the Nile, the Chineſe have repulſed, reſtrained, and given laws to the ocean. They have re-united to the continent, tracts of land which had been disjoined by this element. They ſtill exert their endeavours to oppoſe that overruling effect of the earth's motion, which in conformity with the celeſtial ſyſtem drives the ocean from eaſt to weſt. To the action of the globe the Chineſe oppoſe the labours of induſtry: and while nations, the moſt celebrated in hiſtory, have, by the rage of conqueſt, increaſed the ravages that time is perpetually making upon this globe; they exert ſuch efforts to retard the progreſs of univerſal devaſtation, as might appear ſupernatural, if daily experience did not afford us ſtrong evidence to the contrary.

To the improvements of land this nation adds, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, the improvement of the water. The rivers, which communicate with each other by canals, and run under the walls of moſt of the towns, preſent us with the proſpect of floating cities, compoſed of an infinite number of boats filled with people, who live conſtantly upon the water, and whoſe ſole employment is fiſhing. The ſea itſelf is covered with numberleſs veſſels, whoſe maſts, at a diſtance, appear like moving foreſts. Anſon mentions it as a reproach to the fiſhermen belonging to theſe boats, that they did not give themſelves a moment's intermiſſion from their work to look at his ſhip, which was the largeſt that had ever anchored in thoſe latitudes. But this inattention to an object, which appeared to a Chineſe ſailor to be of no uſe, though it was in the way of his profeſſion, is, perhaps, a proof of the happineſs of a people, who prefer buſineſs to matters of mere curioſity.

The manner of culture is by no means uniform throughout this empire, but varies according to the nature of the ſoil and the difference of the climate. In the low countries towards the ſouth they ſow rice, which being always under water, grows to a great ſize, and yields two crops in a year. In the inland parts of the country, where the ſituation is lofty and dry, the ſoil produces a ſpecies of rice, which is neither ſo large, ſo well-taſted, or ſo nouriſhing, and makes the huſbandman but one return in the year for his labour. In the northern parts the ſame kinds of grain are cultivated as in Europe, which grow in as great plenty, and are of as good a quality as in any of our moſt fertile countries. From one end of China to the other, there are large quantities of vegetables, particularly in the ſouth, where together with fiſh they ſupply the place of meat, which is the general

general food of the other provinces. But the improvement of lands is univerſally underſtood and attended to. All the different kinds of manure are carefully preſerved, and ſkilfully diſtributed to the beſt advantage; and that which ariſes from fertile lands, is applied to make them ſtill more fertile. This grand ſyſtem of nature, which is ſuſtained by deſtruction and reproduction, is better underſtood and attended to in China than in any other country in the world.

A philoſopher, whom the ſpirit of obſervation has led into their empire, has found out and explained the cauſes of the rural œconomy of the Chineſe.

The firſt of theſe cauſes is that character of induſtry by which theſe people are particularly diſtinguiſhed, who in their nature require a leſs ſhare of repoſe. Every day in the year is devoted to labour, except the firſt, which is employed in paying and receiving viſits among relations; and the laſt, which is ſacred to the memory of their anceſtors. The firſt is a ſocial duty, the latter a part of domeſtic worſhip. In this nation of ſages, whatever unites and civilizes mankind is religion; and religion itſelf is nothing more than the practice of the ſocial virtues. Theſe ſober and rational people want nothing more than the controul of civil laws to make them juſt; their private worſhip conſiſts in the love of their parents whether living or dead; and their public worſhip in the love of labour; and that labour which is held in the moſt ſacred veneration is agriculture.

The generoſity of two of their emperors is much revered, who, preferring the intereſts of the ſtate to thoſe of their family, kept their own children from the throne to make room for men taken from the plough. They revere the memory of theſe huſbandmen, who ſowed the ſeeds of the happineſs and ſtability of the empire in the fertile boſom of the earth; that inexhauſtible ſource of whatever conduces to the nouriſhment, and conſequently to the increaſe of mankind.

In imitation of theſe royal huſbandmen, the emperors of China become huſbandmen officially. It is one of their public functions to break up the ground in the ſpring; and the parade and magnificence that accompanies this ceremony, draws together all the farmers in the neighbourhood of the capital. They flock in crouds to ſee their prince perform this ſolemnity in honour of the firſt of all the arts. It is not, as in the fables of Greece, a god, who tends the flocks of a king; it is the father of his people, who, holding the plough with his own hands, ſhews his children what are the true riches of the ſtate. In a little time he repairs again to the field he has ploughed himſelf, to ſow the ſeed that is moſt proper for the ground. The example of the prince is followed in all the provinces; and at the ſame ſeaſons, the viceroys repeat the ſame ceremonies in the preſence of a numerous concourſe of huſbandmen. The Europeans, who have been preſent at this ſolemnity at Canton, never ſpeak of it without emotion; and make us regret that this feſtival, whoſe political aim is the encouragement of labour, is not eſtabliſhed in our climate, inſtead of that number of religious feaſts, which ſeem

to be invented by idleneſs to make the country a barren waſte.

Rules for the conſtructing of Wine-Cellars, particularly thoſe intended for the keeping of Wines of a delicate Texture and Flavour; by Sir Edward Barry, *Bart. From that Gentleman's* Obſervations hiſtorical, critical, and medical, on the Wines of the Ancients, *lately publiſhed.*

THE ſize of the cellar, ought to be in proportion to the quantity of wine for which it is deſigned; as it is more eaſy to defend a ſmall cellar from the admiſſion of agreater quantity of the external air, and to renew it occaſionally, than one of a larger ſize.

The ſituation ought to be low and dry, therefore not on any great declivity, where the under currents from the ſuperior ground muſt always keep it moiſt, and infect the air with its putrid exhalations: this communication however may be prevented by intermediate trenches.

A ſmall anticellar, built before all large cellars, would be a conſiderable defence, and improvement to them; in which a quantity of wine, ſufficient for a few days, may be kept, and the neceſſity prevented of more frequently opening the large cellar, and admitting the external air; which muſt always in ſome degree alter the temperature of it, and in ſudden, or continued great heats, or froſts, may be particularly injurious to the wine.

It is uſual to cover the bottles in the binns with ſaw-duſt; to which I ſhould prefer dry ſand, whoſe denſity is much greater. I ſaw a remarkable inſtance of the benefit ariſing from an intermediate defence of this kind. A hogſhead of claret, which had been lately bottled, was heaped up in a corner of a merchant's common large cellar, with a view of removing it ſoon to the wine-cellar. In the mean time, a load of ſalt, from the want of a more convenient place, was thrown on the bottles, and remained there ſeveral months before it was removed. This wine was afterwards found to be much ſuperior to the wine of the ſame growth, which had been imported and bottled about the ſame time, and had been immediately placed in the wine-cellar. The large quantity of ſalt formed a compact vault over the bottles, which intirely defended the wine from the influence of the air, though greatly expoſed to it; and probably the coldneſs of the ſalt contributed to this improvement.

The ancients certainly more effectually preſerved their wine in larger earthen veſſels pitched externally, than we can in our bottles, as they are more capable, from their ſuperior denſity and capacity, of reſiſting the frequent changes in the air; and it is a common obſervation, that the wine, received into bottles which contain two quarts, proves better than that which had been kept in ſingle quarts.

It appears to me very probable, that our beſt modern wines, eſpecially thoſe of a delicate texture, and flavour, may be more effectually preſerved in earthen veſſels, of a larger ſize than our bottles, well glazed externally and internally. The veſſels of this kind, which

which were formerly uſed for this purpoſe, were pitched externally, and lined internally, on account of their being porous, and imperfectly vitrified; but our artiſts are arrived to ſuch a perfection in this article of manufactory, that their glazed veſſels are impervious to the air, and incapable of communicating any bad taſte to any liquors contained in them; however, pitching them externally would be a greater defence, eſpecially when the glazing is not equally firm.

The largeſt veſſel in which the Greeks and Romans uſually kept their wines in the vaults, was the Amphora, which contained ten gallons, or eighty Roman pounds. The Urna contained half that quantity. Several others were uſed of an inferior ſize, and gradually decreaſing in the ſame proportion. They ſometimes varied from this general rule, and made them of a finer earth, ornamented with different figures.

The form and capacity of theſe veſſels is well known, and ſeems well adapted to the intention of them. They were regularly ranged in the cellar; and as their capacity gradually decreaſed to the bottom, whenever any lees had ſubſided there, on removing the veſſel they were leſs apt to riſe and mix with the wine, than when contained in bottles; the ſurface at the bottom being ſo much greater in them, and the quantity of wine which they contain ſo much leſs. The wine was drawn from them by a ſyphon, and the opening at the upper part ſo large that they were eaſily cleanſed; and the ſize of the cork, well pitched, was a more effectual defence than our ſmall corks.

In ſuch habitations, where no vaults have been made, or can be conveniently conſtructed, an artificial wine-cellar may be eaſily contrived, which may perhaps more effectually preſerve the wine from the variations of the external air, than the common vaults, which are liable to many defects. Theſe may be prevented, by burying theſe earthen veſſels in cavities made in the ground, exactly adapted to the ſize and form of them, which may be lined with brick, or ſlate; and ſo deep, that the upper part of the veſſel lodged in them be, at leaſt, a foot and a half lower than the ſurface of the ground: the intermediate ſpace might be filled up with dry ſand, over which a leaden cover may be placed, to mark the ſize of the veſſel, and the time when it was buried there.

I am ſenſible that this plan, which I have only ſketched out in a ſuperficial view, is very imperfect, and capable of many improvements, in reſpect to the form and capacity of the veſſels, and the materials of which they are compoſed. The form and ſize of the Amphora may be a proper one, when a great quantity of wine is depoſited in large cellars. A hogſhead of wine may be received into ten veſſels, each of which contains ſomewhat more than two dozen of our quarts; neither would twenty of half their capacity take up any conſiderable ſpace in a vault, or when buried under ground in any convenient ground-floor. Whenever any veſſel is taken up for uſe, it may be ſuſpended on the ſide of the cellar or anti-cellar, and the quantity of wine, which is occaſionally wanted, drawn off by a ſyphon. It was uſual to pour a

ſmall quantity of oil over the wine, eſpecially when the pitched cork was removed, and it was deſigned for immediate uſe; which, ſpreading over its ſurface, preſerved it equally freſh, during the time of drinking it.

Theſe veſſels would be leſs expenſive, and more durable than bottles, and leſs liable to frequent frauds, and a conſiderable waſte of the wine, when decanted from bottles, in which a ſediment had ſubſided. But theſe conſiderations are of another kind: my intention is only to preſerve the wine in a more healthy and firm ſtate.

An Account of ſeveral Trials made on a Boat, or Sloop, fit for inland Navigation, coaſting Voyages, and ſhort Paſſages by Sea, which is not, like ordinary Veſſels, liable to be overſet or ſunk by Winds, Waves, Water-Spouts, or too heavy a Load; contrived and conſtructed by Monſieur Bernieres, *Director of the Bridges and Cauſeways in* France, *&c. &c.*

SOME of theſe trials were made on the firſt of Auguſt of the preſent year, at the gate of the invalids in Paris, in the preſence of the provoſt of the merchants, of the body of the town, and a numerous concourſe of ſpectators of all conditions.

The experiments were made in the way of compariſon with another common boat of the ſame place, and of equal ſize. Both boats had been built ten years, and their exterior forms appeared to be exactly ſimilar. The common boat contained only eight men, who rocked it, and made it incline ſo much to one ſide; that it preſently filled with water, and ſunk; ſo that the men were obliged to ſave themſelves by ſwimming; a thing common in all veſſels of the ſame kind, either from the imprudence of thoſe who are in them, the ſtrength of the waves or wind, a violent or unexpected ſhock, their being overloaded or overpowered in any other way.

The ſame men, who had juſt eſcaped from the boat which ſunk, got into the boat of M. Bernieres, rocked it, and filled it as they had done the other, with water. But, inſtead of ſinking to the bottom, though brim full, it boie being rowed about the river, loaded as it was with men and water, without any danger to the people in it.

M. Bernieres carried the trial ſtill farther. He ordered a maſt to be erected in this ſame boat, when filled with water, and to the top of the maſt had a rope faſtened, and drawn till the end of the maſt touched the ſurface of the river, ſo that the boat was entirely on one ſide, a poſition into which neither winds nor waves could bring her; yet, as ſoon as the men who had hauled her into this ſituation let go the rope, the boat and maſt recovered themſelves perfectly, in leſs than the quarter of a ſecond; a convincing proof, that the boat could neither be ſunk, nor overturned, and that it afforded the greateſt poſſible ſecurity in every way. Theſe experiments appeared to give the greater pleaſure to the public, as the advantages of the diſcovery are not only ſo ſenſible, but of the firſt importance to mankind.

A boat of the ſame ſort had been tried, October 11, 1771, at Choiſy, before Lewis XV. and his preſent majeſty,

majeſty, then Dauphin, &c. to whom M. Bernieres, as much diſtinguiſhed by his diſintereſtedneſs and his virtues as a citizen, as by his inventive genius, referred for the ſatisfactory reſult of the experiments.

In conſequence of the above trials, the provoſt of the merchants, and the corporation of Paris, at their meeting on the 20th of September, gave the Sieur de Bernieres permiſſion to eſtabliſh his boats on the river Seine; at the port near Pont-Royal; and moreover promiſed him all the protection and encouragement in their power. And the Sieur de Bernieres, on his ſide, propoſes to ſupply the public with a certain number of theſe boats before the end of the next year.

The known humanity of the inventor, warrants the pleaſing belief, that this very capital diſcovery will neither be unneceſſarily concealed, nor illiberally reſtricted. It is due to mankind; and we doubt not but that its importance will be enhanced by an early, free, and extenſive communication.

In England eſpecially, where ſo much buſineſs of every kind is tranſacted on the water, we muſt more anxiouſly wiſh to derive from the ingenuity and benevolence of the Sieur Bernieres, a comfortable reſource againſt the many diſtreſsful and dangerous accidents to which we are perpetually expoſed.

The Effects of riffling Gun-barrels, and feathering Arrows, aſcertained, and accounted for, by Mr. Emerſon.——*From that Gentleman's* Miſcellanies, or Miſcellaneous Treatiſes, *lately publiſhed.*

IT is hardly poſſible for a ball to be ſhot out of a gun, without its rubbing againſt one ſide or another of the barrel; and the friction it receives by that means, gives it a whirling motion round an axis, which is always perpendicular to the axis of the barrel, or to the tract of the ball. The conſequence of this is, that one ſide of the ball meets with a greater reſiſtance of the air than the other ſide; and the air acting obliquely againſt that ſide with the greater reſiſtance, will force it to move towards that ſide where is the leaſt reſiſtance; and the quantity of this deviation will be as the difference of the reſiſtance of one ſide above the other. And conſequently the ball will always deflect towards that ſide of the barrel where the friction happened; for that ſide of the ball being retarded in its motion, meets with the leaſt reſiſtance. But it is impoſſible to know beforehand, on which ſide of the barrel the friction will happen. But when the ſhot is over one may nearly determine on which ſide it was. For if the ſhot be over the mark, it is on the upper ſide; if ſhort, on the under one. If on the right or left, it is on the right or left ſide reſpectively. And beſides, this tract of deviation muſt be a curve line. For as this diſturbing force is continual; every ſucceeding part of the tract will deviate (the ſame way) from the former part; which is the nature of a curve line.

I have been long acquainted with this irregular force and its effects, which I found by expe-

rience when I uſed to practice ſhooting; and it preſently occurred to me, that the greater reſiſtance on one ſide of the ball, was the true cauſe of its going out of the line of direction. And to ſatisfy myſelf about it, I ſuſpended a wooden ball loaded with lead, in a ſtring, and tied it to a tree that hung over a river, that it might play freely in the ſtream; and noting the place where it reſted, I then twiſted the ſtring, by turning the globe often about, and putting it into its former place, it reſted but a little while; for as the ſtring began to untwiſt it moved gradually towards the ſide which conſpired with the motion of the water. And being at its furtheſt extent, it reſted till the motion began to diminiſh, and then it came gradually back to its firſt place, and reſted there till the motion of the globe twiſted the ſtring the contrary way; and then it moved to the other ſide. And thus it made ſeveral vibrations to and fro, till the motion was ſpent, and then it reſted in the firſt place. This I ſeveral times repeated.

I alſo tried the ſame in a ſtrong wind, with the like ſucceſs; for the ball always deviated from the plane of the wind's motion towards that hand where it was leaſt reſiſted.

Now to remedy this reflection, one way is, to uſe bullets that are not round, but oblong, ſomething like a ſlug. But then they ought to be turned in a lath or throw; that the fore end may be regular, and all ſides alike; that the air may act equally on all ſides. Such a body as this, ſhot out of a gun, cannot by friction be made to revolve about an axis, and therefore that irregular force and its effect will be prevented.

Another way to prevent this deflection is to make the guns rifle bored; theſe rifled barrels are made with ſeveral threads of a ſcrew running ſpiral ways on the inſide of the barrel; between theſe threads are channels cut in the bore, all which muſt be exactly parallel to one another, and make about one revolution in the length of the barrel, going uniformly about. The number of theſe threads are different, according to the wideneſs of the barrel.

There are different methods of charging theſe pieces: one is this. After the powder is put in, they take a bullet ſomething bigger than the bore of the gun, and greaſe it well, and putting it into the mouth of the piece, they ram it down with an iron rammer, hollow at the end; in ramming down the bullet, the ſpiral threads enter and cut into the bullet, and cauſe it to turn round in going down, and being ſhot out, it follows the ſame direction of the rifles; which cauſes it to turn round an axis parallel to the gun's bore.

Another way is to charge them at the breech, where there is a hole to put in the powder and ball, and then a ſcrew ſcrews in to fill up the hole. But ſome barrels ſcrew off at the breech, to be charged. Theſe guns are made ſtronger at the breech than common; and it is plain they can only be uſed for lead bullets, for iron will receive no impreſſion.

And thus a bullet ſhot out of a rifled barrel, beſides its direct motion, gains a motion round the axis of the gun, by which the reſiſtance on the foreſide of the bullet will be the ſame on all ſides; for if it ſhould be greater on one

part than another; that part, by the circular motion, is preſently transferred to the oppoſite ſide, and then it acts the contrary way; and ſuch irregularities rectify one another; ſo that the ball will always go right forwards.

This may be explained by the motion of an arrow; for if an arrow that is not feathered, be ſhot from a bow, its motion will be very irregular; for if it be the leaſt crooked imaginable, it will move towards that hand where the concave ſide lies. But when it is feathered truly, to give it a circular motion and make it ſpin, the concave part is turned every way, ſo that it will always fly ſtraight forward. See Exam. 36th Fig. 220, of my Mechanics, 4to.

But in your common guns that are not rifled, I know no way to prevent that deflection, but to poliſh the inſide of the barrel, and oil the bullet when it is charged; for by this means the friction within the barrel will be made as ſmall as poſſible; except you chuſe to ſhoot with an oblong bullet as before-mentioned.

An eaſy and effectual Remedy *for the* Head-ach, *and alleviative for the* Aſthma. *From Dr.* Percival's Philoſophical, Medical, *and* Experimental Eſſays, *lately publiſhed.*

ON the 19th of October 1774, a phyſician, the Doctor tells us, was affected with a ſevere head-ach in conſequence of having been diſturbed in the night. At two o'clock in the afternoon he took eighteen drops of laudanum, and immediately afterwards, three diſhes of very ſtrong coffee. He lay down upon the bed, and endeavoured to compoſe himſelf to ſleep. His pain abated in half an hour; and in an hour was entirely removed: but he felt not the leaſt diſpoſition to ſleep, although he is often drowſy after dinner, and ſometimes indulges himſelf in ſleeping at that time.

November 1ſt, he repeated, on a ſimilar occaſion, the uſe of laudanum and coffee in the like quantity as before. The effects were preciſely the ſame; eaſe from pain, but no diſpoſition to ſleep.

Nov. 16th, he took eighteen drops of laudanum when under the head-ach, but without coffee. The opiate compoſed him to ſleep in an hour; but did not entirely remove the pain in his head. Theſe facts confirm a remark which Dr. Percival made in a former volume, that coffee is taken in large quantities, with peculiar propriety, by the Turks and Arabians, becauſe it counteracts the narcotic effects of opium, to the uſe of which theſe nations are much addicted.

The Doctor then informs us, that having learned, by a letter from Sir John Pringle, that an ounce of the beſt Mocco coffee, newly burnt, made immediately after grinding it, and taken in one diſh, without milk or ſugar, is the beſt abater of the paroxyſms of the periodic aſthma; and that Sir John Floyer, during the latter part of his life, after the publication of his book on the aſthma, had contrived to preſerve himſelf from, or at leaſt live eaſy under that diſorder by the uſe of ſtrong coffee; he had frequently directed coffee in the aſthma with great ſucceſs. The diſh may be repeated after the interval of a quarter or half an hour.

ANTIQUITIES.

General State of the Roman *Empire, in the Height of its Proſperity, with regard to the Number and greatneſs of its Cities, and the eaſy Communication between them by Sea and Land. From* The Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, *by* Edward Gibbon, *Eſq*;

WE have computed the inhabitants, and contemplated the public works, of the Roman empire. The obſervation of the number and greatneſs of its cities will ſerve to confirm the former, and to multiply the latter. It may not be unpleaſing to collect a few ſcattered inſtances relative to that ſubject, without forgetting, however, that from the vanity of nations, and the poverty of language, the vague appellation of city has been indifferently beſtowed on Rome and upon Laurentum. *Ancient* Italy is ſaid to have contained eleven hundred and ninety-ſeven cities; and for whatſoever æra of antiquity the expreſſion might be intended, there is not any reaſon to believe the country leſs populous in the age of the Antonines, than in that of Romulus. The petty ſtates of Latium were contained within the metropolis of the empire, by whoſe ſuperior influence they had been attracted. Thoſe parts of Italy which have ſo long languiſhed under the lazy tyranny of prieſts and viceroys, had been afflicted only by the more tolerable calamities of war; and the firſt ſymptoms of decay, which *they* experienced, were amply compenſated by the rapid improvements of the Ciſalpine Gaul. The ſplendor of Verona may be traced in its remains; yet Verona was leſs celebrated than Aquileia or Padua, Milan or Ravenna. II. The ſpirit of improvement had paſſed the Alps, and been felt even in the woods of Britain. York was the ſeat of government, and London was already enriched by commerce. Gaul could boaſt of her twelve hundred cities; and though, in the northern parts, many of them, without excepting Paris itſelf, were little more than the rude and imperfect townſhips of a riſing people; the ſouthern provinces imitated the wealth and elegance of Italy. Many were the cities of Gaul, Marſeilles, Arles, Niſmes, Narbonne, Thouloufe, Bourdeaux, Autun, Vienna, Lyons, Langres, and Treves, whoſe ancient condition might ſuſtain an equal, and perhaps advantageous compariſon with their preſent ſtate. With regard to Spain, that country flouriſhed

riſhed as a province, and has declined as a kingdom. Exhauſted by the abuſe of her ſtrength, by America, and by ſuperſtition, her pride might poſſibly be confounded, if we required ſuch a liſt of three hundred and ſixty cities, as Pliny has exhibited under the reign of Veſpaſian. III. Three hundred African cities had once acknowledged the authority of Carthage, nor is it likely that their numbers diminiſhed under the adminiſtration of the emperors: Carthage itſelf roſe with new ſplendor from its aſhes; and that capital, as well as Capua and Corinth, ſoon recovered all the advantages which can be ſeparated from independent ſovereignty. IV. The provinces of the eaſt preſent the contraſt of Roman magnificence with Turkiſh barbariſm. The ruins of antiquity ſcattered over uncultivated fields, and aſcribed, by ignorance, to the power of magic, ſcarcely afford a ſhelter to the oppreſſed peaſant or wandering Arab. Under the reign of the Cæſars, the proper Aſia alone contained five hundred populous cities, enriched with all the gifts of nature, and adorned with all the refinements of art. Eleven cities of Aſia, had once diſputed the honour of dedicating a temple to Tiberius, and their reſpective merits were examined by the ſenate. Four of them were immediately rejected as unequal to the burden; and among theſe was Laodicea, whoſe ſplendor is ſtill diſplayed in its ruins. Laodicea collected a very conſiderable revenue from its flocks of ſheep, celebrated for the fineneſs of their wool, and had received, a little before the conteſt, a legacy of above four hundred thouſand pounds by the teſtament of a generous citizen. If ſuch was the poverty of Laodicea, what muſt have been the wealth of thoſe cities, whoſe claim appeared preferable, and particularly of Pergamus, of Smyrna, and of Epheſus, who ſo long diſputed with each other the titular primacy of Aſia. The capitals of Syria and Egypt held a ſtill ſuperior rank in the empire: Antioch and Alexandria looked down with diſdain on a crowd of dependent cities, and yielded, with reluctance, to the majeſty of Rome itſelf.

All theſe cities were connected with each other, and with the capital by the public highways, which iſſuing from the Forum of Rome, traverſed Italy, pervaded the provinces, and were terminated only by the frontiers of the empire. If we carefully trace the diſtance from the wall of Antoninus to Rome, and from thence to Jeruſalem, it will be found that the great chain of communication, from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt point of the empire, was drawn out to the length of four thouſand and eighty Roman miles *. The public roads were accurately divided by mile-ſtones, and ran in a direct line from one city to another, with very

* The following Itinerary may ſerve to convey ſome idea of the direction of the road, and of the diſtance between the principal towns. I. From the wall of Antoninus to York 222 Roman miles. II. London 227. III. Rhutupiæ or Sandwich 67. IV. The navigation to Boulogne 45. V. Rheims 174. VI. Lyons 330. VII. Milan 324. VIII. Rome 426. IX. Brunduſium 360. X. The

very little reſpect for the obſtacles either of nature or private property. Mountains were perforated, and bold arches thrown over the broadeſt and moſt rapid ſtreams. The middle part of the road was raiſed into a terrace which commanded the adjacent country, conſiſted of ſeveral ſtrata of ſand, gravel, and cement, and was paved with large ſtones, or in ſome places, near the capital, with granite. Such was the ſolid conſtruction of the Roman Highways, whoſe firmneſs has not entirely yielded to the effort of fifteen centuries. They united the ſubjects of the moſt diſtant provinces by an eaſy and familiar intercourſe; but their primary object had been to facilitate the marches of the legions; nor was any country conſidered as completely ſubdued, till it had been rendered, in all its parts, pervious to the arms and authority of the conqueror. The advantage of receiving the earlieſt intelligence, and of conveying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to eſtabliſh throughout their extenſive dominions, the regular inſtitution of poſts. Houſes were every where erected at the diſtance only of five or ſix miles; each of them was conſtantly provided with forty horſes, and by the help of theſe relays, it was eaſy to travel an hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads *. The uſe of the poſts was allowed to thoſe who claimed it by an imperial mandate; but though originally intended for the public ſervice, it was ſometimes indulged to the buſineſs or conveniency of private citizens †. Nor was the communication of the Roman empire leſs free and open by ſea than it was by land. The provinces ſurrounded and encloſed the Mediterranean; and Italy, in the ſhape of an immenſe promontory, advanced into the midſt of that great lake. The coaſts of Italy are, in general, deſtitute of ſafe harbours; but human induſtry had corrected the deficiencies of nature; and the artificial port of Oſtia, in particular, ſituate at the mouth of the Tyber, and formed by the emperor Claudius, was a uſeful monument of Roman greatneſs. From this port, which was only ſixteen miles from the capital, a favourable breeze frequently carried veſſels in ſeven days to the columns of Hercules, and in nine or ten to Alexandria in Egypt.

X. The navigation to Dyrrachium 40. XI. Byzantium 711. XII. Ancyra 283. XIII. Tarſus 301. XIV. Antioch 141. XV. Tyre 252. XVI. Jeruſalem 168. In all 4080 Roman, or 3740 Engliſh miles. See the Itineraries publiſhed by Weſſeling, his annotations: Gale and Stukeley for Britain, and M. Danville for Gaul and Italy.

* In the time of Theodoſius, Cæſarius a magiſtrate of high rank went poſt from Antioch to Conſtantinople. He began his journey at night, was in Cappadocia (165 miles from Antioch) the enſuing evening, and arrived at Conſtantinople the ſixth day about noon. The whole diſtance was 725 Roman, or 665 Engliſh miles. See Libanius Orat. xxii. and the Itineraria, p. 572—581.

† Pliny, though a favourite and a miniſter, made an apology for granting poſt horſes to his wife on the moſt urgent buſineſs. Epiſt. x. 121, 122.

A ge-

A general Review of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Amount of the Roman *Revenues.—From* The Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, *by* Edward Gibbon, *Eſq*;

THE ſiege of Veii in Tuſcany, the firſt conſiderable enterpriſe of the Romans, was protracted to the tenth year, much leſs by the ſtrength of the place than by the unſkilfulneſs of the beſiegers. The unaccuſtomed hardſhips of ſo many winter campaigns, at the diſtance of near twenty miles from home, required more than common encouragements; and the ſenate wiſely prevented the clamours of the people, by the inſtitution of a regular pay for the ſoldiers, which was levied by a general tribute, aſſeſſed according to an equitable proportion on the property of the citizens *. During more than two hundred years after the conqueſt of Veii, the victories of the republic added leſs to the wealth than to the power of Rome. The ſtates of Italy paid their tribute in military ſervice only, and the vaſt force both by ſea and land, which was exerted in the Punic wars, was maintained at the expence of the Romans themſelves. That high-ſpirited people (ſuch is often the generous enthuſiaſm of freedom) cheerfully ſubmitted to the moſt exceſſive but voluntary burdens, in the juſt confidence that they ſhould ſpeedily enjoy the rich harveſt of their labours. Their expectations were not diſappointed. In the courſe of a few years, the riches of Syracuſe, of Carthage, of Macedonia, and of Aſia, were brought in triumph to Rome. The treaſures of Perſeus alone amounted to near two millions ſterling, and the Roman people, the ſovereign of ſo many nations, was for ever delivered from the weight of taxes. The increaſing revenue of the provinces was found ſufficient to defray the ordinary eſtabliſhment of war and government, and the ſuperfluous maſs of gold and ſilver was depoſited in the temple of Saturn, and reſerved for any unforeſeen emergency of the ſtate †.

Hiſtory has never perhaps ſuffered a greater or more irreparable injury, than in the loſs of that curious regiſter bequeathed by Auguſtus to the ſenate, in which that experienced prince ſo accurately balanced the revenues and expences of the Roman empire. Deprived of this clear and comprehenſive eſtimate, we are reduced to collect a few imperfect hints from ſuch of the antients as have accidentally turned aſide from the ſplendid to the more uſeful parts of hiſtory. We are informed, that, by the conqueſts of Pompey, the tributes of Aſia were raiſed from fifty to one hundred and thirty-five millions of drachms; or about four millions and a half ſterling. Under the laſt and moſt indolent of the Ptolomies, the revenue of Egypt is ſaid to have amounted to twelve thouſand five hundred talents; a ſum equivalent to more than two millions and a half of our money,

* See the 4th and 5th books of Livy. In the Roman Cenſus, property, power and taxation, were commenſurate with each other.

† See a fine deſcription of this accumulated wealth of ages, in Lucan's Pharſalia, l. iii. v. 155. &c.

but

but which was afterwards conſiderably improved by the more exact œconomy of the Romans, and the increaſe of the trade of Æthiopia and India. Gaul was enriched by rapine, as Egypt was by commerce, and the tributes of thoſe two great provinces have been compared as nearly equal to each other in value. The ten thouſand Euboic or Phœnician talents, about four millions ſterling, which vanquiſhed Carthage was condemned to pay within the term of fifty years, were a ſlight acknowledgment of the ſuperiority of Rome, and cannot bear the leaſt proportion with the taxes afterwards raiſed both on the lands and on the perſons of the inhabitants, when the fertile coaſt of Africa was reduced into a province.

Spain, by a very ſingular fatality, was the Peru and Mexico of the old world. The diſcovery of the rich weſtern continent by the Phœnicians, and the oppreſſion of the ſimple natives, who were compelled to labour in their own mines for the benefit of ſtrangers, form an exact type of the more recent hiſtory of Spaniſh America. The Phœnicians were acquainted only with the ſea-coaſt of Spain; avarice, as well as ambition, carried the arms of Rome and Carthage into the heart of the country, and almoſt every part of the ſoil was found pregnant with copper, ſilver, and gold. Mention is made of a mine near Carthagena which yielded every day twenty-five thouſand drachms of ſilver, or about three hundred thouſand pounds a year. Twenty thouſand pound weight of gold was annually received from the provinces of Aſturia, Gallicia, and Luſitania.

We want both leiſure and materials to purſue this curious inquiry through the many potent ſtates that were annihilated in the Roman empire. Some notion, however, may be formed of the revenue of the provinces where conſiderable wealth had been depoſited by nature, or collected by man, if we obſerve the ſevere attention that was directed to the abodes of ſolitude and ſterility. Auguſtus once received a petition from the inhabitants of Gyarus, humbly praying that they might be relieved from one third of their exceſſive impoſitions. Their whole tax amounted indeed to no more than one hundred and fifty drachms, or about five pounds: but Gyarus was a little iſland, or rather a rock, of the Ægean ſea, deſtitute of freſh water and every neceſſary of life, and inhabited only by a few wretched fiſhermen.

From the faint glimmerings of ſuch doubtful and ſcattered lights, we ſhould be inclined to believe, 1ſt, That (with every fair allowance for the difference of times and circumſtances) the general income of the Roman provinces could ſeldom amount to leſs than fifteen or twenty millions of our money; and, 2dly, That ſo ample a revenue muſt have been fully adequate to all the expences of the moderate government inſtituted by Auguſtus, whoſe court was the modeſt family of a private ſenator, and whoſe military eſtabliſhment was calculated for the defence of the frontiers, without any aſpiring views of conqueſt, or any ſerious apprehenſion of a foreign invaſion.

Notwithſtanding the ſeeming probability of both theſe concluſions, the latter of them at leaſt is poſitively

positively disowned by the language and conduct of Augustus. It is not easy to determine whether, on this occasion, he acted as the common father of the Roman world, or as the oppressor of liberty; whether he wished to relieve the provinces, or to impoverish the senate and the equestrian order. But no sooner had he assumed the reins of government, than he frequently intimated the insufficiency of the tributes, and the necessity of throwing an equitable proportion of the public burden upon Rome and Italy. In the prosecution of this unpopular design, he advanced, however, by cautious and well-weighed steps. The introduction of customs was followed by the establishment of an excise, and the scheme of taxation was completed by an artful assessment on the real and personal property of the Roman citizens, who had been exempted from any kind of contribution above a century and a half.

I. In a great empire like that of Rome, a natural balance of money must have gradually established itself. It has been already observed, that as the wealth of the provinces was attracted to the capital by the strong hand of conquest and power; so a considerable part of it was restored to the industrious provinces by the gentle influence of commerce and arts. In the reign of Augustus and his successors, duties were imposed on every kind of merchandise, which through a thousand channels flowed to the great centre of opulence and luxury; and in whatsoever manner the law was expressed, it was the Roman purchaser, and not the provincial merchant, who paid the tax. The rate of the customs varied from the eighth to the fortieth part of the value of the commodity; and we have a right to suppose, that the variation was directed by the unalterable maxims of policy: that a higher duty was fixed on the articles of luxury than on those of necessity, and that the productions raised or manufactured by the labour of the subjects of the empire, were treated with more indulgence than was shewn to the pernicious, or at least the unpopular, commerce of Arabia and India*. There is still extant a long but imperfect catalogue of eastern commodities, which about the time of Alexander Severus were subject to the payment of duties; cinnamon, myrrh, pepper, ginger, and the whole tribe of aromatics, a great variety of precious stones, among which the diamond was the most remarkable for its price, and the emerald for its beauty †: Parthian and Babylonian leather, cottons, silks, both raw and manufactured, ebony, ivory, and eunuchs. We may observe, that the use and value of those effeminate slaves gradually rose with the decline of the empire.

II. The excise, introduced by Augustus after the civil wars, was extremely moderate, but it was general. It seldom exceeded one *per*

* See Pliny (Hist. Natur. l. vi. c. 23. l. xii. c. 18.). His observations, that the Indian commodities were sold at Rome at a hundred times their original price, may give us some notion of the produce of the customs, since that original price amounted to more than eight hundred thousand pounds.

† The ancients were unacquainted with the art of cutting diamonds.

cent.; but it comprehended whatever was ſold in the markets or by public auction, from the moſt conſiderable purchaſes of lands and houſes, to thoſe minute objects which can only derive a value from their infinite multitude and daily conſumption. Such a tax, as it affects the body of the people, has ever been the occaſion of clamour and diſcontent. An emperor well acquainted with the wants and reſources of the ſtate, was obliged to declare by a public edict, that the ſupport of the army depended in a great meaſure on the produce of the exciſe.

III. When Auguſtus reſolved to eſtabliſh a permanent military force for the defence of his government againſt foreign and domeſtic enemies, he inſtituted a peculiar treaſury for the pay of the ſoldiers, the rewards of the veterans, and the extraordinary expences of war. The ample revenue of the exciſe, though peculiarly appropriated to thoſe uſes, was found inadequate. To ſupply the deficiency, the emperor ſuggeſted a new tax of five *per cent.* on all legacies and inheritances. But the nobles of Rome were more tenacious of property than of freedom. Their indignant murmurs were received by Auguſtus with his uſual temper. He candidly referred the whole buſineſs to the ſenate, and exhorted them to provide for the public ſervice by ſome other expedient of a leſs odious nature. They were divided and perplexed. He inſinuated to them, that their obſtinacy would oblige him to *propoſe* a general land-tax and capitation. They acquieſced in ſilence. The new impoſition on legacies and inheritances was however mitigated by ſome reſtrictions. It did not take place unleſs the object was of a certain value, moſt probably of fifty or an hundred pieces of gold; nor could it be exacted from the neareſt of kin on the father's ſide *. When the rights of nature and poverty were thus ſecured, it ſeemed reaſonable, that a ſtranger, or a diſtant relation, who acquired an unexpected acceſſion of fortune, ſhould cheerfully reſign a twentieth part of it for the benefit of the ſtate.

Such a tax, plentiful as it muſt prove in every wealthy community, was moſt happily ſuited to the ſituation of the Romans, who could frame their arbitrary wills, according to the dictates of reaſon or caprice, without any reſtraint from the modern fetters of entails and ſettlements. From various cauſes the partiality of paternal affection often loſt its influence over the ſtern patriots of the commonwealth, and the diſſolute nobles of the empire; and if the father bequeathed to his ſon the fourth part of his eſtate, he removed all ground of legal complaint. But a rich childleſs old man was a domeſtic tyrant, and his power increaſed with his years and infirmities. A ſervile crowd, in which he frequently reckoned prætors and conſuls, courted his ſmiles, pampered his avarice, applauded his follies, ſerved his paſſions, and waited with impatience for his death. The arts

* As the Roman law ſubſiſted for many ages, the *Cognati*, or relations on the mother's ſide, were not called to the ſucceſſion. This harſh inſtitution was gradually undermined by humanity, and finally aboliſhed by Juſtinian.

of

of attendance and flattery were formed into a moſt lucrative ſcience, thoſe who profeſſed it acquired a peculiar appellation; and the whole city, according to the lively deſcriptions of ſatire, was divided between two parties, the hunters and their game. Yet, while ſo many unjuſt and extravagant wills were every day dictated by cunning, and ſubſcribed by folly, a few were the reſult of rational eſteem and virtuous gratitude. Cicero, who had ſo often defended the lives and fortunes of his fellow-citizens, was rewarded with legacies to the amount of an hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds; nor do the friends of the younger Pliny ſeem to have been leſs generous to that amiable orator*. Whatever was the motive of the teſtator, the treaſury claimed, without diſtinction, the twentieth part of his eſtate; and in the courſe of two or three generations, the whole property of the ſubject muſt have gradually paſſed through the coffers of the ſtate.

In the firſt and golden years of the reign of Nero, that prince, from a deſire of popularity, and perhaps from a blind impulſe of benevolence, conceived a wiſh of aboliſhing the oppreſſion of the cuſtoms and exciſe. The wiſeſt ſenators applauded his magnanimity; but they diverted him from the execution of a deſign, which would have diſſolved the ſtrength and reſources of the republic. Had it indeed been poſſible to realize this dream of fancy, ſuch princes as Trajan and the Antonines would ſurely have embraced with ardour the glorious opportunity of conferring ſo ſignal an obligation on mankind. Satisfied, however, with alleviating the public burden, they attempted not to remove it. The mildneſs and preciſion of their laws aſcertained the rule and meaſure of taxation, and protected the ſubject of every rank againſt arbitrary interpretations, antiquated claims, and the inſolent vexation of the farmers of the revenue. For it is ſomewhat ſingular, that, in every age, the beſt and wiſeſt of the Roman governors perſevered in this pernicious method of collecting the principal branches at leaſt of the exciſe and cuſtoms †.

The ſentiments, and, indeed, the ſituation of Caracalla, were very different from thoſe of the Antonines. Inattentive, or rather averſe to the welfare of his people, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of gratifying the inſatiate avarice, which he had excited in the army. Of the ſeveral impoſitions introduced by Auguſtus, the twentieth on inheritances and legacies was the moſt fruitful, as well as the moſt comprehenſive. As its influence was not confined to Rome or Italy, the produce continually increaſed with the gradual extenſion of the *Roman City*. The new citizens, though charged, on equal terms, with the payment of new taxes, which had not

* See his epiſtles. Every ſuch will gave him an occaſion of diſplaying his reverence to the dead, and his juſtice to the living. He reconciled both, in his behaviour to a ſon who had been diſinherited by his mother (v. 1.)

† The tributes (properly ſo called) were not farmed; ſince the good princes often remitted many millions of arrears.

affected

affected them as ſubjects, derived an ample compenſation from the rank they obtained, the privileges they acquired, and the fair proſpect of honours and fortune that was thrown open to their ambition. But the favour, which implied a diſtinction, was loſt in the prodigality of Caracalla, and the reluctant provincials were compelled to aſſume the vain title, and the real obligations, of Roman citizens. Nor was the rapacious ſon of Severus contented with ſuch a meaſure of taxation, as had appeared ſufficient to his moderate predeceſſors. Inſtead of a twentieth, he exacted a tenth of all legacies and inheritances; and during his reign (for the ancient proportion was reſtored after his death) he cruſhed alike every part of the empire under the weight of his iron ſceptre.

When all the provincials became liable to the peculiar impoſitions of Roman citizens, they ſeemed to acquire a legal exemption from the tributes which they had paid in their former condition of ſubjects. Such were not the maxims of government adopted by Caracalla and his pretended ſon. The old as well as the new taxes were, at the ſame time, levied in the provinces. It was reſerved for the virtue of Alexander to relieve them in a great meaſure from this intolerable grievance, by reducing the tributes to a thirtieth part of the ſum exacted at the time of his acceſſion. It is impoſſible to conjecture the motive that engaged him to ſpare ſo trifling a remnant of the public evil; but the noxious weed, which had not been totally eradicated, again ſprang up with the moſt luxuriant growth, and in the ſucceeding age darkened the Roman world with its deadly ſhade. In the courſe of this hiſtory, we ſhall be too often ſummoned to explain the land tax, the capitation, and the heavy contributions of corn, wine, oil, and meat, which were exacted from the provinces, for the uſe of the court, the army, and the capital.

An Account of the Fall *of* Palmyra *under* Zenobia; *and of that accompliſhed Princeſs herſelf, and her Secretary, the learned and ſublime* Longinus. *From the* Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, *by* Edward Gibbon, *Eſq*;

AURELIAN had no ſooner ſecured the perſon and provinces of Tetricus, than he turned his arms againſt Zenobia, the celebrated queen of Palmyra and the Eaſt. Modern Europe has produced ſeveral illuſtrious women who have ſuſtained with glory the weight of empire; nor is our own age deſtitute of ſuch diſtinguiſhed characters. But Zenobia is perhaps the only female, whoſe ſuperior genius broke through the ſervile indolence impoſed on her ſex by the climate and manners of Aſia. She claimed her deſcent from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, equalled in beauty her anceſtor Cleopatra, and far ſurpaſſed that princeſs in chaſtity * and va-

* She never admitted her huſband's embraces but for the ſake of poſterity. If her hopes were baffled, in the enſuing month ſhe reiterated the experiment.

lour.

lour. Zenobia was eſteemed the moſt lovely as well as the moſt heroic of her ſex. She was of a dark complexion (for in ſpeaking of a lady, theſe trifles become important). Her teeth were of a pearly whiteneſs, and her large black eyes ſparkled with uncommon fire, tempered by the moſt attractive ſweetneſs. Her voice was ſtrong and harmonious. Her manly underſtanding was ſtrengthened and adorned by ſtudy. She was not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but poſſeſſed in equal perfection the Greek, the Syriac, and the Egyptian languages. She had drawn up for her own uſe an epitome of oriental hiſtory, and familiarly compared the beauties of Homer and Plato under the tuition of the ſublime Longinus.

This accompliſhed woman gave her hand to Odenathus, who from a private ſtation raiſed himſelf to the dominion of the Eaſt. She ſoon became the friend and companion of a hero. In the intervals of war, Odenathus paſſionately delighted in the exerciſe of hunting; he purſued with ardour the wild beaſts of the deſert, lions, panthers, and bears; and the ardour of Zenobia in that dangerous amuſement was not inferior to his own. She had inured her conſtitution to fatigue, diſdained the uſe of a covered carriage, generally appeared on horſeback in a military habit, and ſometimes marched ſeveral miles on foot at the head of the troops. The ſucceſs of Odenathus was in a great meaſure aſcribed to her incomparable prudence and fortitude. Their ſplendid victories over the Great King, whom they twice purſued as far as the gates of Cteſiphon, laid the foundations of their united fame and power. The armies which they commanded, and the provinces which they had ſaved, acknowledged not any other ſovereigns than their invincible chiefs. The ſenate and people of Rome revered a ſtranger who had avenged their captive emperor, and even the inſenſible ſon of Valerian accepted Odenahtus for his legitimate colleague.

After a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Gothic plunderers of Aſia, the Palmyrenian prince returned to the city of Emeſa in Syria. Invincible in war, he was there cut off by domeſtic treaſon, and his favourite amuſement of hunting was the cauſe, or at leaſt the occaſion, of his death. His nephew, Mæonius, preſumed to dart his javelin before that of his uncle; and though admoniſhed of his error, repeated the ſame inſolence. As a monarch and as a ſportſman, Odenathus was provoked: took away his horſe, a mark of ignominy among the barbarians, and chaſtiſed the raſh youth by a ſhort confinement. The offence was ſoon forgot, but the puniſhment was remembered; and Mæonius, with a few daring aſſociates, aſſaſſinated his uncle in the midſt of a great entertainment. Herod, the ſon of Odenathus, though not of Zenobia, a young man of a ſoft and effeminate temper *, was killed with his father. But Mæonius obtained only the pleaſure of revenge by this bloody deed. He

* Odenathus and Zenobia, often ſent him from the ſpoils of the enemy, preſents of gems and toys, which he received with infinite delight.

had

had ſcarcely time to aſſume the title of Auguſtus, before he was ſacrificed by Zenobia to the memory of her huſband *.

With the aſſiſtance of his moſt faithful friends, ſhe immediately filled the vacant throne, and governed with manly counſels Palmyra, Syria, and the Eaſt, above five years. By the death of Odenathus, that authority was at an end which the ſenate had granted him only as a perſonal diſtinction; but his martial widow, diſdaining both the ſenate and Gallienus, obliged one of the Roman generals, who was ſent againſt her, to retreat into Europe, with the loſs of his army and his reputation. Inſtead of the little paſſions which ſo frequently perplex a female reign, the ſteady adminiſtration of Zenobia was guided by the moſt judicious maxims of policy. If it was expedient to pardon, ſhe could calm her reſentment: if it was neceſſary to puniſh, ſhe could impoſe ſilence on the voice of pity. Her ſtrict œconomy was accuſed of avarice; yet on every proper occaſion ſhe appeared magnificent and liberal. The neighbouring ſtates of Arabia, Armenia, and Perſia, dreaded her enmity, and ſolicited her alliance. To the dominions of Odenathus, which extended from the Euphrates to the frontiers of Bithynia, his widow added the inheritance of her anceſtors, the populous and fertile kingdom of Egypt. The Emperor Claudius acknowledged her merit, and was content, that, while *he* purſued the Gothic war, *ſhe* ſhould aſſert the dignity of the empire in the Eaſt. The conduct, however, of Zenobia, was attended with ſome ambiguity; nor is it unlikely that ſhe had conceived the deſign of erecting an independent and hoſtile monarchy. She blended with the popular manners of Roman princes the ſtately pomp of the courts of Aſia, and exacted from her ſubjects the ſame adoration that was paid to the ſucceſſors of Cyrus. She beſtowed on her three ſons a Latin education, and often ſhewed them to the troops adorned with the imperial purple. For herſelf ſhe reſerved the diadem, with the ſplendid but doubtful title of Queen of the Eaſt.

When Aurelian paſſed over into Aſia, againſt an adverſary whoſe ſex alone could render her an object of contempt, his preſence reſtored obedience to the province of Bithynia, already ſhaken by the arms and intrigues of Zenobia. Advancing at the head of his legions, he accepted the ſubmiſſion of Ancyra, and was admitted into Tyana after an obſtinate ſiege by the help of a perfidious citizen. The generous though fierce temper of Aurelian abandoned the traitor to the rage of the ſoldiers: a ſuperſtitious reverence induced him to treat with lenity the countrymen of Apollonius the philoſopher. Antioch was deſerted on his approach, till the emperor, by his ſalutary edicts, recalled the fugitives, and granted a general pardon to all who, from neceſſity rather than choice, had been engaged in the ſervice of the Palmyrenian queen. The unexpected mildneſs of ſuch a conduct recon-

* Some very unjuſt ſuſpicions have been caſt on Zenobia, as if ſhe was acceſſary to her huſband's death.

ciled

ciled the minds of the Syrians, and, as far as the gates of Emeſa, the wiſhes of the people ſeconded the terror of his arms.

Zenobia would have ill deſerved her reputation, had ſhe indolently permitted the emperor of the Weſt to approach within an hundred miles of her capital. The fate of the Eaſt was decided in two great battles; ſo ſimilar in almoſt every circumſtance, that we can ſcarcely diſtinguiſh them from each other, except by obſerving that the firſt was fought near Antioch, and the ſecond near Emeſa. In both, the queen of Palmyra animated the armies by her preſence, and devolved the execution of her orders on Zabdas, who had already ſignalized his military talents by the conqueſt of Egypt. The numerous forces of Zenobia, conſiſted for the moſt part of light archers, and of heavy cavalry clothed in complete ſteel. The Mooriſh and Illyrian horſe of Aurelian were unable to ſuſtain the ponderous charge of their antagoniſts. They fled in real or affected diſorder, engaged the Palmyrenians in a laborious purſuit, haraſſed them by a deſultory combat, and at length diſcomfited this impenetrable but unwieldy body of cavalry. The light infantry, in the mean time, when they had exhauſted their quivers, remaining without protection againſt a cloſer onſet, expoſed their naked ſides to the ſwords of the legions. Aurelian had choſen theſe veteran troops, who were uſually ſtationed on the Upper Danube, and whoſe valour had been ſeverely tried in the Allemannic war. After the defeat of Emeſa, Zenobia found it impoſſible to collect a third army. As far as the frontier of Egypt, the nations ſubject to her empire had joined the ſtandard of the conqueror, who detached Probus the braveſt of his generals to poſſeſs himſelf of the Egyptian provinces. Palmyra was the laſt reſource of the widow of Odenathus. She retired within the walls of her capital, made every preparation for a vigorous reſiſtance, and declared with the intrepidity of a heroine, that the laſt moment of her reign and of her life ſhould be the ſame.

Amid the barren deſerts of Arabia, a few cultivated ſpots riſe like iſlands out of the ſandy ocean. Even the name of Tadmor, or Palmyra, by its ſignification in the Syriac as well as in the Latin language, denoted the multitude of palm trees which afforded ſhade and verdure to that temperate region. The air was pure, and the ſoil, watered by ſome invaluable ſprings, was capable of producing fruits as well as corn. A place poſſeſſed of ſuch ſingular advantages, and ſituated at a convenient diſtance *, between the gulph of Perſia and the Mediterranean, was ſoon frequented by the caravans which conveyed to the nations of Europe a conſiderable part of the rich commodities of India. Palmyra inſenſibly increaſed into an opulent and independent city, and

* It was five hundred and thirty-ſeven miles from Seleucia, and two hundred and three from the neareſt coaſt of Syria, according to the reckoning of Pliny, who, in a few words, (Hiſt. Natur. v. 21) gives an excellent deſcription of Palmyra.

connecting the Roman and the Parthian monarchies by the mutual benefits of commerce, was ſuffered to obſerve an humble neutrality, till at length, after the victories of Trajan, the little republic ſunk into the boſom of Rome, and flouriſhed more than one hundred and fifty years in the ſubordinate though honourable rank of a colony. It was during that peaceful period, if we may judge from a few remaining inſcriptions, that the wealthy Palmyrenians conſtructed thoſe temples, palaces, and porticos of Grecian architecture, whoſe ruins, ſcattered over an extent of ſeveral miles, have deſerved the curioſity of our travellers. The elevation of Odenathus and Zenobia appeared to reflect new ſplendour on their country, and Palmyra, for a while, ſtood forth the rival of Rome: but the competition was fatal, and ages of proſperity were ſacrificed to a moment of glory *.

In his march over the ſandy deſert, between Emeſa and Palmyra, the Emperor Aurelian was perpetually haraſſed by the Arabs; nor could he always defend his army, and eſpecially his baggage, from thoſe flying troops, of active and daring robbers, who watched the moment of ſurpriſe, and directed the ſlow purſuit of the legions. The ſiege of Palmyra was an object far more difficult and important, and the emperor, who with inceſſant vigour preſſed the attacks in perſon, was himſelf wounded with a dart. "The Roman people," ſays Aurelian, in an original letter, "ſpeak with contempt of the war which I am waging againſt a woman. They are ignorant both of the character and of the power of Zenobia. It is impoſſible to enumerate her warlike preparations, of ſtones, of arrows, and of every ſpecies of miſſile weapons. Every part of the walls is provided with two or three *baliſtæ*, and artificial fires are thrown from her military engines. The fear of puniſhment has armed her with a deſperate courage. Yet I truſt ſtill in the protecting deities of Rome, who have hitherto been favourable to all my undertakings." Doubtful, however, of the protection of the gods, and of the event of the ſiege, Aurelian judged it more prudent to offer terms of an advantageous capitulation: to the queen, a ſplendid retreat; to the citizens, their ancient privileges. His propoſals were obſtinately rejected, and the refuſal was accompanied with inſult.

The firmneſs of Zenobia was ſupported by the hope, that in a very ſhort time famine would compel the Roman army to repaſs the deſert; and by the reaſonable expectation that the kings of the Eaſt, and particularly the Perſian monarch, would arm in the defence of their moſt natural ally. But fortune and the perſeverance of Aurelian overcame every ob-

* Some Engliſh travellers from Aleppo diſcovered the ruins of Palmyra, about the end of the laſt century. Our curioſity has been ſince gratified in a more ſplendid manner by Meſſieurs Wood and Dawkins. For the hiſtory of Palmyra, we may conſult the maſterly diſſertation of Dr. Halley in the Philoſophical Tranſactions; Lowthorp's Abridgment, vol. iii. p. 518.

ſtacle.

ſtacle. The death of Sapor, which happened about this time, diſtracted the councils of Perſia, and the inconſiderable ſuccours that attempted to relieve Palmyra, were eaſily intercepted either by the arms or the liberality of the emperor. From every part of Syria, a regular ſucceſſion of convoys ſafely arrived in the camp, which was increaſed by the return of Probus with his victorious troops from the conqueſt of Egypt. It was then that Zenobia reſolved to fly. She mounted the fleeteſt of her dromedaries *, and had already reached the banks of the Euphrates, about ſixty miles from Palmyra, when ſhe was overtaken by the purſuit of Aurelian's light horſe, ſeized, and brought back a captive to the feet of the emperor. Her capital ſoon afterwards ſurrendered, and was treated with unexpected lenity. The arms, horſes, and camels, with an immenſe treaſure of gold, ſilver, ſilk, and precious ſtones, were all delivered to the conqueror, who leaving only a garriſon of ſix hundred archers, returned to Emeſa, and employed ſome time in the diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments at the end of ſo memorable a war, which reſtored to the obedience of Rome thoſe provinces that had renounced their allegiance ſince the captivity of Valerian.

When the Syrian queen was brought into the preſence of Aurelian, he ſternly aſked her, How ſhe had preſumed to riſe in arms againſt the emperors of Rome? The anſwer of Zenobia was a prudent mixture of reſpect and firmneſs. "Becauſe I diſdained to "conſider as Roman emperors an "Aureolus or a Gallienus. You "alone I acknowledge as my "conqueror and my ſovereign." But as female fortitude is commonly artificial, ſo it is ſeldom ſteady or conſiſtent. The courage of Zenobia deſerted her in the hour of trial; ſhe trembled at the angry clamours of the ſoldiers, who called aloud for her immediate execution, forgot the generous deſpair of Cleopatra, which ſhe had propoſed as her model, and ignominiouſly purchaſed life by the ſacrifice of her fame and her friends. It was to their counſels which governed the weakneſs of her ſex, that ſhe imputed the guilt of her obſtinate reſiſtance; it was on their heads that ſhe directed the vengeance of the cruel Aurelian. The fame of Longinus, who was included among the numerous and perhaps innocent victims of her fear, will ſurvive that of the queen who betrayed, or the tyrant who condemned him. Genius and learning were incapable of moving a fierce unlettered ſoldier, but they had ſerved to elevate and harmoniſe the ſoul of Longinus. Without uttering a complaint, he calmly followed the executioner, pitying his unhappy miſtreſs, and beſtowing comfort on his afflicted friends.

Returning from the conqueſt of the Eaſt, Aurelian had already croſſed the ſtreights which divide Europe from Aſia, when he was provoked by the intelligence that the Palmyrenians had maſſacred the governor and garriſon which

* Though the camel is a heavy beaſt of burthen, we may learn from Buffon and Shaw, that the dromedary is ſwifter than the fleeteſt horſe.

he had left among them, and again erected the ſtandard of revolt. Without a moment's deliberation, he once more turned his face towards Syria. Antioch was alarmed by his rapid approach, and the helpleſs city of Palmyra felt the irreſiſtible weight of his reſentment. We have a letter of Aurelian himſelf, in which he acknowledges, that old men, women, children, and peaſants, had been involved in that dreadful execution, which ſhould have been confined to armed rebellion; and although his principal concern ſeems directed to the re-eſtabliſhment of a temple of the Sun, he diſcovers ſome pity for the remnant of the Palmyrenians, to whom he grants the permiſſion of rebuilding and inhabiting their city. But it is eaſier to deſtroy than to reſtore. The ſeat of commerce, of arts, and of Zenobia, gradually ſunk into an obſcure town, a trifling fortreſs, and at length a miſerable village. The preſent citizens of Palmyra, conſiſting of thirty or forty families, have erected their mud cottages within the ſpacious court of a magnificent temple.

Hiſtory and preſent State of the celebrated Mount St. Michael, *near* Granville, *in* France, *one of the moſt celebrated State-priſons of that Kingdom; in a Letter from* Nathaniel Wraxall, *jun. Eſq. From Mr.* Wraxall's late Tour through the Weſtern, Southern, and interior Provinces of France, added to his Memoirs of the Kings of France of the Houſe of Valois, lately publiſhed.

Granville, Wedneſday, 30th Auguſt, 1775.

THERE is perhaps no pleaſure greater, than that of communicating pleaſure received; and, as admiration is one of the moſt elegant and intereſting ſources from which it can be drawn, we uſually liſten with extreme readineſs to any addreſſes made to that paſſion: I wiſh to prepare you for a recital, in which the marvellous and the aſtoniſhing may predominate; though you may do me the juſtice to believe, they will ever be under the guidance of truth.

Superſtition, the parent of a thouſand evils to mankind, has yet given riſe to ſuch extraordinary and magnificent productions in every age, as almoſt incline one to pardon her crimes and follies. I am juſt returned from the ſurvey of one of the firſt of theſe; and ſhall endeavour to addreſs my imperfect deſcription of it to your heart aad affections.

I left Coutances Monday evening. The diſtance to this town is only ſix leagues, through a continuation of the ſame agreeable country which I have already painted to you. Deſirous to viſit the celebrated *Mont St. Michel*, I hired two horſes, and ſet out early yeſterday morning. It is about twenty miles from Granville, and the road lying along the ſea-ſhore, renders it very pleaſant. I got to Genet, a little village, before noon. From hence it is only a league to the Mount; but as it lies entirely acroſs the ſands, which are only paſſable at low tide, it becomes indiſpenſibly requiſite to procure a guide. I did ſo, and

arrived

arrived there at one in the afternoon.

This extraordinary rock—for it is no more—riſes in the middle of the bay of Avranches. Nature has completely fortified one ſide, by its craggy and almoſt perpendicular deſcent, which renders it impracticable for courage or addreſs, however conſummate, to ſcale or mount it. The other parts are ſurrounded by walls fenced with ſemilunar towers in the Gothic manner; but ſufficiently ſtrong, ſuperadded to the advantages of its ſituation, to deſpiſe all attack. At the foot of the mountain, begins a ſtreet or town, which winds round its baſe to a conſiderable heighth. Above, are chambers where priſoners of ſtate are kept, and other buildings intended for reſidence; and on the ſummit is erected the abbey itſelf, occupying a prodigious ſpace of ground, and of a ſtrength and ſolidity equal to its enormous ſize; ſince it has ſtood all the ſtorms of Heaven, in this elevated and expoſed ſituation, during many centuries.——I ſpent the whole afternoon in the different parts of this edifice; and as the Swiſs who conducted me through them, found he could not gratify my curioſity too minutely, he left no apartment or chamber unſeen.

The *Sale de Chevalerie*, or knights' hall, reminded me of that at Marienbourg in Poliſh Pruſſia. It is equally ſpacious; but more barbarous and rude, becauſe ſome hundred years prior in its erection. Here the knights of St. Michael uſed to meet in ſolemn convocation on important occaſions. They were the defenders and guardians of this mountain and abbey, as thoſe of the temple, and of Saint John of Jeruſalem, were to the holy ſepulchre.—At one end is a painting of the archangel, the patron of their order; and in this hall Louis the Eleventh firſt inſtituted, and inveſted with the inſignia of knighthood, the chevaliers of the croſs of St. Michael.

We paſſed on through ſeveral leſſer rooms into a long paſſage, on one ſide of which the Swiſs opened a door, and through a narrow entrance, perfectly dark, he led me, by a ſecond door, into an apartment, or dungeon—for it rather merited the latter than the former appellation—in the middle of which ſtood a cage. It was compoſed of prodigious wooden bars; and the wicket which admitted into it was ten or twelve inches in thickneſs. I went into the inſide: the ſpace it compriſed was about twelve feet ſquare, or fourteen; and it might be nearly twenty in heighth. This was the abode of many eminent victims in former ages, whoſe names and miſeries are now obliterated and forgotten.

"There was," ſaid my conductor, "towards the latter end "of the laſt century, a certain "news-writer in Holland, who "had preſumed to print ſome very "ſevere and ſarcaſtic reflections on "Madame de Maintenon, and "Louis the Fourteenth. Some "months after he was induced, "by a perſon ſent expreſly for "that purpoſe, to make a tour "into French Flanders. The inſtant he had quitted the Dutch "territories, he was put under "arreſt, and immediately, by his "majeſty's expreſs command, "conducted to this place. They

" ſhut him up in this cage. Here " he lived upwards of three-and-" twenty years; and here he, at " length, expired.——During the " long nights of winter," continued the man, " no candle or " fire was allowed him. He was " not permitted to have any " book. He ſaw no human face " except the gaoler, who came " once every day to preſent him, " through a hole in the wicket, " his little portion of bread and " wine. No inſtrument was given " him, with which he could de-" ſtroy himſelf; but he found " means at length to draw out a " nail from the wood, with which " he cut or engraved, on the bars " of his cage, certain fleurs de lis, " and armorial bearings, which " formed his only employment " and recreation."—Theſe I ſaw, and they are indeed very curiouſly performed, with ſo rude a tool.

As I ſtood within this dreadful engine, my heart ſunk within me. I execrated the vengeance of the prince, who, for ſuch a treſpaſs, could inflict ſo diſproportionate and tremendous a puniſhment. I thought the towers and pinnacles of the abbey ſeemed to ſhake, as conſcious of the cruelty committed in their gloomy round; and I haſtened out of this ſad apartment, impreſſed with feelings of the deepeſt pity and indignation.

" It is now fifteen years," ſaid the Swiſs, " ſince a gentleman " terminated his days in that " cage; it was before I came to " reſide here: but there is one in-" ſtance within my own memory. " Monſieur de F———, a perſon " of rank, was conducted here by " command of the late king; he " remained three years ſhut up in " it. I fed him myſelf every day; " but he was allowed books and " candle to divert his miſery; and " at length, the abbot, touched " with his deplorable calamities, " requeſted and obtained the royal " pardon. He was ſet free, and " is now alive in France.

" The ſubterranean chambers," added he, " in this mountain, are ſo numerous, that we know them " not ourſelves. There are cer-" tain dungeons, called *Oublie-" tes*, into which they were ac-" cuſtomed anciently to let down " malefactors guilty of very hei-" nous crimes: they provided " them with a loaf of bread and " a bottle of wine; and then they " were totally forgotten, and left " to periſh by hunger in the dark " vaults of the rock. This pu-" niſhment has not however been " inflicted by any king in the laſt " or preſent century."

We continued our progreſs through the abbey. He led me into a chamber, in one corner of which was a kind of window; between this and the wall of the building was a very deep ſpace or hollow of near a hundred feet perpendicular, and at bottom, was another window, opening to the ſea. It is called *The hole of Montgomeri*. The hiſtory of it is this.——You will recollect, that in the year 1559, Henry the Second, king of France, was unfortunately killed at a tournament by the Count de Montgomeri. It was not intended on that nobleman's part; and he was forced, contrary to his inclination, to puſh the lance againſt his ſovereign, by his expreſs command. He was a Hugonot, and, having eſcaped the maſſacre of Paris and Coligni, made

made head againſt the royal forces in Normandy, ſupported by our Elizabeth with arms and money. Being driven from his fortreſſes in thoſe parts, he retired to a rock, called the *Tombelaine*. This is another, ſimilar to the *Mont Saint Michel*, only three quarters of a league diſtant from it, and of nearly equal dimenſions. At that time there was a caſtle on it, afterwards demoliſhed, and of which ſcarce any veſtiges now remain. From this faſtneſs only acceſſible at low tides, he continually made excurſions, and annoyed the enemy, who never dared to attack him. He coined money, laid all the adjacent country under contribution, and rendered himſelf univerſally dreaded. Deſirous however to ſurprize the *Mont St. Michel*, he found means to engage one of the monks reſident in the abbey, who promiſed to give him the ſignal for his enterprize, by diſplaying a handkerchief. The treacherous monk having made the ſignal, betrayed him, and armed all his aſſociates, who waited Montgomeri's arrival. The chieftain came attended by fifty choſen ſoldiers, deſperate, and capable of any attempt. They croſſed the ſand, and having placed their ſcaling-ladders, mounted one by one: as they came to the top, they were diſpatched each in turn, without noiſe. Montgomeri, who followed laſt, at length diſcovered the perfidy, and eſcaped with only two of his men, with whom he regained the *Tombelaine*. They preſerve with great care the ladders and grappling irons uſed on this occaſion.—You perhaps remember the ſubſequent fate of the Count himſelf. He was at laſt beſieged and taken priſoner by the Marechal de Matignon, in 1574, at Domfront in Normandy; and Catherine of Medicis, who deteſted him for his having been, though innocently, the cauſe of her huſband's death, ordered him to be immediately executed.

The church itſelf detained me a long time, and is matter of high curioſity. It reſts on nine pillars of moſt enormous dimenſions, which ſtand upon the ſolid rock. I did not meaſure them; but, as far as the gloomineſs of the place would admit, I apprehend that each of them muſt be five-and-twenty feet in circumference: beſides theſe, there are two others, of much inferior ſize, which ſupport the center of the church, over which is the tower. If the prodigious incumbent weight be conſidered, and the nature of its ſituation, nothing leſs maſſy could ſuſtain the edifice. They ſeem as if deſigned to outlive the ravages of time, and the convulſions of nature.——But before we enter the church itſelf, I muſt inform you of the abſurd and legendary cauſe, which firſt produced it.

In the reign of Childebert the Second, there was a biſhop of Avranches named St. Aubert. To this holy man, the archangel Michael was pleaſed to appear one night, and order him to go to this rock, and there build him a church. St. Aubert, who ſeems to have been a little incredulous, treated it as a dream: the angel came again, repeated his injunction, and not being obeyed, the third time, he, by way of imprinting it on the biſhop's memory, made a hole in his ſkull, by touching it with his thumb. In the treaſury of the church I ſaw this curious ſkull. It is encloſed in a lit-

tle ſhrine of gold, and a cryſtal, which opens over the orifice, admits the gratification of curioſity by the minuteſt examination of it. The hole is of a ſize and ſhape juſtly proportioned to the thumb ſuppoſed to have produced it, and whether done with a knife, or by what means it is perforated, I cannot determine. The biſhop, however, upon this ſenſible mark of the divine pleaſure, delayed no longer; but repaired to the rock, and conſtructed a ſmall church, as he had been commanded.—Here fable ends; and true hiſtory ſupplying its place, informs us, that it was in 966, when Richard the Second duke of Normandy began to build the abbey. It was compleated about the year 1070, under William the Conqueror, though many other additions were made by ſucceeding abbots.

The treaſury is crowded with relics innumerable, among which ſome few have a real and intrinſic value. There is a fine head of Charles the Sixth of France cut in chryſtal, which drew my attention. They have got, heaven knows by what means, an arm of Edward the Confeſſor's; and they ſhewed me another, of *St. Richard, King of England.* Who this ſaint and prince was, I confeſs, is beyond my comprehenſion. I am ſure they could not term Richard the Firſt ſo, unleſs his cruſade againſt Saladine wiped out all his ſins, and canonized him. Richard the Second has no better pretenſions to ſanctity. I do not mention him who fell at Boſworth: ſo that who this royal ſaint was, I muſt leave you to divine. As to the monks, they know nothing about it; but they were poſitive he was a king of England.——An enormous golden cockle-ſhell, weighing many pounds, given by Richard the Second duke of Normandy, when he founded the abbey, is worthy remark.

In the middle of the choir hangs a ſtone, which is ſaid to have fallen on the head of Louis the Eleventh at the ſiege of Beſançon, without doing him the ſmalleſt injury. This, he conceived, and with reaſon, muſt have been owing to ſome wondrous divine interpoſition; for the ſtone weighs, I ſhould ſuppoſe, at leaſt ten pounds. Louis, though the greateſt monſter who ever filled a throne, was yet, at times, exceedingly pious: he uſed to come very often in pilgrimage to *Mont St. Michel*; and he ordered this ſtone to be ſuſpended by a chain in the choir, and left an annual ſum in lands to maintain prieſts to ſay maſſes, for his preſervation from ſo imminent a danger.

The refectory, the cloiſters, the cells of the monks, are all, (or rather they have been) very magnificent, and ſpacious; but a vaſt ſum of money is wanted to put the whole in repair, and reinſtate what the lapſe of ages defaces and deforms. One of the great towers is cracked and ſhaken. They have written repeatedly to the miniſtry, to know his majeſty's pleaſure reſpecting it; but no anſwer has been returned. It will probably tumble ſoon, and muſt neceſſarily, from its prodigious heighth and ſize, draw with it a conſiderable part of the adjoining edifices.

The late king ſequeſtered the revenues of the abbey, which are very ample. A prior is ſubſtituted inſtead of the abbot, and the number of religious reduced from thirty

to

to fourteen. Perhaps a few years more may even extinguish these; and St. Michael himself, though composed of gold, be melted down to support the expence of a bal paré.—It is at present considered rather as a prison of state, and will more probably be repaired on that account, than as an erection of piety. The apartments are, at this time, occupied by many illustrious captives, who have been sent here by *Lettres de cachet*, for crimes of state. They are detained in stricter or easier confinement, according to the royal mandate. There are in one range of rooms eight, who eat at a round table together. They are allowed each a pint of wine; but neither knives or forks are ever given them, lest they should commit suicide, to escape the horrors of captivity. No person is permitted to enter that division where they live, or can hold any conversation with them. Four of these are sent here since the accession of his present majesty. There are others who have the liberty of going into every part of the Mount without restraint; but to profit of this permission they must be habited as priests, and, of consequence, universally known. To escape, one should suppose impossible—but what cannot human subtlety effect, when pushed to despair? It is only sixteen days since a Monsieur de C——, who had been confined ten months, succeeded in an attempt to set himself free. I was shewn the place from whence he let himself down by a rope: it is near an hundred feet perpendicular. He crossed the sands immediately, while the sea was low; and it is imagined he has embarked for Jersey or England, as no intelligence has been received concerning him.

Some apartments are destined to a species of wretches yet more deplorable—— I mean to lunatics. There are several of high rank. In the cloysters of the abbey, a person accosted me in very polite terms. He was apparently above fifty years of age; his habit was squalid; at his button-hole hung a cross of St. Michael, fantastically adorned with ribbons. His face, though brown and sickly, had a somewhat noble, commanding, and engaging; his hair of a deep black, mixed with grey, hung floating upon his shoulders; and over his whole person was an air of dignity in ruin. It was the Marquis de R—, a Breton nobleman, who has been shut up here five-and-twenty years. He is insane, but harmless, and perfectly observant of all the forms in cultivated life.——None but persons of quality are ever sent here on this account.

I thought the age of pilgrimages had been at an end in all European nations, and that devotion contented itself with venerating its saints at home—but will you believe it, when I assure you, the number of pilgrims, who come annually to pay their vows to Saint Michael at this Mount, are between eight and ten thousand? They are mostly peasants, and men of mean occupations; but even among the nobless there are not wanting those, who are induced to make this journey from principles of piety. The little town is sometimes so crowded with them, that not a bed is to be procured. I saw at least six when I was there. They were young men and

and women. Their habit exactly correſponded with our ideas of them, as drawn from ancient ballads. Their hats were covered with cockle-ſhells, laced round the edges; and on the crown was a gilt coronet, above which was the croſs. A ribbon in the ſame form was tied acroſs their breaſt; and all over their cloaths were placed little images of St. Michael vanquiſhing the devil. I aſked them from whence they came? they ſaid, from Champagne; a very conſiderable diſtance, acroſs all France. I put ſeveral queſtions to them; and they would willingly have followed me when I went up to the top of the ſteeple; but the Swiſs, who was well accuſtomed to ſee theſe poor devotees arrive, repulſed them very roughly for their temerity. "Que diable!" ſays he, "allez, prier le bon Saint "Michel, ſi vous voulez! Je ne "conduis pas le menu peuple!" The poor pilgrims retired immediately, without a word.——It is ſaid, the late Dauphin was here incog, about nineteen or twenty years ago; and the old man who conducted me acroſs the ſands, aſſured me he had the honour to be his highneſs's guide, without knowing at the time his rank. His character was that of a bigot, and I am not at all ſurprized at ſuch a proof of it.—At the foot of the mountain, cloſe to the waves, is a very fine well of freſh water; but as this might and would be undoubtedly poſſeſſed by an enemy in caſe of a ſiege, they have contrived to hollow into the ſolid rock, ciſterns proportionate to every other part of the building, and capable of containing many hundred tuns of water; they ſay more than twelve hundred. Indeed, to beſiege it would be madneſs: a hundred men might defend it againſt ten thouſand aſſailants, and any number of veſſels; nor could it be, if taken, converted to any ſort of uſe.

The town itſelf is almoſt as curious as any other part of the Mount. I doubt not there are many houſes in it five or ſix hundred years old; and I did not ſee one which ſeemed to be built ſince Louis the Eleventh's time. The whole number of perſons reſident in the abbey, and in the town, does not exceed a hundred and eighty, in time of peace. A militia, compoſed of the bourgeoiſie, mount guard, to prevent any of the priſoners from eſcaping. In time of war there are five hundred ſoldiers commonly in garriſon; and they aſſured me, ſo vaſt and numerous are the chambers in different parts, that thirteen thouſand might be diſpoſed of without any ſort of inconvenience.

They ſell little legendary books in the town: I have bought them all, in hopes to find ſome hiſtorical anecdotes or traditions reſpecting the place, and the various important events or ſieges it has undergone;—but alas! this is a vain attempt. They are all ſtuffed with miracles and abſurdities too ridiculous to repeat; and St. Michael and St. Aubert are the only heroes who make any figure in the annals of monkery.—I would moſt willingly have inſpected the archives which are laid up in the abbey; but this is not permitted. It muſt be a very curious reſearch, ſince it is probable every king of England from

from the Conqueror to Henry the Third, had been many times here from motives of devotion or curiosity.

In the year 1090, Robert duke of Normandy, and William Rufus, besieged their brother Henry a long time in the *Mont St. Michel*. It must be presumed they were masters of the foot of the rock; for otherwise it would be impracticable to invest it. The prince could never have been reduced to surrender from force; but he wanted water, and from this necessity he was on the point of yielding the fortress, when Robert with that benevolence and generosity which marked his character, sent him some pipes of wine; and this succour, (like that which Henry the Fourth permitted his troops to give the Parisians,) enabled Henry to hold out. Rufus reproached him for his conduct; "What," said Robert; "shall we suffer our "brother to die of thirst?—And what return did he meet with? An imprisonment of twenty-eight years in a vaulted chamber of Cardiff castle, where he expired.

An Account of the finding or forging of some very ingenious Poems, attributed to Thomas Rowley, *a Priest of* Bristol, *in the fifteenth Century, and others of his Fellow-Citizens and Cotemporaries; and of the Pieces themselves, as well as the very extraordinary Person who first produced them; being the* Preface, Table *of* Contents, Introductory Account, *and* Advertisement, *prefixed to the* Collection *of these* Pieces, *newly published.*

PREFACE.

THE poems, which make the principal part of this collection, have for some time excited much curiosity, as the supposed productions of *Thomas Rowley*, a priest of Bristol, in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. They are here faithfully printed from the most authentic MSS. that could be procured; of which a particular description is given in the *Introductory account of the several pieces*, subjoined to this Preface. Nothing more therefore seems necessary at present, than to inform the reader shortly of the manner in which these poems were first brought to light, and of the authority upon which they are ascribed to the persons whose names they bear.

This cannot be done so satisfactorily as in the words of Mr. George Catcott of Bristol, to whose very laudable zeal the Public is indebted for the most considerable part of the collection. His account of the matter is this: "The first discovery of certain "MSS. having been deposited in "Redclift church, above three "centuries ago, was made in the "year 1768, at the time of open-"ing the new bridge at Bristol, "and was owing to a publication "in *Farley's Weekly Journal*, 1 Oc-"tober 1768, containing an *Ac-"count of the ceremonies observed "at the opening of the old bridge*, "taken, as it was said, from a "very ancient MS. This excited "the curiosity of some persons to "enquire after the original. The "printer, Mr. Farley, could give "no account of it, or of the per-

"son

" ſon who brought the copy; but " after much enquiry it was diſ- " covered, that the perſon who " brought the copy was a youth, " between 15 and 16 years of " age, whoſe name was Thomas " Chatterton, and whoſe family " had been ſextons of Redcliſt " church for near 150 years. His " Father, who was now dead, " had alſo been maſter of the free- " ſchool in Pile-ſtreet. The young " man was at firſt very unwilling " to diſcover from whence he had " the original; but, after many " promiſes made to him, he was " at laſt prevailed on to acknow- " ledge, that he had received this, " *together with many other MSS.* " from his father, who had found " them in a large cheſt in an up- " per room over the chapel on the " north ſide of Redcliſt church."

Soon after this Mr. Catcott commenced his acquaintance with young Chatterton *, and, partly as

* The hiſtory of this youth is ſo intimately connected with that of the poems now publiſhed, that the reader cannot be too early apprized of the principal circumſtances of his ſhort life. He was born on the 20th of November 1752, and educated at a charity-ſchool on St. Auguſtin's Back, where nothing more was taught than reading, writing, and accounts. At the age of fourteen, he was articled clerk to an attorney, with whom he continued till he left Briſtol in April 1770.

Though his education was thus confined, he diſcovered an early turn towards poetry and Engliſh antiquities, particularly heraldry. How ſoon he began to be an author is not known. In the *Town and Country Magazine* for March 1769, are two letters, probably, from him, as they are dated at Briſtol, and ſubſcribed with his uſual ſignature, D. B. The firſt contains ſhort extracts from two MSS., " *written three hundred years ago by one Rowley, a Monk,*" concerning dreſs in the age of Henry II.; the other, " ETHELGAR, *a Saxon poem,*" in bombaſt proſe. In the ſame Magazine for May 1769, are three communications from Briſtol, with the ſame ſignature, D. B. *viz.* CERDICK, *tranſlated from the Saxon* (in the ſame ſtyle with ETHELGAR), p. 233.—*Obſervations upon Saxon heraldry*, with drawings of *Saxon atchievements*, &c. p. 245.—ELINOURE and JUGA, *written three hundred years ago by* T. ROWLEY, *a ſecular prieſt*, p. 273. In the ſubſequent months of 1769 and 1770 there are ſeveral other pieces in the ſame Magazine, which are undoubtedly of his compoſition.

In April 1770, he left Briſtol and came to London, in hopes of advancing his fortune by his talents for writing, of which, by this time, he had conceived a very high opinion. In the proſecution of this ſcheme, he appears to have almoſt entirely depended upon the patronage of a ſet of gentlemen, whom an eminent author long ago pointed out, as *not the very worſt judges or rewarders of merit*, the booksellers of this great city. At his firſt arrival indeed he was ſo unlucky as to find two of his expected Mæcenaſes, the one in the King's-Bench, and the other in Newgate. But this little diſappointment was alleviated by the encouragement which he received from other quarters; and on the 14th of May he writes to his mother, in high ſpirits upon the change in his ſituation, with the following ſarcaſtic reflection upon his former patrons at Briſtol. " *As to Mr.* ——, *Mr.* ——, *Mr.* ——, &c. &c. *they rate literary lumber ſo low, that I believe an author, in their eſtimation, muſt be poor indeed! But here matters are otherwiſe. Had* Rowley *been a* Londoner *inſtead of a* Briſtowyan, *I could have lived by* copying *his works.*"

In

as preſents, partly as purchaſes, procured from him copies of many of his MSS. in proſe and verſe. Other copies were diſpoſed of, in the ſame way, to Mr. William Barrett, an eminent ſurgeon at Briſtol, who has long been engaged in writing the hiſtory of that city. Mr. Barrett alſo procured from him ſeveral fragments, ſome of a conſiderable length, written upon vellum, which he aſſerted to be part of his original MSS. In ſhort, in the ſpace of about eighteen months, from October 1768 to April 1770, beſides the poems now publiſhed, he produced as many compoſitions, in proſe and verſe, under the names of Rowley, Canynge, &c. as would nearly fill ſuch another volume.

In April 1770 Chatterton went to London, and died there in Auguſt following; ſo that the whole hiſtory of this very extraordinary tranſaction cannot now probably be known with any certainty. Whatever may have been his part in it; whether he was the author, or only the copier (as he conſtantly aſſerted) of all theſe productions; he appears to have kept the ſecret entirely to himſelf, and not to have put it in the power of any other perſon, to bear certain teſtimony either to his fraud or to his veracity.

The queſtion therefore concerning the authenticity of theſe poems muſt now be decided by an examination of the fragments upon vellum, which Mr. Barrett received from Chatterton as part of his original MSS., and by the internal evidence which the ſeveral pieces afford. If the fragments ſhall be

In a letter to his ſiſter, dated 30 May, he informs her, that he is to be employed "*in writing a voluminous hiſtory of* London, *to appear in numbers the beginning of next winter.*" In the mean time, he had written ſomething in praiſe of the Lord Mayor (Beckford), which had procured him the honour of being preſented to his Lordſhip. In the letter juſt mentioned he gives the following account of his reception, with ſome curious obſervations upon political writing: "The Lord Mayor received me as politely as a citizen could. But the devil of the matter is, there is no money to be got of this ſide of the queſtion.—But he is a poor author who cannot write on both ſides.——Eſſays on the patriotic ſide will fetch no more than what the copy is ſold for. As the patriots themſelves are ſearching for a place, they have no gratuity to ſpare.——On the other hand, unpopular eſſays will not even be accepted; and you muſt pay to have them printed: but then you ſeldom loſe by it, as courtiers are ſo ſenſible of their deficiency in merit, that they generouſly reward all who know how to dawb them with the appearance of it."

Notwithſtanding his employment on the Hiſtory of London, he continued to write inceſſantly in various periodical publications. On the 11th of July he tells his ſiſter that he had pieces laſt month in the *Goſpel Magazine*; the *Town and Country*, *viz.* Maria Friendleſs; Falſe Step; Hunter of Oddities; To Miſs Buſh, &c. *Court and City*; *London*; *Political Regiſter*, &c. But all theſe exertions of his genius brought in ſo little profit, that he was ſoon reduced to real indigence; from which he was relieved by death (in what manner is not certainly known), on the 24th of Auguſt, or thereabout, when he wanted near three months to complete his eighteenth year. The floor of his chamber was covered with written papers, which he had torn into ſmall pieces; but there was no appearance (as the Editor has been credibly informed) of any writings on parchment or vellum.

judged

judged to be genuine, it will ſtill remain to be determined, how far their genuineneſs ſhould ſerve to authenticate the reſt of the collection, of which no copies older than thoſe made by Chatterton, have ever been produced. On the other hand, if the writing of the Fragments ſhall be judged to be counterfeit and forged by Chatterton, it will not of neceſſity follow, that the matter of them was alſo forged by him, and ſtill leſs, that all the other compoſitions, which he profeſſed to have copied from ancient MSS., were merely inventions of his own. In either caſe, the deciſion muſt finally depend upon the internal evidence.

It may be expected perhaps, that the Editor ſhould give an opinion upon this important queſtion; but he rather chooſes, for many reaſons, to leave it to the determination of the unprejudiced and intelligent reader. He had long been deſirous that theſe poems ſhould be printed; and therefore readily undertook the charge of ſuperintending the edition. This he has executed in the manner, which ſeemed to him beſt ſuited to ſuch a publication; and here he means that his taſk ſhould end. Whether the poems be really ancient, or modern; the compoſitions of Rowley, or the forgeries of Chatterton; they muſt always be conſidered as a moſt ſingular literary curioſity.

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INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERAL PIECES.

ECLOGUE THE FIRST.
ECLOGUE THE SECOND.
ECLOGUE THE THIRD.

Theſe three Eclogues are printed from a MS. furniſhed by Mr. Catcott, in the hand writting of Thomas Chatterton. It is a thin copy-book in 4to. with the following title in the firſt page "*Eclo-*" *gues and other Poems by* Thomas "Rowley, *with a Gloſſary and An-*'s *notations by* Thomas Chatter-" ton."

There is only one other poem in this book, viz. the fragment of "*Goddwyn, a Tragedie,*".

ELINOURE and JUGA.—This poem is reprinted from the *Town and Country Magazine* for May 1769, p. 273. It is there entitled, "*Elinoure and Juga. Written three hundred yoars ago by T. Rowley, ſecular prieſt.*" And it has the following ſubſcription; "D. B. Briſtol, May, 1769." Chatterton ſoon after told Mr. Catcott, that he (Chatterton) inſerted it in the Magazine.

The preſent Editor has taken the liberty to ſupply [between hooks] the names of the ſpeakers, at ver. 22 and 29, which had probably been omitted by ſome accident in the firſt publication; as the nature of the compoſition ſeems to require, that the dialogue ſhould proceed by alternate ſtanzas.

VERSES TO LYDGATE.
SONGE TO ÆLLA.
LYDGATE'S ANSWER.

Theſe three ſmall poems are printed from a copy in Mr. Catcott's hand-writing. Since they were printed off, the Editor has had an opportunity of comparing them with a copy made by Mr. Barrett from the piece of vellum, which Chatterton formerly gave to him as the original MS.

THE TOURNAMENT.——This poem is printed from a copy made by Mr. Catcott, from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

Sir Simon de Bourton, the hero of this poem, is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt founder of a church dedicated to *oure Ladie*, in the place where the church of Saint Mary Ratcliffe now ſtands. Mr. Barrett has a ſmall leaf of vellum (given to him by Chatterton as one of Rowley's original MSS.), entitled, "*Vita de Simon de Bourton,*" in which Sir Simon is ſaid, as in the poem, to have begun his foundation in conſequence of a vow made at a tournament.

THE DETHE OF SYR CHARLES BAWDIN.—This poem is reprinted from the copy printed at London in 1772, with a few corrections from a copy made by Mr. Catcott, from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

The perſon here celebrated, under the name of *Syr Charles Bawdin*, was probably *Sir Baldewyn Fulford*, Knt. a zealous Lancaſtrian, who was executed at Briſtol in the latter end of 1461, the firſt year of Edward the Fourth. He was attainted, with many others, in the general act of Attainder, 1 Edw. IV. but he ſeems to have been executed under a ſpecial commiſſion for the tryal of treaſons, &c. within the town of Briſtol. The fragment of the old chronicle, publiſhed by Hearne at the end of *Sprotti Chronica*, p. 289. ſays only; "Item *the ſame yere* (1 Edw. IV.) *was takin Sir Baldewine Fulford and behedid att Briſtow.*" But the matter is more fully ſtated in the act which paſſed in 7 Edw. IV. for the reſtitution in blood and eſtate of Thomas Fulford, Knt. eldeſt ſon of Baldewyn Fulford, late of Fulford, in the county of Devonſhire, Knt. *Rot. Pat.* 8 Edw. IV. p. 1. m. 13. The preamble of this act, after ſtating the attainder by the act 1 Edw. IV. goes on thus: "And alſo the ſaid Baldewyn, the

ſaid

ſaid firſt yere of your noble reign, at Briſtowe in the ſhere of Briſtowe, before Henry Erle of Eſſex William Haſtyngs of Haſtyngs Knt. Richard Chock William Canyng Maire of the ſaid towne of Briſtowe and Thomas Yong, by force of your letters patentes to theym and other directe to here and determine all treeſons &c. doon withyn the ſaid towne of Briſtowe before the vth day of September the firſt yere of your ſaid reign, was atteynt of dyvers treſons by him doon ayenſt your Highnes &c." If the commiſſion ſate ſoon after the vth of September, as is moſt probable, King Edward might very poſſibly be at Briſtol at the time of Sir Baldewyn's execution; for, in the interval between his coronation and the parliament which met in November, he made a progreſs (as the Continuator of Stowe informs us, p. 416.) by the South coaſt into the Weſt, and was (among other places) at Briſtol. Indeed there is a circumſtance which might lead us to believe, that he was actually a ſpectator of the execution from the minſter-window, as deſcribed in the poem. In an old accompt of the Procurators of St. Ewin's church, which was then the minſter, from xx March in the 1 Edward IV. to 1 April in the year next enſuing, is the following article, according to a copy made by Mr. Catcott ftom the original book.

"Item *for waſhynge the church payven ageyns Kynge Edward 4th is comynge.*"	iiijd. ob.

ÆLLA, a tragycal enterlude.—This poem, with the *Epiſtle*, *Letter*, and *Entroductionne*, is printed from a folio MS. furniſhed by Mr. Catcott, in the beginning of which he has written, "Chatterton's tranſcript, 1769." The whole tranſcript is of Chatterton's hand-writing.

GODDWYN, a tragedie.—This fragment is printed from the MS. mentioned above, in Chatterton's hand-writing.

ENGLISH METAMORPHOSIS.—This poem is printed from a ſingle ſheet in Chatterton's hand-writing, communicated by Mr. Barrett, who received it from Chatterton.

BALADE OF CHARITIE.--This poem is alſo printed from a ſingle ſheet in Chatterton's hand-writing.

BATTLE OF HASTINGS, N° 1.
BATTLE OF HASTINGS, N° 2.

In printing the firſt of theſe poems two copies have been made uſe of, both taken from copies of Chatterton's hand-writing, the one by Mr. Catcott, and the other by Mr. Barrett. The principal difference between them is at the end, where the latter has fourteen lines from ver. 550, which are wanting in the former. The ſecond poem is printed from a ſingle copy, made by Mr. Barrett from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

It ſhould be obſerved, that the poem marked N° 1, was given to Mr. Barrett by Chatterton with the following title; "*Battle of Haſtings, wrote by Turgot the Monk, a Saxon, in the tenth century, and tranſlated by Thomas Rowlie, pariſh preeſte of St. Johns in the city of Briſtol,*

Briſtol, in the year 1465.—*The remainder of the poem I have not been happy enough to meet with.*" Being afterwards preſt by Mr. Barrett to produce any part of this poem in the original hand-writing, he at laſt ſaid, that he wrote this poem himſelf for a friend; but that he had another, the copy of an original by Rowley: and being then deſired to produce that other poem, he, after a conſiderable interval of time, brought to Mr. Barrett the poem marked N° 2, as far as ver. 530 incl. with the following title; "*Battle of Haſtyngs by Turgotus, tranſlated by Roulie for W. Canynge Eſq.*" The lines from ver. 531 incl. were brought ſome time after, in conſequence of Mr. Barrett's repeated ſollicitations for the concluſion of the poem.

ONN OURE LADIES CHYRCHE.

ON THE SAME.

The firſt of theſe poems is printed from a copy made by Mr. Catcott, from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

The other is taken from a MS. in Chatterton's hand-writing, furniſhed by Mr. Catcott, entitled, "*A Diſcorſe on Briſtowe, by Thomas Rowlie.*"

EPITAPH ON ROBERT CANYNGE.—This is one of the fragments of vellum, given by Chatterton to Mr. Barrett, as part of his original MSS.

THE STORIE OF WILLIAM CANYNGE.—The 34 firſt lines of this poem are extant upon another of the vellum fragments, given by Chatterton to Mr. Barrett. The remainder is printed from a copy furniſhed by Mr. Catcott, with ſome corrections from another copy, made by Mr. Barrett from one in Chatterton's hand-writing. This poem makes part of a proſe-work, attributed to Rowley, giving an account of *Painters*, *Carvellers*, *Poets*, and other eminent natives of Briſtol, from the earlieſt times to his own. The whole will be publiſhed by Mr. Barrett, with remarks, and large additions; among which we may expect a complete and authentic hiſtory of that diſtinguiſhed citizen of Briſtol, Mr. William Canynge. In the mean time, the reader may ſee ſeveral particulars relating to him in *Cambden*'s *Britannia*, Somerſet, Col. 95.——*Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, &c. ann. 1449 & 1450.—*Tanner*'s *Not. Monaſt.* Art. BRISTOL and WESTBURY.—*Dugdale*'s *Warwickſhire*, p. 634.

It may be proper juſt to remark here, that Mr. Canynge's brother, mentioned in ver. 129, who was lord mayor of London in 1456, is called *Thomas* by Stowe in his Liſt of Mayors, &c.

The tranſaction alluded to in the laſt ſtanza is related at large in ſome Proſe Memoirs of Rowley, of which a very incorrect copy has been printed in the *Town and Country Magazine* for November 1775. It is there ſaid, that Mr. Canynge went into orders, to avoid a marriage, propoſed by King Edward, between him and a lady of the Widdevile family. It is certain, from the Regiſter of the Biſhop of Worceſter, that Mr. Canynge was ordained *Acolythe* by Biſhop Carpenter on 19 September 1467, and received the higher orders of *Subdeacon*, *Deacon*, and *Prieſt*,

Prieſt, on the 12th of March, 1467, O. S. the 2d and 16th of April, 1468, reſpectively.

ON HAPPINESSE, by *William Canynge*.

ONNE JOHNE A DALBENIE, by the ſame.

THE GOULER'S REQUIEM, by the ſame.

THE ACCOUNTE OF W. CANYNGE'S FEASTE.

Of theſe four poems attributed to Mr. Canynge, the three firſt are printed from Mr. Catcott's copies. The laſt is taken from a fragment of vellum, which Chatterton gave to Mr. Barrett as an original. The Editor has doubts about the reading of the ſecond word in ver. 7, but he has printed it *keene*, as he found it ſo in other copies. The reader may judge for himſelf, by examining the *Fac ſimile* in the oppoſite page.

With reſpect to the three friends of Mr. Canynge mentioned in the laſt line, the name of *Rowley* is ſufficiently known from the preceding poems. *Iſcamum* appears as an actor in the tragedy of *Ælla*, and in that of *Goddwyn*; and a poem, aſcribed to him, entitled "*The merry Tricks of Laymington*," is inſerted in the "*Diſcorſe of Briſtowe*." Sir *Theobald Gorges* was a knight of an antient family ſeated at Wraxhall, within a few miles of Briſtol [See *Rot. Parl.* 3 H. VI. n. 28. *Leland's Itin.* vol. VII. p. 98.]. He has alſo appeared above as an actor in both the tragedies, and as the author of one of the *Mynſtrelles ſonges* in *Ælla*. His connection with Mr. Canynge is verified by a deed of the latter, dated 20 October, 1467, in which he gives to truſtees, in part of a benefaction of 500*l.* to the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, "*certain jewells of* Sir *Theobald Gorges* Knt." which had been pawned to him for 160*l.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE reader is deſired to obſerve, that the notes at the bottom of the ſeveral pages, are all copied from MSS. in the hand-writing of *Thomas Chatterton*.

We ſhall give a ſpecimen of the foregoing pieces in our article of Poetry.

A ſhort Account of William Cannings, *the Perſon ſo often mentioned in the preceding Artick, Founder of St.* Mary Redcliffe's *Church in* Briſtol. *Wrote by the foregoing* Thomas Rowlie, *Prieſt, in the Year* 1460.

I Was fadre confeſſour to maſteres Robert and maſtre William Cannings. Maſtre Roberte was a man after his fadre's own harte, greedie of gaynes and ſparyngs of alms deedes; but maſtre William was mickle courteous, and gave me many marks in my needs. At the age of 22 years deceas'd maſter Roberte, and by maſter William's deſyre, bequeathed me one hundred marks; I went to thank maſter William for his mickle courteſie, and to make tender of my ſelfe to him. Fadre, quod he, I have a crotchett in my brayne that will neede your aide. Maſter William, ſaid I, if you command me I will go to Roome for you; not ſo farr diſtant, ſaid he: I ken you for a mickle learnd prieſt, if you will leave the paryſh of our ladie, and

and travel for mee, it ſhall be mickle to your profits.

I gave my hands, and he told mee I muſt goe to all the abbies and pryorys, and gather together auncient drawyings, if of anie account, at any price. Conſented I to the ſame, and purſuant ſett out the Mundaie following for the miniſter of our ladie and Sarah Goodwyne, where a drawing of a ſteeple, contryvd for the belles when runge to ſwaie out of the ſyde into the ayre, had I thence: it was done by Syr Symon de Mambrie, who in the troubleſomme rayne of kyng Stephen devoted himſelfe, and was ſhorne.

Hawkes ſhowd me a manuſcript in Saxonne, but I was onley to bargayne for drawyngs.—The next drawyngs I metten with was a church to be reard, ſo as in form of a croſs, the end ſtanding in the ground, a long manuſcript was annexed. Maſter Canning thought no workman culd be found handie enough to do it.—The tale of the drawers deſerveth relation.—Thomas de Blanderville, a preeſte, although the preeſte had no allows, lovd a fair mayden, and on her begett a ſonn. Thomas educated his ſonn; at ſixteen years he went into the warrs, and neer did return for five years.—His mother was married to a knight, and bare a daughter, then ſixteen, who was ſeen and lovd by Thomas, ſon of Thomas, and married to him unknown to her mother, by Ralph de Meſching, of the Minſter, who invited, as cuſtom was, two of his brothers, Thomas de Blunderville and John Heſchamme. Thomas nevertheleſs had not ſeen his ſonn for five years, kennd him inſtauntly; and learning the name of the bryde, toke him aſyde and diſcloſd to him that he was his ſonn, and was weded to his own ſiſtre.—Yoyng Thomas toke on ſo that he was ſhorne.

He drew manie fine drawyings on glaſs.

The abott of the minſter of Peterburrow ſold it me, he might have bargaynd 20 marks better, but maſter William would not depart with it. The prior of Coventree did ſell me a picture of great account, made by Badilian Y'allyanne, who did lyve in the rayne of kynge Henrie the Firſt, a man of fickle temper, havyng been tendred ſyx pounds of ſilver for it, to which he ſaid naie, and afterwards did give it to the then abott of Coventriee. In brief, I gathered together manie marks value of fine drawyings, all the works of mickle cunning.—Maſter William culld the moſt choiſe parts, but hearing of a drawying in Durham church hee did ſend me.

Fadree you have done mickle well, all the chatills are more worth then you gave; take this for your paynes: ſo ſaying, he did put into my hands a purſe of two hundreds good pounds, and did ſay that I ſhould note be in need: I did thank him moſt heartily.—The choiſe drawyng, when his fadre did dye, was begunn to be be put up, and ſomme houſes neer the old church eraſed; it was drawn by Aſlema, preeſt of St. Cutchburts, and offerd as a drawyng for Weſtminſter, but caſt aſyde, being the tender did not ſpeak French.—I had now mickle of ryches, and lyvd in a houſe on the hyll, often repayrings to maſtere William, who was now lord of the houſe. I ſent him my verſes touching his church, for which he did ſend me mickle good things.—In the year

Kyng Edward came to Briſtow, Maſter Cannings ſend for me to avoid a marriage which the kyng was bent upon between him and a ladie he neer had ſeen, of the familee of the Winddevilles, the danger where nigh, unleſs avoided by one remidee, an holie one, which was, to be ordained a ſonn of holy church, beyng franke from the power of kynges in that cauſe, and can be wedded.—Mr. Cannings inſtantly ſent me to Carpenter, his good friend, biſhop of Worceſter, and the Fryday following was prepaird, and ordaynd the next day, the daie of St. Matthew, and on Sunday ſung his firſt maſs in the church of our ladie, to the aſtoniſhing of kyng Edward, who was ſo furiouſly madd and ravyngs withall, that maſter Cannings was wylling to give him 3000 markes, which made him peace again, and he was admytted to the preſence of the kyng, ſtaid in Briſtow, partook of all his pleaſures and paſtimes till he departed the next year.

I gave maſter Cannings my Briſtow tragedy, for which he gave me in hands twentie pounds, and did praiſe it more then I did think my ſelf did deſerve, for I can ſay in troth, I was never proud of my verſes ſince I did read maſter Chaucer; and now haveing nought to do, and not wyling to be ydle, I went to the minſter of our Ladie and Saint Goodwin, and then did purchaſe the Saxon manuſcripts, and ſett my ſelf diligentley to tranſlate and worde it in Engliſh metre, which in one year I performed and ſettled it the Battle of Haſtyngs; maſter William did bargyin for one to be manuſcript, and John Pelham, an eſquire, of Aſhley, for another.--Maſter William did praiſe it muckle greatly, but adviſed me to tender it to no man, beying the man whoſe name where therein mentioned would be offended. He gave me 20 markes, and I did goe to Aſhley, to maſter Pelham, to be payd of him for the other one I left with him.

But his ladie being of the family of the Fiſcamps, of whom ſome things are ſaid, he told me he had burnt it, and would have me burnt too if I did not avaunt. Dureing this dinn his wife did come out, and made a dinn to ſpeak by a figure would have over ſounded the bells of our Ladie of the Cliffe; I was fain content to gett away in a ſafe ſkin.

I wrote my Juſtice of Peace, which maſter Cannings adviſed me ſecrett to keep, which I did; and now being grown auncient I was ſeized with great pains, which did coſt me mickle of markes to be cured off.—Maſter William offered me a Cannon's place in Weſtbury Collige, which gladly had I accepted, but my pains made me to ſtaie at home. After this miſchance I livd in a houſe by the Tower, which has not been repaird ſince Robert Conſull of Glouceſter repayrd the caſtle and wall; here I livd warm, but in my houſe on the hyll the ayer was mickle keen; ſome markes it coſt me to put it in repair my new houſe, and brynging my chattles from the ould; it was a fine houſe, and I much marvill'd it was untenanted. A perſon greedy of gains was the then poſſeſſour, and of him I did buy it at a very ſmall rate, having lookd on the ground works and mayne ſupports, and fynding them ſtaunch, and repayrs no need wanting, I did buy of the owner, Geoffry Coombe, on a repayring leaſe for 99 years, he thinkying it would fall down

verie day; but with a few markes expence did put it up in a manner neat, and therein I lyvd.

Some Account of the Prerogatives, &c. at Sarum, *eſpecially of the* Epiſcopus Puerorum; *a very ſingular Inſtitution obſerved in the Cathedrals of* England *before the Reformation, in Memory of St.* Nicholas, *Biſhop of* Myra, *in* Lycia, *ſurnamed the* Child Biſhop, *and the Patron of young Scholars among the Roman Catholicks. From Sir* John Hawkins's Hiſtory of the Science and Practice of Muſick.

HE was to be elected from among the choriſters, on the anniverſary of St. Nicholas, being the ſixth day of December; was inveſted with great authority, and had the ſtate of a dioceſan biſhop, from the time of his election until Innocent's Day, as it is called, being the 28th of the ſame month. He was to bear the name and maintain the ſtate of a biſhop, habited with a croſier or paſtoral-ſtaff in his hand, and a mitre on his head. His fellows, the reſt of the children of the choir, were to take upon them the ſtyle and office of prebendaries, and yield to the biſhop canonical obedience; and, farther, the ſame ſervice as the very biſhop himſelf, with his dean and prebendaries, had they been to officiate, were to have performed, the very ſame, maſs excepted, was done by the choriſter and his canons, upon the eve and the holiday. The uſe of Sarum required alſo, that upon the eve of Innocent's Day, the choriſter biſhop, with his fellows, ſhould go in ſolemn proceſſion to the altar of the Holy Trinity, in copes, and with burning tapers in their hands; and that, during the proceſſion, three of the boys ſhould ſing certain hymns, mentioned in the rubric. The proceſſion was made through the great door at the weſt end of the church, in ſuch order, that the dean and canons went foremoſt, the chaplain next, and the biſhop, with his little prebendaries, laſt; agreeable to that rule in the ordering of all proceſſions, which aſſigns the rearward ſtation to the moſt honourable. In the choir was a ſeat or throne for the biſhop; and as to the reſt of the children, they were diſpoſed on each ſide of the choir, upon the uppermoſt aſcent. And ſo careful was the church to prevent any diſorder which the rude curioſity of the multitude might occaſion in the celebration of this ſingular ceremony, that their ſtatutes forbid all perſons whatſoever, under pain of the greater excommunication, to interrupt or preſs upon the children, either in the proceſſion, or during any part of the ſervice directed by the rubric; or any way to hinder or interrupt them in the execution or performance of what it concerned them to do. Farther it appears, that this infant-biſhop did, to a certain limit, receive to his own uſe, rents, capons, and other emoluments of the church.

In caſe the little biſhop died within the month, his exequies were ſolemnized with great pomp; and he was interred, like other biſhops, with all his ornaments.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Valour, Patriotiſm, and Friendſhip, weighed in the Ballance of Chriſtianity. By Soame Jenyns, *Eſq; From that Gentleman's celebrated* View of the Internal Evidence of the Chriſtian Religion.

MY third propoſition is this; that from this book called the New Teſtament, may be collected a ſyſtem of ethics, in which every moral precept founded on reaſon is carried to a higher degree of purity and perfection, than in any other of the ancient philoſophers of preceding ages; every moral precept founded on falſe principles is entirely omitted, and many new precepts added, peculiarly correſponding with the new object of this religion.

By moral precepts founded on reaſon, I mean all thoſe, which enforce the practice of ſuch duties as reaſon informs us muſt improve our natures, and conduce to the happineſs of mankind; ſuch are piety to God, benevolence to men, juſtice, charity, temperance, and ſobriety, with all thoſe, which prohibit the commiſſion of the contrary vices, all which debaſe our natures, and, by mutual injuries, introduce univerſal diſorder, and conſequently univerſal miſery. By precepts founded on falſe principles, I mean thoſe which recommend fictitious virtues productive of none of theſe ſalutary effects, and therefore, however celebrated and admired, are in fact no virtues at all; ſuch are valour, patriotiſm, and friendſhip.

That virtues of the firſt kind are carried to a higher degree of purity and perfection by the chriſtian religion than by any other, it is here unneceſſary to prove, becauſe this is a truth, which has been ſo frequently demonſtrated by her friends, and never once denied by the moſt determined of her adverſaries; but it will be proper to ſhew, that thoſe of the latter ſort are moſt judiciouſly omitted; becauſe they have really no intrinſic merit in them, and are totally incompatible with the genius and ſpirit of this inſtitution.

Valour, for inſtance, or active courage, is for the moſt part conſtitutional, and therefore can have no more claim to moral merit, than wit, beauty, health, ſtrength, or any other endowment of the mind or body; and ſo far is it from producing any ſalutary effects by introducing peace, order, or happineſs into ſociety, that it is the uſual perpetrator of all the violences, which from retaliated injuries diſtract the world with blood-

ſhed

fied and devaſtation. It is the engine by which the ſtrong are enabled to plunder the weak, the proud to trample upon the humble, and the guilty to oppreſs the innocent: it is the chief inſtrument which ambition employs in her unjuſt purſuits of wealth and power, and is therefore ſo much extolled by her votaries: it was indeed congenial with the religion of pagans, whoſe gods were for the moſt part made out of deceaſed heroes, exalted to heaven as a reward for the miſchiefs which they had perpetrated upon earth, and therefore with them this was the firſt of virtues, and had even engroſſed that denomination to itſelf; but whatever merit it may have aſſumed among pagans, with chriſtians it can pretend to none, and few or none are the occaſions in which they are permitted to exert it: they are ſo far from being allowed to inflict evil, that they are forbid even to reſiſt it; they are ſo far from being encouraged to revenge injuries, that one of their firſt duties is to forgive them; ſo far from being incited to deſtroy their enemies, that they are commanded to love them, and to ſerve them to the utmoſt of their power. If chriſtian nations therefore were nations of chriſtians, all war would be impoſſible and unknown amongſt them, and valour could be neither of uſe or eſtimation, and therefore could never have a place in the catalogue of chriſtian virtues, being irreconcileable with all its precepts. I object not to the praiſe and honours beſtowed on the valiant, they are the leaſt tribute which can be paid them by thoſe who enjoy ſafety and affluence by the intervention of their dangers and ſufferings; I aſſert only that active courage can never be a chriſtian virtue, becauſe a chriſtian can have nothing to do with it. Paſſive courage is indeed frequently, and properly inculcated by this meek and ſuffering religion, under the titles of patience and reſignation: a real and ſubſtantial virtue this, and a direct contraſt to the former; for paſſive courage ariſes from the nobleſt diſpoſitions of the human mind, from a contempt of misfortunes, pain, and death, and a confidence in the protection of the Almighty; active from the meaneſt: from paſſion, vanity, and ſelf-dependence: paſſive courage is derived from a zeal for truth, and a perſeverance in duty; active is the offspring of pride and revenge, and the parent of cruelty and injuſtice: in ſhort, paſſive courage is the reſolution of a philoſopher, active the ferocity of a ſavage. Nor is this more incompatible with the precepts, than with the object of this religion, which is the attainment of the kingdom of heaven; for valour is not that ſort of violence, by which that kingdom is to be taken; nor are the turbulent ſpirits of heroes and conquerors admiſſible into thoſe regions of peace, ſubordination, and tranquillity.

Patriotiſm alſo, that celebrated virtue ſo much practiſed in ancient, and ſo much profeſſed in modern times, that virtue, which ſo long preſerved the liberties of Greece, and exalted Rome to the empire of the world: this celebrated virtue, I ſay, muſt alſo be excluded; becauſe it not only falls ſhort of, but directly counteracts, the extenſive benevolence of this religion. A chriſtian is of no country, he is a citizen of the

world; and his neighbours and countrymen are the inhabitants of the remoteſt regions, whenever their diſtreſſes demand his friendly aſſiſtance: chriſtianity commands us to love all mankind, patriotiſm to oppreſs all other countries to advance the imaginary proſperity of our own: chriſtianity enjoins us to imitate the univerſal benevolence of our Creator, who pours forth his bleſſings on every nation upon earth; patriotiſm to copy the mean partiality of an Engliſh pariſh officer, who thinks injuſtice and cruelty meritorious, whenever they promote the intereſts of his own inconſiderable village. This has ever been a favourite virtue with mankind, becauſe it conceals ſelf-intereſt under the maſk of public ſpirit, not only from others, but even from themſelves, and gives a licence to inflict wrongs and injuries not only with impunity, but with applauſe; but it is ſo diametrically oppoſite to the great characteriſtic of this inſtitution, that it never could have been admitted into the liſt of chriſtian virtues.

Friendſhip likewiſe, although more congenial to the principles of chriſtianity ariſing from more tender and amiable diſpoſitions, could never gain admittance amongſt her benevolent precepts for the ſame reaſon; becauſe it is too narrow and confined, and appropriates that benevolence to a ſingle object, which is here commanded to be extended over all: where friendſhips ariſe from ſimilarity of ſentiments, and diſintereſted affections, they are advantageous, agreeable, and innocent, but have little pretenſions to merit; for it is juſtly obſerved, "If ye love them, which love you "what thanks have ye? for ſin-"ners alſo love thoſe, that love "them *." But if they are formed from alliances in parties, factions, and intereſts, or from a participation of vices, the uſual parents of what are called friendſhips among mankind, they are then both miſchievous and criminal, and conſequently forbidden, but in their utmoſt purity deſerve no recommendation from this religion.

Slavery abſolutely inconſiſtent with, and even contrary to, ſound Policy, Humanity, Reaſon, and Juſtice; with ſome Hints to thoſe who are not to be moved by ſuch Arguments, for the better Treatment of Slaves during their Paſſage from Africa *to* America; *and on the Plantations of the latter, greatly to the Advantage of their Owners, as well as themſelves. From the Abbé* Raynal's Hiſtorical and Political Survey of the European Settlements in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, &c.

IN America it is generally believed and aſſerted, that the Africans are equally incapable of reaſon and of virtue. The following well-authenticated fact will enable us to judge of this opinion.

An Engliſh ſhip that traded in Guinea in 1752, was obliged to leave the ſurgeon behind, whoſe bad ſtate of health did not permit him to continue at ſea. Murray, for that was his name, was there endeavouring to recover his health, when a Dutch veſſel drew near the

* Luke vi. 32.

coaſt,

coaſt, put the blacks in irons, whom curioſity had brought to the ſhore, and inſtantly ſailed off with their booty.

Thoſe who intereſted themſelves for theſe unhappy people, incenſed at ſo baſe a treachery, inſtantly ran to Cudjoe, (a black, at whoſe houſe Murray lodged) who ſtopped them at his door, and aſked them what they were in ſearch of. "The white man, who is with you," replied they, "who ſhould be put to death, becauſe his brethren have carried off ours." "The Europeans," anſwered the generous hoſt, "who have carried off our countrymen, are barbarians; kill them whenever you can find them. But he who lodges with me is a good man, he is my friend; my houſe is his fortreſs; I am his ſoldier, and I will defend him. Before you can get at him, you ſhall paſs over my body. O my friends, what juſt man would ever enter my doors, if I had ſuffered my habitation to be ſtained with the blood of an innocent man?" This diſcourſe appeaſed the rage of the blacks: they retired aſhamed of the deſign that had brought them there; and ſome days after acknowledged to Murray himſelf, how happy they were that they had not committed a crime, which would have occaſioned them perpetual remorſe.

This event renders it probable, that the firſt impreſſions which the Africans receive in the new world, determine them either to good or bad actions. Repeated experience confirms the truth of this obſervation: thoſe who fall to the ſhare of a humane maſter, willingly eſpouſe his intereſts. They inſenſibly adopt the ſpirit and manners of the place where they are fixed. This attachment is ſometimes exalted even into heroiſm. A Portugueſe ſlave who had fled into the woods, having learnt that his old maſter had been taken up for an aſſaſſination, came into the court of juſtice, and acknowledged himſelf guilty of the fact; let himſelf be put in priſon in lieu of his maſter; brought falſe, though judicial, proofs of his pretended crime, and ſuffered death inſtead of the guilty perſon. Actions of a leſs heroical nature, though not uncommon, have touched the hearts of ſome coloniſts. Several would readily ſay as Sir William Gooch, governor of Virginia, when he was blamed for returning the ſalutation of a black: "I ſhould be very ſorry that a ſlave ſhould be more polite than myſelf."

We will not here ſo far debaſe ourſelves as to enlarge the ignominious liſt of thoſe writers who devote their abilities to juſtify by policy what morality condemns. In an age where ſo many errors are boldly laid open, it would be unpardonable to conceal any truth that is intereſting to humanity. If whatever we have hitherto advanced hath ſeemingly tended only to alleviate the burden of ſlavery, the reaſon is, that it was firſt neceſſary to give ſome comfort to thoſe unhappy beings, whom we cannot ſet free; and convince their oppreſſors that they are cruel to the prejudice of their real intereſts. But, in the mean time, until ſome conſiderable revolution ſhall make the evidence of this great truth felt, it may not be improper to purſue this ſubject further. We ſhall then firſt prove, that there is no reaſon of ſtate that can authoriſe

ſlavery.

ſlavery. We ſhall not be afraid to cite to the tribunal of reaſon and juſtice thoſe governments which tolerate this cruelty, or which even are not aſhamed to make it the baſis of their power.

Monteſquieu could not prevail upon himſelf to treat the queſtion concerning ſlavery in a ſerious light. In reality it is degrading reaſon to employ it, I will not ſay in defending, but even in refuting an abuſe ſo repugnant to it. Whoever juſtifies ſo odious a ſyſtem, deſerves the utmoſt contempt from a philoſopher, and from the negro a ſtab with his dagger.

If you touch me, ſaid Clariſſa to Lovelace, that moment I kill myſelf; and I would ſay to him, who attempted to deprive me of my liberty, if you approach me, I will ſtab you. In this caſe, I ſhould reaſon better than Clariſſa; becauſe defending my liberty, or, which is the ſame thing, my life, is my primary duty; to regard that of another, is only a ſecondary conſideration; and if all other circumſtances were the ſame, the death of a criminal is more conformable to juſtice than that of an innocent perſon.

Will it be ſaid, that he who wants to make me a ſlave does me no injury, but that he only makes uſe of his rights? Where are thoſe rights? Who hath ſtamped upon them ſo ſacred a character as to ſilence mine? From nature I hold the right of ſelf-defence; nature, therefore, has not given to another the right of attacking me. If thou thinkeſt thyſelf authoriſed to oppreſs me, becauſe thou art ſtronger and more ingenious than I am; do not complain if my vigorous arm ſhall plunge a dagger into thy breaſt; do not complain, when in thy tortured entrails thou ſhalt feel the pangs of death conveyed by poiſon into thy food: I am ſtronger and more ingenious than thou: fall a victim, therefore, in thy turn; and expiate the crime of having been an oppreſſor.

He who ſupports the ſyſtem of ſlavery, is the enemy of the whole human race. He divides it into two ſocieties of legal aſſaſſins; the oppreſſors and the oppreſſed. It is the ſame thing as proclaiming to the world, if you would preſerve your life, inſtantly take away mine, for I want to have yours.

But the right of ſlavery; you ſay, extends only to the right of labour, and the privation of liberty, not of life. What! does not the maſter, who diſpoſes of my ſtrength at his pleaſure, likewiſe diſpoſe of my life, which depends on the voluntary and proper uſe of my faculties? What is exiſtence to him, who has not the diſpoſal of it? I cannot kill my ſlave; but I can make him bleed under the whip of an executioner; I can overwhelm him with ſorrows, drudgery, and want; I can injure him every way, and ſecretly undermine the principles and ſprings of his life; I can ſmother by ſlow puniſhments, the wretched infant which a negro woman carries in her womb. Thus the laws protect the ſlave againſt a violent death, only to leave to my cruelty the right of making him die by degrees.

Let us proceed a ſtep further: the right of ſlavery is that of perpetrating all ſorts of crimes: thoſe crimes which invade property; for ſlaves are not ſuffered to have any even in their own perſons: thoſe

crimes which deſtroy perſonal ſafety; for the ſlave may be ſacrificed to the caprice of his maſter: thoſe crimes which make modeſty ſhudder.—My blood riſes at theſe horrid images. I deteſt, I abhor the human ſpecies, made up only of victims and executioners, and if it is never to become better, may it be annihilated!

Further, that I may diſcloſe without reſerve my ſentiments on this ſubject. Cartouche, the highwayman, ſitting at the foot of a tree in a deep foreſt, calculating the profits and loſſes of his robberies, the rewards and pay of his aſſociates, and adjuſting with them the ideas of proportion and diſtributive juſtice; this Cartouche is not a very different character from that of the merchant, who, reclined on his counter, with his pen in his hand, ſettles the number of attacks which he can order to be made on the coaſts of Guinea; who deliberately examines how many firelocks each negro will coſt him, in order to ſupport the war which is to furniſh him with ſlaves; how many iron fetters to confine him aboard; how many whips to make him work: how much each drop of blood will be worth to him with which each negro will water his plantation: if the black woman will contribute more to his eſtate by the labours of her hands, or by thoſe of bearing children?—What think you of this parallel? The highwayman attacks you, and takes your money; the trader carries off even your perſon. The one invades the rights of ſociety; the other, thoſe of nature. This certainly is the truth; and if there exiſted a religion which authoriſed, which tolerated, even by its ſilence, ſuch enormities; if, moreover, occupied by idle or factious queſtions, it did not eternally denounce vengeance againſt the authors or inſtruments of this tyranny; if it made it criminal for a ſlave to break his bonds; if it did not expel the unjuſt judge who condemns the fugitive to death; if ſuch a religion exiſted, its miniſters ought to be maſſacred under the ruins of their altars.

But theſe negroes, ſay they, are a race of men born for ſlavery; their diſpoſitions are narrow, treacherous, and wicked; they themſelves allow the ſuperiority of our underſtandings, and almoſt acknowledge the juſtice of our authority.

The minds of the negroes are contracted; becauſe ſlavery deſtroys all the ſprings of the ſoul. They are wicked; but not ſufficiently ſo with you. They are treacherous, becauſe they are under no obligation to ſpeak truth to their tyrants. They acknowledge the ſuperiority of our underſtandings; becauſe we have abuſed their ignorance: they allow the juſtice of our authority; becauſe we have abuſed their weakneſs. I might as well ſay, that the Indians are a ſpecies of men born to be cruſhed to death; becauſe there are fanatics among them, who throw themſelves under the wheels of their idol's car before the temple of Jaguernat.

But theſe negroes, it is further urged, were born ſlaves. Barbarians, will you perſuade me, that a man can be the property of a ſovereign, a ſon the property of a father, a wife the property of a huſband,

husband, a domestic the property of a master, a negro the property of a planter?

But these slaves have sold themselves. Could a man ever by compact, or by an oath, permit another to use and abuse him? If he assented to this compact, or confirmed it by an oath, it was in a transport of ignorance or folly; and he is released from it, the moment that he either knows himself, or his reason returns.

But they had been taken in war. What does this signify to you? Suffer the conqueror to make what ill use he pleases of his own victory. Why do you make yourselves his accomplices?

But they were criminals condemned in their country to slavery. Who was it that condemned them? Do you not know, that in a despotic state there is no criminal but the tyrant.

The subject of an absolute prince is the same as the slave in a state repugnant to nature. Every thing that contributes to keep a man in such a state, is an attempt against his person. Every power which fixes him to the tyranny of one man, is the power of his enemies: and all those who are about him are the authors or abettors of this violence. His mother who taught him the first lessons of obedience; his neighbour, who set him the example of it; his superiors, who compelled him into this state; and his equals, who led him into it by their opinion: all these are the ministers and instruments of tyranny. The tyrant can do nothing of himself; he is only the first mover of those efforts which all his subjects exert to their own mutual oppression. He keeps them in a state of perpetual war, which renders robberies, treasons, assassinations lawful. Thus, like the blood which flows in his veins, all crimes originate from his heart, and return thither as to their primary source. Caligula used to say, that if the whole human race had but one head, he should have taken pleasure in cutting it off. Socrates would have said, that if all crimes were heaped upon one head, that should be the one which ought to be struck off.

Let us, therefore, endeavour to make the light of reason, and the sentiments of nature, take place of the blind ferocity of our ancestors. Let us break the bonds of so many victims to our mercenary principles, should we even be obliged to discard a commerce which is founded only on injustice, and whose object is luxury.

But even this is not necessary. There is no occasion to give up those conveniences which custom hath so much endeared to us. We may draw them from our colonies, without peopling them with slaves. These productions may be cultivated by the hands of freemen, and then be reaped without remorse.

The islands are filled with blacks, whose fetters have been broken. They successively clear the small plantations that have been given them, or which they have acquired by their industry. Such of these unhappy men, as should recover their independence, would live in quiet upon the same manual labours, that would be then free and advantageous to them. The vassals of Denmark, who have lately been made free, have not abandoned their ploughs.

Though all the nations, concerned

cerned in the African trade, are equally intereſted in preſerving the ſlaves in their paſſage, they do not all attend to it with the ſame care. They all feed them with beans, mixed with a ſmall quantity of rice; but they differ in other reſpects in their manner of treating them. The Engliſh, Dutch, and Danes keep the men conſtantly in irons, and frequently hand-cuff the women: the ſmall number of hands they have on board their ſhips obliges them to this ſeverity. The French, who have great numbers, allow them more liberty; three or four days after their departure they take off all their fetters. All theſe nations, eſpecially the Engliſh, are too negligent with regard to the intercourſe between the ſailors with the women ſlaves. This irregularity occaſions the death of three-fourths of thoſe whom the Guinea voyage deſtroys every year. None, but the Portugueſe, during their paſſage, are ſecured againſt revolts and other calamities. This advantage is a conſequence of the care they take to man their veſſels only with the negroes, to whom they have given their freedom. The ſlaves encouraged by the converſation and condition of their countrymen, form a tolerably favourable idea of the deſtiny that awaits them. The quietneſs of their behaviour induces the Portugueſe to grant the two ſexes the happineſs of living together: an indulgence, which, if allowed in other veſſels, would be productive of the greateſt inconveniences.

All the negroes, as well male as female, who come from Guinea, or are born in the iſlands, have the yaws once in their lives: it is a diſeaſe they muſt neceſſarily paſs through; but there is no inſtance of any of them being attacked with it a ſecond time, after having been radically cured. The Europeans ſeldom or never catch this diſorder, notwithſtanding the frequent and daily connection which they have with the negro women. Theſe women ſuckle the children of the white people, but do not give them the yaws. How is it poſſible to reconcile theſe facts, which are inconteſtible, with the ſyſtem which phyſicians ſeem to have adopted with regard to the nature of the yaws? Can it not be allowed, that the ſemen, the blood, and ſkin of the negroes, are ſuſceptible of a virus peculiar to their ſpecies? The cauſe of this diſorder, perhaps, is owing to that which occaſions their colour: one difference is naturally productive of another: and there is no being or equality that exiſts abſolutely detached from others in nature.

But whatever this diſorder may be, it is evident from the moſt accurate and undeniable calculations, that there dies every year in America, the ſeventh part of the blacks that are imported thither from Guinea. Fourteen hundred thouſand unhappy beings, who are now in the European colonies in the new world, are the unfortunate remains of nine millions of ſlaves that have been conveyed thither. This dreadful deſtruction cannot be the effect of the climate, which is nearly the ſame as that of Africa, much leſs of the diſorders, to which, in the opinion of all obſervers, but few fall a ſacrifice. It muſt originate from the manner in which theſe ſlaves are governed: and might not

not an error of this nature be corrected?

The first step necessary in this reformation would be to attend minutely to the natural and moral state of man. Those who go to purchase blacks on the coasts of savage nations; those who convey them to America, and especially those who direct their labours, often think themselves obliged, from their situation, and frequently too for the sake of their own safety, to oppress these wretched men. The soul of these managers of slaves, lost to all sense of compassion, is ignorant of every motive to enforce obedience, but those of fear or severity, and these they exercise with all the harshness of a temporary authority. If the proprietors of plantations would cease to regard the care of their slaves, as an occupation below them, and consider it as an office to which it is their duty to attend, they would soon discard these errors that arise from a spirit of cruelty. The history of all mankind would shew them, that in order to render slavery useful, it is at least necessary to make it easy; that force does not prevent the rebellion of the mind; that it is the master's interest that the slave should be attached to life, and that nothing is to be expected from him the moment that he no longer fears to die.

This principle of enlightened reason, derived from the sentiments of humanity, would contribute to the reformation of several abuses. Men would acknowledge the necessity of lodging, cloathing, and giving proper food to beings condemned to the most painful bondage that ever has existed since the infamous origin of slavery. They would be sensible, that it is naturally impossible that those who reap no advantage from their own labours, can have the same understanding, the same œconomy, the same activity, the same strength, as the man who enjoys the produce of his industry. That political moderation would gradually take place, which consists in lessening of labour, alleviating punishment, and rendering to man part of his rights, in order to reap with greater certainty the benefit of those duties that are imposed upon him. The preservation of a great number of slaves, whom disorders, occasioned by vexation or regret, deprive the colonies of, would be the natural consequence of so wise a regulation. Far from aggravating the yoke that oppresses them, every kind of attention should be given to make it easy, and to dissipate even the idea of it, by favouring a natural taste that seems peculiar to the negroes.

Their organs are extremely sensible of the powers of music. Their ear is so true, that in their dances, the time of a song makes them spring up a hundred at once, striking the earth at the same instant. Enchanted, as it were, with the voice of a singer, or the tone of a stringed instrument, a vibration of the air is the spirit that actuates all the bodies of these men: a sound agitates, transports, and throws them into extasies. In their common labours, the motion of their arms, or of their feet, is always in cadence. At all their employments they sing, and seem always as if they were dancing. Music animates their courage, and rouzes them from their indolence. The marks

marks of this extreme ſenſibility to harmony, are viſible in all the muſcles of their bodies, which are always naked. Poets and muſicians by nature, they make the words ſubſervient to the muſic, by a licence they arbitrarily aſſume of lengthening or ſhortening them, in order to accommodate them to an air that pleaſes them. Whenever any object or incident ſtrikes a negro, he inſtantly makes it the ſubject of a ſong. In all ages this has been the origin of poetry. Three or four words, which are alternately repeated by the ſinger and the general chorus, ſometimes conſtitute the whole poem. Five or ſix bars of muſic compoſe the whole length of the ſong. A circumſtance that appears ſingular, is, that the ſame air, though merely a continual repetition of the ſame tones, takes entire poſſeſſion of them, makes them work or dance for ſeveral hours: neither they, nor even the white men, are diſguſted with that tedious uniformity which theſe repetitions might naturally occaſion. This particular attachment is owing to the warmth and expreſſion which they introduce into their ſongs. Their airs are generally double time. None of them tend to inſpire them with pride. Thoſe intended to excite tenderneſs, promote rather a kind of languor. Even thoſe which are moſt lively, carry in them a certain expreſſion of melancholy. This is the higheſt entertainment to minds of great ſenſibility.

So ſtrong an inclination for muſic might become a powerful motive of action under the direction of ſkilful hands. Feſtivals, games and rewards might on this account be eſtabliſhed among them. Theſe amuſements, conducted with judgment, would prevent that ſtupidity ſo common among ſlaves, eaſe their labours, and preſerve them from that conſtant melancholy which conſumes them, and ſhortens their days. After having provided for the preſervation of the blacks exported from Africa, the welfare of thoſe who are born in the iſlands themſelves would then be conſidered.

The negroes are not averſe from the propagation of their ſpecies even in the chains of ſlavery. But it is the cruelty of their maſters which hath effectually prevented them from complying with this great end of nature. Such hard labour is required from negro women, both before and after their pregnancy, that their children are either abortive, or live but a ſhort time after delivery. Mothers, rendered deſperate by the puniſhments which the weakneſs of their condition occaſions them, ſnatch ſometimes their children from the cradle, in order to ſtrangle them in their arms, and ſacrifice them with a fury mingled with a ſpirit of revenge and compaſſion, that they may not become the property of their cruel maſters. This barbarity, the horror of which muſt be wholly imputed to the Europeans, will, perhaps, convince them of their error. Their ſenſibility will be rouzed, and engage them to pay a greater attention to their true intereſts. They will find that by committing ſuch outrages againſt humanity, they injure themſelves; and if they do not become the benefactors of their ſlaves, they will at leaſt ceaſe to be their executioners.

They

They will, perhaps, reſolve to ſet free thoſe mothers who ſhall have brought up a conſiderable number of children to the age of ſix years. The allurements of liberty are the moſt powerful that can influence the human heart. The negro women, animated by the hope of ſo great a bleſſing, to which all would aſpire, and few would be able to obtain, would make neglect and infamy be ſucceeded by a virtuous emulation to bring up children, whoſe number and preſervation would ſecure to them freedom and tranquillity.

The Rights of the Brute Creation to Tenderneſs from Man deduced from the twofold Conſideration, amongſt many others, particularly the Tenor of the ſacred Writings in their Favour, of their being ſuſceptible of Pain and Pleaſure as well as Man himſelf, though not ſuſceptible of a juſt Compenſation for any Evils Man may inflict on them. From the Reverend Doctor Primatt's *moſt excellent* Diſſertation on the Duty of Mercy and Sin of Cruelty to Brute-Animals.

I PRESUME there is no *Man of feeling*, that has any idea of *Juſtice*, but would confeſs upon the principles of reaſon and common *ſenſe*, that if he were to be put to *unneceſſary* and *unmerited* pain by another man, his tormentor would do him an act of *injuſtice*; and from a ſenſe of the injuſtice in his *own* caſe, now that He is the ſufferer, he muſt naturally infer, that if he were to put *another* man of feeling to the ſame unneceſſary and unmerited pain which He now ſuffers, the injuſtice in himſelf to the other would be exactly the ſame as the injuſtice in his tormentor to Him. Therefore the man of feeling and juſtice will not put another man to unmerited pain; becauſe he will not do that to another, which he is unwilling ſhould be done to himſelf. Nor will he take any advantage of his own ſuperiority of *ſtrength*, or of the accidents of *fortune*, to abuſe them to the oppreſſion of his inferior; becauſe he knows that in the article of *feeling* all men are equal; and that the differences of ſtrength or ſtation are as much the gifts and appointments of GOD, as the differences of underſtanding, colour, or ſtature. Superiority of rank or ſtation may give ability to communicate happineſs, (and ſeems ſo intended;) but it can give no right to inflict unneceſſary or unmerited pain. A *wiſe* man would impeach his own wiſdom, and be unworthy of the bleſſing of a good underſtanding, if he were to infer from thence that he had a right to deſpiſe or make game of a *fool*, or put him to any degree of pain. The folly of the fool ought rather to excite his compaſſion, and demands the wiſe man's care and attention to one that cannot take care of himſelf.

It has pleaſed GOD the Father of all men to cover ſome men with white ſkins, and others with black ſkins: but as there is neither merit nor demerit in complexion, the *white* man (notwithſtanding the barbarity of cuſtom and prejudice) can have no right, by virtue of his *colour*, to enſlave and tyrannize over a *black* man; nor has a *fair* man any right to deſpiſe,

ſpiſe, abuſe, and inſult a *brown* man. Nor do I believe that a *tall* man, by virtue of his *ſtature*, has any legal right to trample a *dwarf* under his foot. For, whether a man is wiſe or fooliſh, white or black, fair or brown, tall or ſhort, and I might add *rich* or *poor* (for it is no more a man's choice to be poor, than it is to be a fool, or a dwarf, or black, or tawney,) ſuch he is by GOD's appointment; and, abſtractedly conſidered, is neither a ſubject for pride, nor an object of contempt. Now if amongſt men, the differences of their powers of the mind, and of their complexion, ſtature, and accidents of fortune, do not give to any one man a right to abuſe or inſult any other man on account of theſe differences; for the ſame reaſon, a man can have no natural right to abuſe and torment a beaſt, merely becauſe a beaſt has not the *mental* powers of a man. For ſuch as the man is, he is but as GOD made him; and the very ſame is true of the beaſt. Neither of them can lay claim ro any intrinſic *Merit*, for being ſuch as they are; for before they were created, it was impoſſible that either of them could deſerve; and at their creation, their ſhapes, perfections, or defects, were invariably fixed, and their bounds ſet which they cannot paſs. And being ſuch, neither more nor leſs than GOD made them, there is no more demerit in a beaſt's being a beaſt, than there is merit in a man's being a man; that is, there is neither merit nor demerit in either of them.

A *Brute* is an animal no leſs ſenſible of pain than a Man. He has ſimilar nerves and organs of ſenſation; and his cries and groans, in caſe of violent impreſſions upon his body, though he cannot utter his complaints by ſpeech or human voice, are as ſtrong indications to us of his ſenſibility of pain, as the cries and groans of a *human* being, whoſe language we do not underſtand. Now as pain is what we are all averſe to, our own ſenſibility of pain ſhould teach us to commiſerate it in others, to alleviate it if poſſible, but never wantonly or unmeritedly to inflict it. As the differences amongſt men in the above particulars are no bars to their feelings, ſo neither does the difference of the *Shape* of a brute from that of a man exempt the brute from feeling; at leaſt, we have no ground to ſuppoſe it. But ſhape or figure is as much the appointment of GOD, as complexion or ſtature. And if the difference of complexion or ſtature does not convey to one man a right to deſpiſe and abuſe another man, the difference of ſhape between a man and a brute, cannot give to a man any right to abuſe and torment a brute. For he that made man and man to differ in complexion or ſtature, made man and brute to differ in ſhape or figure. And in this caſe likewiſe there is neither merit nor demerit; every creature, whether man or brute, bearing that ſhape which the ſupreme Wiſdom judged moſt expedient to anſwer the end for which the creature was ordained.

With regard to the Modification of the maſs of matter of which an animal is formed, it is *accidental* as to the creature itſelf; I mean, it was not in the power or will of the creature to chooſe, whether it ſhould ſuſtain the ſhape of a brute, or of a man: and yet,

whether it be of one ſhape, or of the other; or whether it be inhabited or animated by the * ſoul of a brute or the * ſoul of a man; the ſubſtance or matter, of which the creature is compoſed, would be equally ſuſceptible of feeling. It is ſolely owing to the good Pleaſure of GOD, that We are created Men; or animals in the *ſhape* of men. For, He that † *formed Man of the duſt of the ground, and breathed into his noſtrils the breath of life* that he might *become a living ſoul* and endued with the ſenſe of feeling, could, if he had ſo pleaſed, by the ſame plaſtic power, have caſt the very ſame *duſt* into the mould of a *Beaſt*; which, being animated by the life-giving breath of its Maker, would have become ‡ *a living ſoul* in that form; and, in that form, would have been as ſuſceptible of pain, as in the form of a *Man*. And if, in *brutal* ſhape, We had been endued with the ſame degree of reaſon and reflection which we now enjoy; and other Beings, in *human* ſhape, ſhould take upon them to torment, abuſe, and barbarouſly ill treat us, becauſe we were not made in their ſhape; the injuſtice and cruelty of their behaviour to Us would be ſelf-evident: and we ſhould naturally infer, that, whether we walk upon two legs or four; whether our heads are prone or erect; whether we are naked or covered with hair; whether we have tails or no tails, horns or no horns, long ears or round ears; or, whether we bray like an aſs, ſpeak like a man, whiſtle like a bird, or are mute as a fiſh; Nature never intended theſe diſtinctions as foundations for right of tyranny and oppreſſion. But perhaps it will be ſaid, it is abſurd to make ſuch an inference from a meer ſuppoſition that a man *might* have been a brute, and a brute *might* have been a man; for, the ſuppoſition itſelf is chimerical, and has no foundation in nature; and all arguments ſhould be drawn from fact, and not from fancy of what might be or might not be. To this I reply in few words, and in general; that all caſes and arguments, deduced from the important and benevolent precept of *Doing to others as we would be done unto*, neceſſarily require ſuch kind of *ſuppoſitions*; that is, they ſuppoſe the caſe to be *otherwiſe* than it really is. For inſtance; *a Rich man is not a Poor man*; yet, the duty plainly ariſing from the Precept, is this,——The man who is now *rich*, ought to behave to the man who is now *poor*, in ſuch a manner as the Rich man *If he were poor* would be willing that the Poor man *If he were rich* ſhould behave towards him. Here is a caſe which in fact does not exiſt between theſe two men, for the rich man is not a poor man, nor is the poor man a rich man; yet the ſuppoſition is neceſſary to enforce and illuſtrate the precept, and the reaſonableneſs of it is allowed. And if the ſuppoſition is reaſonable in one caſe; it is reaſonable, at leaſt not contrary to reaſon, in all caſes to which this general precept can extend, and in which the duty enjoined by

* It is of no conſequence as to the caſe now before us, whether the *SOUL* is, as ſome think, only a *Power*, which cannot exiſt without the Body; or, as is generally ſuppoſed, a *ſpiritual Subſtance*, that can exiſt, diſtinct and ſeparate from the body. † Gen. ii. 7. ‡ Gen. i. 30. *in the margin.*

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it can and ought to be performed. Therefore though it be true that *a man is not a horse*; yet, as a horse is a subject within the extent of the precept, that is, he is capable of receiving benefit by it, the duty enjoined in it extends to the man, and amounts to this,—Do You that *are* a Man SO treat your horse, AS you would be willing to be treated by your master, *in case* that You *were* a Horse. I see no absurdity nor false reasoning in this precept, nor any ill consequence that would arise from it, however it may be gainsaid by the barbarity of Custom.

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In the case of *human* cruelty*, the oppressed Man has a tongue that can plead his own cause, and a finger to point out the aggressor: All Men that hear of it shudder with horror; and, by applying the case to themselves, pronounce it *cruelty* with the common Voice of Humanity, and unanimously join in demanding the punishment of the offender, and brand him with infamy. But in the case of *brutal* cruelty, the *dumb* Beast can neither utter his complaints to his own kind, nor describe the author of his wrong; nor, if he could, have they it in their power to redress and avenge him.

In the case of *human* cruelty, there are Courts and Laws of Justice in every civilized Society, to which the injured Man may make his Appeal; the affair is canvassed, and punishment inflicted in proportion to the offence. But alas! with shame to man, and sorrow for brute, I ask the question, What Laws are now in force? or what Court of Judicature does now exist, in which the suffering Brute may bring his action against the wanton cruelty of barbarous man? The laws of Triptolemus are long since buried in oblivion, for Triptolemus was but a heathen. No friend, no advocate, not one is to be found amongst the † *bulls nor calves* of the people to prefer an indictment on behalf of the brute. The Priest passeth by on one side, and the Levite on the other side; the Samaritan stands still, sheds a tear, but can no more; for there is none to help; and the poor wretched and unbefriended creature is left to moan in unregarded sorrow, and to sink under the weight of his burden.

But suppose the Law promulged, and the Court erected. The Judge is seated, the Jury sworn, the indictment read, the cause debated, and a verdict found for the plaintiff. Yet what cost or damage? What recompence for loss sustained? In actions of humanity, with or without law, Satisfaction may be made. In various ways you can make amends to a *Man* for the injuries you have done him. You know his wants, and you may relieve him. You may give him cloaths, or food, or money. You may raise him to a higher station, and make him happier than before you afflicted him. You may be feet to the lame, and eyes to the blind. You may entertain him, keep him company, or supply him with every comfort, convenience, and amusement of life, which he is capable of enjoying. And thus may you make some atonement for the injury

* This term, the author uses to express the cruelty of Men unto Men; and that of *brutal* cruelty, to express the cruelty of Men unto Beasts.

† Psalm lxviii. 30.

which you have done unto a Man; and by thy aſſiduity and future tenderneſs, thou mayeſt perhaps obtain *his* pardon, and palliate *thine* own offence. But what is all this to the injured *Brute?* If by thy paſſion or malice, or ſportive cruelty, thou haſt broken his Limbs, or deprived him of his Eye-ſight, how wilt thou make *him* amends? Thou canſt do nothing to amuſe him. He wants not thy money nor thy cloaths. Thy converſation can do him no good. Thou haſt obſtructed his means of getting ſubſiſtence; and thou wilt hardly take upon thyſelf the pains and trouble of procuring it for him, (which yet by the rule of juſtice thou art bound to do). Thou haſt marred his little temporary happineſs, which was his All to him. Thou haſt maimed, or blinded him for ever; and haſt done him an *irreparable* injury.

Thoughts on Education, particularly that of Boys, by Father Ganganelli; *afterwards Cardinal* Ganganelli; *and laſtly* Clement XIV. *the late Pope; in a Letter to a Gentleman of* Tuſcany. *From intereſting Letters of Pope* Clement XIV. *&c. lately publiſhed. See* Memoirs *of this* Pope, *in our laſt Volume,* Part II. p. 5.

THE education you propoſe giving your children will be only a varniſh, if it is not founded upon Religion. There are ſome occaſions in the courſe of life, where probity is not ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt certain temptations, and where the ſoul is debaſed, if it is not elevated by the firm belief of Immortality.

It is neceſſary for the wiſdom and happineſs of man, that he ſhould have a view of the Deity from his tendereſt infancy, as the principle and the end of all things; and Reaſon and Faith ſhould tell him, that it is deſcending to the rank of beaſts to be without either worſhip or law: he ſhould be made to know that Truth being one, there can be only one Religion; and if our belief was not determined by authority, every one would have his own ſyſtem, and his own opinion.

It is not by an attention to trifling ceremonies that you will make your children true Chriſtians. Chriſtianity is the greateſt enemy to Phariſaical zeal and ſuperſtition. The Church preſcribes duties enough without our endeavouring to multiply them. We too frequently neglect what is precept, to follow what is only advice, becauſe we love rather to hearken to caprice than to reaſon; and becauſe pride and ſingularity perfectly agree.

You ſhould take a great deal of pains to elevate the ſouls of your three young people, and to convince them, that the greateſt pleaſure of man is to reflect, and to be conſcious of his exiſtence. This is a pleaſure ſo ſublime, and ſo worthy of a heavenly ſpirit, that I look upon him who knows not this happineſs, as a wretched, or, at leaſt, an inſenſible being.

The Catechiſm is ſufficient to teach revealed Truths: but in an age of infidelity, ſomething more is wanted than the Alphabet of Religion: You ſhould therefore fill your children's minds with thoſe pure lights which diſſipate the clouds of modern philoſophy, and the darkneſs of corruption.

A few

A few but ſolid books will make your children well-informed Chriſtians. Let them be read leſs with an intention to fix them in the memory, than to grave them on the heart. It is not neceſſary to form young people to defend a theſis, but to be obliged, as rational creatures, to convince themſelves of eternal truths.

When youth have ſtudied Religion from its firſt principles, they ſeldom ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced by ſophiſtry and impiety, unleſs the heart be intirely corrupted.

You ſhould watch carefully to preſerve them ſpotleſs, not by employing informers and ſpies, but by having your ears and your eyes every where to imitate the Deity whom we do not ſee, but who ſeeth over all.

Children ſhould not perceive that they are diſtruſted and obſerved, for that will diſcourage them, and make them murmur; they will conceive averſion againſt thoſe they ought to love, ſuſpect an evil which they would not have thought of, and ſeek only to deceive:—Hence it is that all Scholars act only from fear, and are never more pleaſed than when at a diſtance from their ſuperiors.

Be leſs the maſter than the friend of your children; and then they will be tranſparent to your eyes, and even tell their faults themſelves. Young folks have a hundred times told me their griefs and their errors, becauſe I always treat them with mildneſs:—they will give you the key of their hearts, when they find that you ſincerely wiſh them well, and that it is a pain to you to reprove them.

There are many reaſons which induce me to adviſe a domeſtic education, and there are ſtill more which hinder me from perſuading you to it. Domeſtic education is commonly the beſt calculated to ſecure their morals; but it preſents ſuch a ſameneſs, it is ſo lukewarm and languid, that it diſcourages all emulation: beſides, as they are watched too narrowly, they more frequently become hypocrites than good pupils.

Nevertheleſs, if you can find a Preceptor gentle, patient, ſociable, and learned, who can unite condeſcenſion with ſteadineſs, wiſdom with gaiety, temperance with amiableneſs, I ſhould deſire you to make the trial; being perſuaded that you will do nothing but in concert with him, and that you will not ſeek to controul him. There are too many Fathers who look upon a Preceptor as a mercenary, and illiberally think they are his maſters, becauſe he receives their wages.

Truſt your ſons only to a man upon whom you can depend as upon yourſelf; but after you have found ſuch a man, do not heſitate to leave them entirely at his diſpoſal. Nothing diſguſts a Tutor ſo much, as diſtruſt and a diffidence of his capacity. Take care what ſervants you admit about your children; it is generally through them that youth are corrupted.

Manage ſo as to have an amiable ſerenity conſtantly ſhining on your face and in your eyes, and that every thing be done as you would have it, without reſtraint or fear. Nobody loves a ſtorm; but all the world rejoices in fine weather.

Attach pleaſures to every kind of ſtudy which you propoſe for your ſons, by exciting a keen deſire of knowledge, and an ardent impatience of ignorance.

Take care that they have relaxation from their ſtudies, that their memories and judgments may not grow tired. When diſguſt is joined with ſtudy, they conceive an averſion to books, and ſigh after idleneſs and ſupineneſs.

Inſtruct them by making them love your documents, not by the fear of puniſhments; and for this purpoſe take care to enliven them by ſome little hiſtories or ſallies, which may awaken attention. I knew a young man at Milan who became ſuch a lover of ſtudy, that he looked upon holidays as neceſſary for relaxation, but conſidered them as days of ſorrow; his books were his pleaſure and his treaſure. It was a good Prieſt who by chearfulneſs, and the reſources of his imagination, had inſpired him with a love for works of taſte and learning. He would have been one of the moſt learned men in Europe, if death had not ſtopped him in his career.

Adapt their ſtudies to their times of life, and do not think of making them Metaphyſicians at twelve years old; That is not educating young people, but teaching words to parrots.

Learning is like food. The ſtomach of a child requires light nouriſhment; and it is only by degrees that he is accuſtomed to more ſolid or ſubſtantial diet.

Never fail to let an amuſing ſucceed a ſerious book, and to intermix poetry with proſe. Virgil is not leſs eloquent than Cicero; his deſcriptions, images, and expreſſions, give fancy and elocution to thoſe who poſſeſs it not naturally. Poetry is the perfection of language; and if people do not apply to it while they are young, they never acquire a taſte for it. It is impoſſible, after a certain age, to read verſe long, without having a real taſte for poetry.

Nevertheleſs, moderate the ſtudy of the Poets; for, beſides that they very often take liberties contrary to good morals, it is dangerous to grow too fond of them. A young man who only ſpeaks and raves of verſe, is inſupportable in company; he is both a fool and a madman. I except thoſe whoſe genius is only proper for eſſays or exerciſes of this kind; and then they are recompenſed for this enthuſiaſm, by the honour of becoming, like Danté, Arioſto, Taſſo, Metaſtaſio, Milton, Corneille, or Racine.

Let the hiſtory of the world, nations and countries be made familiar to your children, without becoming a dry ſtudy; it ſhould be accompanied with ſhort and accurate reflections, to teach them how to conſider events with judgment, and to acknowledge an Univerſal Agent, of whom all mankind are but the inſtruments, and all revolutions the combined and foreknown effects of his eternal decrees.

Hiſtory is only inanimate reading, if they attend only to the dates and facts; but it is a book full of life, if they obſerve the playing of the paſſions, the ſprings of the ſoul, the movements of the heart, and eſpecially if they diſcover a God, who, always Maſter of events, produces, directs, and determines them, according to his

good

good pleaſure, and for the accompliſhment of his ſublime purpoſes.

Our carnal eyes ſee in this world only a veil, which covers the actions of our Creator; but the eyes of Faith ſhew us, that whatſoever happens is from one cauſe, and that this cauſe is truly God.

Take care that a good Rhetorician gives a taſte of true eloquence to your ſons, rather by example than by precept. Make them comprehend, that what is really beautiful does not depend upon either modes or times; and that if there are different ways of expreſſing things according to different ages, there is only one of conceiving them properly.

Guard them againſt that childiſh eloquence, which, playing on words, is diſguſting to true taſte; and perſuade them that no gigantic ideas or expreſſions ever enter into an elegant diſcourſe. Altho' we ought never to be ſated of true eloquence, man is ſo fantaſtical as to be glutted with it; and it is owing to this, that we ſee a ſingular and trifling diction preferred to the commanding language of the Orators of the laſt age.

There are men, and periods of time which have eſtabliſhed the ſtandard of taſte in every thing; and it is on their productions that the eyes of your children ſhould be conſtantly fixed, as the beſt models; not, however, with ſlaviſh ſtrictneſs, for they ſhould not be ſervile imitators of any perſon.

I love that the fancy ſhould take wing, and act from itſelf, inſtead of being a copy for want of invention. We have men of fine parts; and we ſhould have men of genius, if they did not too mechanically follow the beaten road. He knows little, who knows only one path. The ſpirit of invention is inexhauſtible when we dare make the attempt. I often tell my pupils, "Be yourſelves;—think in your "own way." It is a melancholy thing to employ young people, for whole years, in learning nothing but the art of repeating.

When your children have attained the age of maturity, then is the time to ſpeak to them, as a friend, of the nothingneſs of the pleaſures in which the world places its happineſs; of the misfortunes in which they engage us; the remorſe they excite; the injury they do both to body and ſoul; the abyſs they dig under our ſteps, while they appear only to ſcatter flowers.

It will be no difficult matter for you to point out to them the dangerous rocks of ſenſuality, either by vigorous expreſſions, or ſtriking examples; and to perſuade them that without idleneſs, the greater part of the pleaſures to which people addict themſelves ſo immoderately, would have no attractions. In idleneſs, as in ſleep, they form to themſelves the moſt brillant ideas, and repreſent a thouſand agreeable chimeras which have no exiſtence.

When a ſon is perſuaded that a father talks only reaſon to him, and ſolely from tenderneſs, he hearkens to him, and his advice produces the beſt effects.

Laſtly, after having erected this edifice, there ſtill remains what I look upon as the moſt difficult of all;—I mean, the choice of a profeſſion. This is commonly the touchſtone of fathers and mothers,

and the moſt critical point for children.

If you will be perſuaded by me, you will give them a year to themſelves to reflect upon the kind of life that ſuits them, before you ſpeak to them of one profeſſion in preference to another. The good education they will have received, the knowledge they will have acquired, will naturally lead them to a happy iſſue; and there will be good reaſon to hope they will then decide for themſelves, according to their inclinations, and according to reaſon.

It will then be neceſſary to ſpeak frequently to them of the advantages and diſadvantages of the different conditions of life, and to let them know how much their temporal and eternal intereſt is concerned in the faithful diſcharge of their duty. The ſacerdotal and monkiſh profeſſions furniſh ample matter upon the ineſtimable happineſs they muſt taſte who are truly called to them; and the terrible calamities which they muſt experience, who have the raſhneſs to embrace them without any but worldly views. The rank of an Officer or a Magiſtrate preſents a multitude of duties to diſcharge; and it is ſufficient to lay theſe duties before them, to convince them of their importance.

After theſe precautions, and after having often implored the aſſiſtance of Heaven, your ſons will enter reſolutely upon the plan of life they have choſen; and you will have the conſolation of being able to ſay before God and man, That you have paid a proper regard to their inclinations and their liberty. Nothing is ſo fatal as for fathers to thwart the inclinations of their children; they expoſe them to perpetual repinings, and themſelves to the moſt bitter reproaches, and even imprecations, which they have unfortunately deſerved.

Since Providence has given you wealth, and you were born in a diſtinguiſhed rank, you ſhould ſupport your ſons according to their fortune and condition; letting them, however, always feel ſome wants, and keeping them always within the bounds of moderation, to teach them that this life is not our ſtate of happineſs, and that the higher they are raiſed, the leſs ought they to become proud. Take care to give them money, that they may learn from yourſelf not to become miſers, and that they may have it in their power to aſſiſt the unfortunate. It will be proper to obſerve with your own eyes, the uſe they make of it; and if you find them addicted either to avarice or prodigality, you ſhould leſſen their allowance.

Laſtly, my dear and reſpectable friend, attend more to the hearts than the underſtandings of your ſons: if the heart is good, all will go well.

Circumſtances muſt teach you how to govern them; you ſhould appear ſometimes indulgent, at other times ſevere, but always juſt and candid. Thoſe young people who will not be wiſe, are diſtreſſed when they are reproved with a ſpirit of equity, becauſe they find, againſt their inclination, that they cannot reply.

Leave them a liberal freedom, ſo that their father's houſe may not be their laſt choice; it is neceſſary that they ſhould be happier there than elſewhere, and find

thoſe pleaſures which may reaſonably be expected from a parent, who though a friend to order, is indulgent from affection.

My pen hurries me on in ſpite of me:——as if it had ſentiment, and reliſhed the pleaſure which I taſte in ſpeaking to you of your dear children, whom I love better than myſelf, and a little leſs than you. May God heap his bleſſings upon them and they will be what they ought to be!—The education which you will give them muſt bloſſom to eternity. There it is that Parents reap the fruit of the good advice they have given to their children, and that worthy Fathers find themſelves, with their worthy Sons, to be for ever happy.

Rome, 16*th Aug.* 1753.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Monſieur de Voltaire, *concerning the Collection of Letters, from which the preceding Article is taken.*

2*d May*, 1776.

I HAVE been ſo tired, my dear friend, with my ingenious and gallant letters which I have never written, and ſo many other trumperies imputed to me, that you muſt forgive me if I take the part of every cardinal or pope, who are played the ſame trick.

I have long been provoked at that political teſtament, ſo fraudulently produced under the name of Cardinal Richlieu. Can one conceive political councils of a prime miniſter, who never ſpeaks to his king of the queen, who was in ſo equivocal a ſituation; of his brother, who had ſo often conſpired againſt him; or of the dauphin, his ſon, whoſe education was ſo important; or of his enemies, againſt whom he had ſo many meaſures to take; or of the proteſtants of the kingdom, againſt whom the ſame prince had ſo often made war; or of his armies, his negociations, or any of his generals or ambaſſadors? It would be madneſs and folly to believe this rhapſody written by a miniſter of ſtate. Every page detects the moſt ill-concerted forgery; yet the name of Cardinal Richlieu impoſed on the world for ſome time, and ſome men of genius held up as oracles the enormous errors with which the book ſwarms. Thus would every error be perpetuated from one end of the world to another, if it were not for ſome good ſoul, who had the courage to ſtop it in its way. We have ſince had the teſtaments of the Duke of Lorraine, of Colbert, of Louvois, Alberoni, Marſhal Belleiſle, and Mandrin. Among ſo many heroes I dare not rank myſelf; but you know that lawyer Marchand has made my will, in which he had the diſcretion not to inſert a legacy for himſelf.

You have ſeen the letters of Queen Chriſtiana, of Ninon, of the Marchioneſs Pompadour, of Mademoiſelle Tron to her lover, the Rev. Father la Chaize, confeſſor of Louis XIV. We have now the letters of Pope Ganganelli; they are in French, though he never wrote in that language. He muſt certainly have had the gift of tongues in the courſe of his life incognito. Theſe letters are entirely in the French taſte. The expreſſions, the terms, the thoughts,

the faſhionable phraſe, the whole is French. They have been printed in France. The editor is a Frenchman, born near Tours, who has taken a name in J. and has already publiſhed ſeveral French works under borrowed names.

If this editor had tranſlated the real letters of Pope Clement XIV. into French, he would have depoſited the originals in ſome public library. The public has a right to ſay to him, as was formerly ſaid to the Abbé Nodot, "Shew me "your manuſcript of Petronius at "Bellegarde, or conſent not to "be believed. It is as falſe that "you have in your hands the "true ſatire of Petronius, as it is "that this ancient ſatire was the "work of a conſul, and a picture "of Nero's life. Ceaſe to think "of deceiving the learned: it is "only the vulgar that are deceiv-"ed."

When the comedy of the Scotchwoman was publiſhed under the name of William Vadé and Jerome Carrè, the public immediately ſaw the humour of it, and did not require formal proofs. But when one makes uſe of the name of a Pope whoſe aſhes are yet warm, we ſhould put ourſelves out of the reach of ſuſpicion; one ſhould ſhew to the whole ſacred college the letters ſigned Ganganelli; one ſhould depoſit them in the Vatican library, with the atteſtations of all who know the hand. Without this, one would be branded all over Europe as a man who dared to take the name of a Pope to ſell a book. *Reus eſt quia filium Dei ſe fecit.*

For myſelf, I confeſs, that, were theſe ſame letters to be ſhewn to me with all theſe atteſtations, I ſhould no more believe them to be the work of Ganganelli, than I ſhould believe the letters of Pilate written to Tiberius to be really written by Pilate.

You aſk, why I am ſo incredulous about theſe letters. Becauſe I have read them, and can diſcover the forgery in every page. I have been ſufficiently acquainted with the Venetian Algarotti to know that he never had the leaſt correſpondence with the Cordelier Ganganelli, nor with the Conſultor Ganganelli, nor with the Cardinal Ganganelli, nor with the Pope Ganganelli. The little pieces of advice which are given in a friendly way to this Algarotti and me, were never given by this good Monk after he became a good Pope.

It is impoſſible that Ganganelli ſhould have written to Mr. Stewart, the Scotchman, "My dear "Sir, I am ſincerely attached to "the Engliſh nation. I have a "fixed eſteem for your great "poets." What ſay you to an Italian confeſſing to a Scotchman, that he "has a fixed eſteem for "the Engliſh poets," when he does not underſtand a word of Engliſh?

The editor goes farther: he makes his learned Ganganelli ſay, "I make ſometimes nocturnal vi-"ſits to Newton; when all Na-"ture is aſleep, I ſit up to read "and admire him. No perſon "like him unites ſcience and ſim-"plicity. This is the characteri-"ſtic of a genius which knows "neither pomp nor oſtentation."

You ſee how the editor puts himſelf in the place of his Pope, and what a ſtrange place he gives to Newton. He pretends to have

read him, and he talks of him like a learned Benedictine, deep verſed in hiſtory, and yet modeſt. A pleaſant elogium this of the greateſt mathematician that ever was, and of the man who diſſected light.

In the ſame letter he takes Berkeley, Biſhop of Cloyne, for one of thoſe who wrote againſt the Chriſtian religion; he ranks him with Spinoſa and Bayle. He knows not that Berkeley was one of the profoundeſt defenders of Chriſtianity. He knows not that Spinoſa never mentioned it, and that Bayle wrote no work expreſsly on ſo reſpectable a ſubject.

The editor, in a letter to an Abbé Lami, makes Ganganelli, whoſe name he aſſumes, ſay, "that "the ſoul is the greateſt wonder "in the univerſe, as Dante ſays." A Pope, or a Cordelier, might cite Dante by wholeſale, to appear a man of letters; but there is not a line of this ſtrange poet Dante that ſays what he is here made to ſay.

In another letter to a Venetian lady, Ganganelli amuſes himſelf in confuting Locke; that is, the editor, ſuperior to Locke, delights in cenſuring him under the name of the Pope.

In a letter to the Cardinal Quirini, the editor expreſſes himſelf thus:—"Your Eminence, who is "fond of the French, will cer-"tainly forgive their civilities, "though beneath your dignity. "There is no harm, except in all "ages taken collectively. There "may be ſparks, flames, lillies, "rains, dews, rivers, and ſtreams. "This is a perfect repreſentation "of Nature; and the better to "judge of the univerſe and the "weather, we muſt unite the dif-"ferent points of view, and form "but one." Can you really perſuade yourſelf that the Pope wrote this nonſenſe in French againſt the French?

Is it not pleaſant, in Letter CXI. to hear Ganganelli, juſt made a Cardinal, ſay, "We are not made "Cardinals to impoſe on the "world by our ſtate, but to be "pillars of the holy ſee. Every "thing, even our red habit, re-"minds us, that we are to en-"deavour, even to the ſhedding "of our blood, to aid religion. "When I ſee Cardinal Tournon "flie to the uttermoſt part of the "earth, to preach the truth un-"adulterated, the noble example "animates me, and I am ready "to undertake every thing."

Would not one by this paſſage think that a Cardinal Tournon quitted the pleaſures of Rome in 1706, to go and preach to the Emperor of China, and to be martyred? The fact is, that a Savoyard prieſt, named Maillard, brought up at Rome in the college de Propaganda, was ſent to China in 1706, by Pope Clement XI. to give an account to the Congregation de Propaganda of the diſpute between the Jacobites and Jeſuits about two words of the Chineſe language. Maillard took the name of Tournon. He had ſoon letters of Vicar Apoſtolic in China. From the time of this appointment he fancied he underſtood Chineſe better than the Emperor Camhi. He wrote word to Pope Clement XI. that the Emperor and Jeſuits were hereties. The Emperor contented himſelf with putting him in priſon at Macao. It was ſaid that the Jeſuits poiſoned him. But before

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the poiſon took effect, he had, as he pretended, the credit to obtain a hat from the Pope. The Chineſe know not what a hat is. Maillard died as ſoon as his hat arrived. This is the exact hiſtory of this ridiculous affair. The editor ſuppoſes that Ganganelli was ſo ignorant as to know nothing of the matter.

In ſhort, the perſon who borrows the name of Pope Ganganelli, carries his zeal ſo far as to ſay, in his LVIIIth letter, to a Bailli of the republic of St. Marino, "I ſhall not ſend you the "book you aſk for. It is an "unfiniſhed production, ill tranſlated from the French, and "abounds with errors againſt morality and religion. It talks of "nothing but humanity, which is "the preſent faſhionable phraſe "artfully ſubſtituted to charity, "becauſe humanity is a mere "heathen virtue. Modern philoſophy deſpiſes every thing that "favours of Chriſtianity."

You will obſerve, that, though our Pope is afraid of the word humanity, the Moſt Chriſtian King boldly uſes it in his edict of April 12, 1776, whereby he diſtributes, gratis, remedies to all the ſick in his kingdom. The edict begins thus: "His Majeſty, deſirous for "the future, for the want of "humanity, &c."

The editor may be inhuman on paper as long as he pleaſes, but he muſt give our kings and miniſters leave to be humane. It is clear that he is ſtrangely miſtaken; and this is the caſe with all thoſe gentlemen that thus deal out their productions under reſpectable names. On this rock have ſplit all the teſtament-makers. This in particular betrayed Boiſguilbert, who preſumed to print his Dixieme Royal, under the name of Marſhal Vauban. Such were the authors of the Memoirs of Vordac, Montbrun, Pontis, and ſo many others.

I think the falſe Ganganelli is by this time ſtript of his maſk. If he ſet up for Pope, I have depoſed him. If he chuſes to excommunicate me, he is heartily welcome.

On the Connection between Muſic, Prophecy, and Poetry, particularly under the Jewiſh *Diſpenſation; by* Charles Burney, Eſq; *Muſ. D. F. R. S. in his* General Hiſtory of Muſic, from the earlieſt Ages to the preſent Period.

IT appears from many paſſages in Scripture, that *muſic* was as nearly allied to *propheſy* as to *poetry*.

When Samuel, after ſecretly anointing Saul king, inſtructs the new monarch in the meaſures he is to purſue for eſtabliſhing himſelf on the throne, he ſays, "and it ſhall come to paſs, "when thou art come to the city "(Beth-el), that thou ſhalt meet "a company of prophets coming "down from the high place, with "a pſaltery and tabret, and a "pipe, and a harp before them, "and they ſhall propheſy. And "the Spirit of the Lord will come "upon thee, and thou ſhalt pro-"pheſy with them."

Who is ignorant, ſays Quintilian, that muſic in ancient times was ſo much cultivated, and held in ſuch veneration, that muſicians were called by the names of *prophets* and ſages?

Vates,

Vates, in Latin, is a common term for *prophet*, *poet*, and *muſician*. The oracles of the ancients were delivered in ſong; and the Pythian prieſts, who compoſed into hexameter verſe the looſe and disjointed expreſſions of the agonizing Pythia, were ſtyled *prophets*, προφῆται. Theſe, according to Plutarch, were ſeated round the ſanctuary, in order to receive the words of the Pythia, and incloſe them immediately into a certain number of verſes, as liquors are encloſed in bottles.

Olen, one of the firſt prieſts of Apollo, was at once poet and prophet; and Phemonoe, the firſt prieſteſs at Delphos, is related to have delivered her oracles in verſe by inſpiration only, without ſtudy or aſſiſtance.

The *improvviſatori* * of Italy are ſtill accompanied by an inſtrument, like the prophets of old; and Italian poets, who write down verſes, ſing at the time of compoſing them.

The examples in Scripture of this union of muſic and prophecy are numerous. "Moreover, David, and the captains "of the hoſt, ſeparated to the ſervice of the ſons of Aſaph, and "of Heman, and of Jeduthun, "who ſhould *propheſy with harps*, "with *pſalteries*, and with *cymbals*.——Of the ſons of Aſaph, "four, who propheſied according "to the order of the king:——of "Jeduthun, ſix, *who propheſied* "*with a harp*, to give thanks, "and to praiſe the Lord. And "of the ſons of Heman, the king's "ſeer in the words of God, four"teen, *to lift up the horn*."

But the moſt ſtriking example of the cuſtom practiſed by the prophets, of tranquilizing their minds, and exciting in themſelves divine inſpiration, by means of muſic, is in the ſecond book of Kings.

The three ſovereigns of Iſrael, Judah, and Edom, marching with their armies through a wilderneſs, were all upon the point of being deſtroyed by thirſt, as there was no water to be found in their paſſage, either for man or beaſt.

"And the king of Iſrael ſaid, "Alas! that the Lord hath cal"led theſe three kings together, "to deliver them into the hand of "Moab. But Jehoſhaphat ſaid, "is there not here a prophet of "the Lord, that we may enquire "of the Lord by him? And one "of the king of Iſrael's ſervants "anſwered and ſaid, Here is "Eliſha, the ſon of Shaphat. So "the king of Iſrael and Jehoſha"phat, and the king of Edom, "went down to him.—And Eliſha "ſaid, *bring me a minſtrel*. And "it came to paſs when the min"ſtrel played, that the hand of "the Lord came upon him, and "he ſaid, Thus ſaith the Lord, "make this valley full of ditches, "&c."

Prophet, in ſome parts of the Scripture, ſeems to imply little more than a mere poet, or pſalmodiſt, who ſung extempore verſes to the ſound of an inſtrument, as the *improvviſatori* of Italy and

* Perſons endued with the gift of repeating or ſinging verſes, extempore or off hand, upon any given ſubject. They are ſaid to be pretty common in Italy among the learned; and, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, they are not altogether uncommon among the moſt illiterate in Spain, with regard to matters of common occurrence, as appears from Mr. Baretti's Account of his Journey through that Kingdom.

Spain

Spain do at present. Sometimes, indeed, such inspiration was not likely to be of great service to the person upon whom it was conferred, nor on his hearers; for we are told, 1 Sam. chap. xvii. and x. "that the *evil* spirit from God "came upon Saul, and he pro-"phesied in the midst of the "house."

It is supposed by many of the fathers and commentators, that the ancient Hebrews had a college, or school, of prophets, which must likewise have been a school of music; as the passages already cited from the sacred writings fully prove, that the prophets either accompanied themselves, or were accompanied by others, with musical instruments, in the exercise of their functions.

David, by having cultivated music so early, seems to have been intended by his family for the profession of a prophet. St. Ambrose says, that he had always the gift of prophesy, and was chosen by God himself, in preference to all other prophets, to compose psalms.

And, according to Eusebius, David carried his harp, or, as this prelate calls it, his lyre, with him, wherever he went; to console him in his affliction, and to sing to it the praises of God. And in his preface to the psalms, he asserts, that this prince, as head of the prophets, was generally in the tabernacle, with his lyre, amidst the other prophets and singers, and that each of them prophesied, and sung his canticle, as inspiration came on.

The Chaldean paraphrase understands by prophesying, "ador-"ing God, and singing praises "unto him."

The great sanhedrim, says the bishop of Gloucester, seems to have been established after the failure of prophesies. And concerning the members of this body, the rabbins tell us, there was a tradition, that they were bound to be skilled in all sciences.

Translation of a Letter from Monsieur de Voltaire *to Monsieur* d'Argenteuil, *concerning* Shakespeare's *Works, and the Translation of them into* French, *undertaken by Monsieur* le Comte de Catuelan, *Monsieur* le Tourneur, *and Monsieur* Fontaine Malherbe.

Ferney, July 19, 1776.

My dear Friend,

I Hear that Monf. de St. Julian is just arrived in my desert with Le Kain. If this news be true, I am quite surprized, and quite overjoyed.—But I must also tell you, how angry I am for the honour of the gang against one Tourneur, who is said to be secretary to a set of book-makers, but who does not appear to be a secretary of taste. Pray have you read two miserable volumes, in which he would have us look upon Shakespeare as the only perfect model of tragedy? He calls him the god of the theatre; he sacrifices all the French dramatists without exception to his idol, as they formerly used to sacrifice hogs to Ceres.—He does not deign to name Corneille, or Racine:—these two great men are only enveloped in the general proscription, without their names being pronounced.—There are already two volumes printed of this Shakespeare, which one would take

ke to be pieces composed for Bar-olomew-fair two hundred years go.—This rascal has found means engage the king, the queen, and l the royal family, to subscribe to s work.

Pray, have you read his abomin-ble conjuring-book, of which here are to be five volumes more? Do you feel sufficient hatred against his impudent blockhead? Can you bear the affront which he throws on the whole French na-tion? You and Monsieur de Thou-venille are too milky. There are not in all France enough of fools-caps, enough of pillories for such a knave! The blood boils in my veins when I speak of him; if he has not put you into a passion, I hold you to be incapable of feeling. The worst of it is that the monster has a party in France; and what is peculiarly unfortunate, 'twas I that formerly first talked of this Shakespeare;—'twas I that shewed the French some pearls which I found on his enormous dunghill *.—I little thought that I should help to tread under foot the crowns of Racine and Corneille, to adorn the head of a buffoon and barba-rian.

I beg you would endeavour to be as much in a passion as I am, otherwise I feel myself capable of committing some desperate deed. As to my friend Mons. Gilbert, I wish he may go full gallop to the pillory.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Translation of a Letter † on the same Subject with that of the fore-going, and written by the same Gentleman, to the French *Academy, where it was read at their last Public Meeting on the Festival of St.* Louis, August the 23d, 1776, *with suitable Remarks upon it, by one of the Gentlemen who write the* London Review. *From the* London Review.

WE have here so remarkable an instance of the vanity, petulance, and invidious disposi-tion, of this celebrated writer, that we should gladly pass it over, in respect to his real merit and ac-knowledged excellence, did we not think it a piece of justice due to the memory of our favourite Shakespeare, to expose the folly and malignity (if we may give them so harsh a name) of this caustic effusion of our author's spleen. To do this also, we need do little more than give a literal translation of the letter itself.

" Gentlemen,

" CARDINAL Richlieu, the great Corneille, and Scuderi, who presumed to imagine himself his rival, submitted the *Cid*, taken

* The celebrated Mrs. Montague (who happened to be in a company at Paris, where the above letter was read) as soon as she heard the coarse ex-pression, *enorme fumier*, could not help adding, " c'est un fumier, qui a fer-" tilisé une terre bien ingrate!" 'Tis a dunghill that has fertilized a most ungrateful soil.

† So excessively nice were the French Academicians, on the public read-ing of this letter, that several quotations from Shakespeare were suppressed, as being too indelicate to bear recital in so solemn an assembly.——The editor of this work has taken the liberty of copying the example of the French academicians, with regard to two or three passages.

from

from the Spaniſh drama, to your judgment. In like manner we have now recourſe to the ſame impartial deciſion, on account of certain foreign tragedies, dedicated to the king, our protector: we appeal to his judgment and to yours. Part of the Engliſh nation have lately erected a temple to their famous poetical comedian, Shakeſpeare, and inſtituted a jubilee to his honour. Some Frenchmen have affected the ſame enthuſiaſm. They have imported an idol of the divinity of Shakeſpeare, juſt as ſome imitators have done the Vauxhall, opened ſome time ſince at Paris; or as others have ſignaliſed themſelves by calling the loin of meat *roaſt-beef*; piquing themſelves on having their tables ſerved with *roaſt-beef* mutton. They make their morning viſits in *frocks*, forgetting that the word *frac* is derived from the French; as, indeed, are almoſt all the words in the Engliſh language. The court of Louis XIV. formerly poliſhed that of Charles II. At preſent, London is to poliſh our barbariſm.

"In ſhort, gentlemen, there is publiſhed a tranſlation of Shakeſpeare, and we are told that he was the *creative deity of the ſublime art of dramatic writing; which received at his hands exiſtence and perfection* *.

"The tranſlator adds, that Shakeſpeare *is really unknown in France, or rather diſfigured.* Things are, then, much changed in France from what they were about fifty years ago; when a man of letters, who has the honour to be one of your brethren, was the firſt among you who learnt the Engliſh language; the firſt who made Shakeſpeare known to you; who made a liberal tranſlation of ſome paſſages from him in verſe; as all poets ſhould be tranſlated; who made known to you Pope, Dryden, and Milton; the very firſt who ventured to explain the mathematical elements of the great Newton, and who preſumed to do juſtice to the profound ſagacity of Locke, the only reaſonable metaphyſician who had, perhaps, till then appeared on the face of the earth †.

"There are not only ſome paſſages of his in verſe, in imitation of Milton; but he engaged Mr. Dupré de St. Maur to learn Engliſh, and to tranſlate Milton, at leaſt into proſe.

"Some of you know what was the reward of all the pains he thus took to enrich our literature with the treaſures of the Engliſh; with what cruelty he was perſecuted for having propoſed to his countrymen the increaſing of their knowledge, by that of a nation, which they then only knew by having heard of the name of the Duke of Marlborough ‡; and whoſe religion was in ſome particulars different from our own. The propoſed enterpriſe was looked upon to be as criminal as high-treaſon, as abſolute impiety. This outra-

* The tranſlator's words are, "*le dieu createur* de l'art ſublime du théatre, qui recut de ſes mains l'exiſtence & la perfection."

† They, who know how M. de Voltaire hath illuſtrated theſe authors, need not be told how falſe and contemptible is this boaſt.

‡ Is this a compliment to the French nation or our own? or, Does not this modeſt writer rather compliment himſelf at the expence of both nations?

geous

geous behaviour continued; till at length the object of ſo much rancour and abuſe took no other reſolution than to laugh at it.

"In ſpite, however, of this hatred to Engliſh philoſophy and literature, they inſenſibly gained credit in France. Every book printed in London was preſently tranſlated; and thus from one extreme, men ran precipitately into the other. Nothing was reliſhed that did not come, or that was not ſuppoſed to come, from England. The bookſellers, who are dealers in faſhions, ſold Engliſh romances as the milliners do ribbons and pins, under the name of Engliſh.

"The ſame perſon who had been the cauſe of ſuch a revolution among the wits, was obliged, in the year 1760, for well-known reaſons, to write comments on the tragedies of the great Corneille, and aſſiduouſly conſulted you upon that work. To the celebrated piece of *Cinna*, he annexed a tranſlation of Shakeſpeare's Julius Cæſar; to ſerve for a compariſon between the manner in which the Engliſh genius had treated the conſpiracy of Brutus and Caſſius againſt Cæſar, and that different one, in which Corneille has treated the conſpiracy of Cinna and Emilius againſt Auguſtus.

"Never was there a more faithful tranſlation *. The Engliſh original is ſometimes in verſe and ſometimes in proſe; ſometimes in blank verſe, and ſometimes in rhyme; ſometimes the language is incredibly ſublime, as when Cæſar talks of his reſemblance to the pole-ſtar and to Olympus. In another paſſage alſo he exclaims

——Danger knows full well,
That Cæſar is more dangerous than he.
We were two lions litter'd in one day,
And I the elder and more terrible.

——"Le Danger ſçait bien que je ſuis plus dangereux que lui. Nous naquimes tous deux d'une même portée le même jour; mais je ſuis l'aîné & le plus terrible."

"Sometimes the language is of the greateſt ſimplicity. The dregs of the people ſpeak their own vulgar tongue. A cobler propoſes to mend a ſenator, viz. mend his ſhoes. The commentator on Corneille endeavoured to imitate this great diverſity of ſtyle. He not only tranſlated the blank verſe into blank verſe, the rhime into rhime, and the proſe into proſe; but he traced figure for figure. To inflation he applied bombaſt; ſimplicity and even meanneſs, to every thing that was ſimple and low in the original. This was the only method to make Shakeſpeare known. The affair related to a literary diſpute, and not a bookſeller's bargain; the public were not to be deceived.

"The new *tranſlator*, in reproaching France with having no correct tranſlation of Shakeſpeare, ought himſelf to have tranſlated him correctly. He ought not, in the very firſt ſcene of Julius Cæſar, to have mutilated his *creative deity*

* It is to be obſerved, that Mr. Voltaire ſays, here, that of his own tranſlation, which few Engliſhmen will ſay for him.

of tragedy. He copies faithfully his model, I confeſs, by introducing on the ſtage, his carpenters, butchers, ſhoemakers, and coblers, in company with Roman ſenators: but he ſuppreſſes all the low jokes, which the cobler cuts on the ſenators. He does not even tranſlate the curious play on the word ſignifying the *ſoul* of man, and that which means the *ſole* of a ſhoe. Is not ſuch a ſuppreſſion a ſacrilege committed on his dramatic *deity?*

— — — —

"In the tragedy of Macbeth, after the hero is at length determined to aſſaſſinate his king in his bed; juſt after he has been diſplaying all the horror of his crime, and the remorſe which he gets the better of, the houſe porter enters to deal out his merry-andrew jeſts. This buffoon is ſucceeded by two of the king's chamberlains, one of which aſks the other, what are the three things which drunkenneſs provokes; to which the other anſwers, a pimpled noſe, ſleep, and urine.

"If ſuch ideas and expreſſions are in fact that *Nature* for which Shakeſpeare is to be *adored*, his tranſlator ſhould by no means deprive him of our adoration. If they are only the little negligences of a great genius, fidelity requires them to be made known, were it only to conſole France, by ſhewing her that other countries have their negligences alſo.

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"Some of you, gentlemen, know that Shakeſpeare wrote a tragedy called Hamlet; in which a ghoſt makes his appearance, firſt to two centinels and to an officer, without ſaying any thing to either; after which he vaniſhes at the crowing of a cock. One of the ſpectators ſays, it is the cuſtom for ghoſts to diſappear when the cock crows towards the latter end of December, on account of the birth of our Saviour. This ghoſt is the father of Hamlet, in his life-time king of Denmark. His widow, Gertrude, is the mother of Hamlet, married to the brother of the deceaſed, ſoon after the death of her huſband. This Hamlet exclaims in a ſoliloquy as follows:

———Frailty, thy name is woman!
A little month; or 'ere thoſe ſhoes were old,
With which ſhe followed my poor father's body.
O Heaven! a beaſt that wants diſcourſe of reaſon
Would have mourn'd longer!

———"Ah! Fragilité eſt le nom de la femme! quoi! n'attendre pas un petit mois! quoi! avant d'avoir uſé les ſouliers, avec leſquels elle avoit ſuivi le convoi de mon pére! Oh ciel! les bêtes qui n'ont point de raiſon, auroient fait un plus long deuil."

"It is hardly worth while obſerving, that the cannon are fired in compliment to Queen Gertrude and her new-married ſpouſe, and that a duel is fought in the fifth act, although the action paſſes in the ninth century, when cannon were not invented. This little piece of inadvertency is not more remarkable than that of making Hamlet ſwear by St. Patrick, and call Jeſus our Saviour, at a time when they knew in Denmark as little of chriſtianity as they did of gunpowder.

"It is of importance that the

ghoſt relates to his ſon, in a tedious *tête-a-tête*, that his wife and his brother diſpatched him, by pouring poiſon into his ear. Hamlet determines to avenge his father, and, in order to give no umbrage to his mother, counterfeits madneſs thro' the whole piece.

" In one of the fits of this counterfeited madneſs, he has a private converſation with his mother, Gertrude; during which, the king's high chamberlain hides himſelf behind the arras. The hero cries out he hears a rat, and kills the high chamberlain: upon which the daughter of this officer, who had an affection for Hamlet, runs really mad, throws herſelf into the ſea, and drowns herſelf.

" The theatre then, in the fifth act, repreſents a church and a burying-ground, as if the Danes, idolaters in the firſt act, were become chriſtians in the fifth. The grave-diggers make a grave for the poor girl; one aſking the other whether a woman who drowns herſelf ought to be interred in holy ground: after which they ſing ballads, worthy of their profeſſion and their manners; at the ſame time throwing out the bones and ſculls of the dead upon the ſtage. Hamlet and the brother of his miſtreſs tumble into a grave and fall to fiſty cuffs.

" One of your brethren, gentlemen, ventured to obſerve, that theſe pleaſantries, which might poſſibly be accommodated to the taſte of Shakeſpeare's age, were not a ſpecies of tragedy ſufficiently dignified for the times of a Carteret, a Cheſterfield, a Lyttelton, &c. At length they were retrenched at the moſt reputable of the London theatres: and M. Marmontel, in one of his works, congratulates the the Engliſh on the reformation. " Shakeſpeare," ſays he, " is abridged and corrected every day: the celebrated Garrick hath lately cut out of Hamlet the ſcene of the grave-diggers, and almoſt all the fifth act. In conſequence of which, the piece and the author have been only the more applauded."

" The *tranſlator* does not admit of this truth; but takes the part of the grave-diggers. He would have them preſerved truly, as the reſpectable monument of an incomparable genius *.

" It is true, there are a hundred paſſages in this play, and all the plays of Shakeſpeare, ſufficiently grand, decent, ſublime, and introduced with equal art: but the *tranſlator* gives the preference to the grave-diggers; and relies on the circumſtance of that abominable ſcene being ſtill retained in the repreſentation of the play at one of the other theatres, appearing to require us alſo to copy ſo curious a ſpectacle.

" It is the ſame with that happy licence, with which all the actors are tranſported in a moment from on board a ſhip in the main ocean, five hundred miles on dry land, from a cabin to a palace, from Europe to Aſia. The *height* of *art*,

* Nor are the French tranſlators ſingular in this opinion. Dr. Johnſon, in the preface to his edition of Shakeſpeare, ſays much in favour of tragi-comedy, however exploded by the French, and Frenchified Engliſh, critics.

according to him, or rather the *beauty* of *nature*, is to repreſent an action, or rather ſeveral actions at once, that ſhall laſt half a century. In vain hath the judicious Deſpreaux, the legiſlator of good taſte throughout Europe, ſaid in his *Art of Poetry*,

Un rimeur ſans peril delà les Pyrénées,
Sur le ſcene en un jour renferme des années:
C'eſt là que le heros d'un ſpectacle groſſier,
Enfant au premier acte, eſt barbon au dernier.

"The barb'rous ſcribbler of a foreign play,
Includes whole years within a ſingle day;
In the firſt act, tho' hardly childhood paſt,
His hero's an old dotard in the laſt!"

"In vain might be cited the example of the Greeks, who found the three unities in nature *. In vain might we talk to him of the Italians, who, long before Shakeſpeare, revived the fine arts, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and who ſtrictly obſerved thoſe three great laws of good ſenſe, unity of time, place, and action. In vain might we refer him to the Sophoniſba of the Archbiſhop of Triſſino, the Roſomonda and Oreſtes of Rucellai, the Dido of Dolce, and many other pieces compoſed in Italy almoſt a hundred years before Shakeſpeare wrote in London, all of them according to thoſe judicious rules eſtabliſhed by the Greeks. In vain might it be remonſtrated to him, that the Amintor of Taſſo, and the Paſtor Fido of Guarini, do not depart from the ſame rules; and that ſuch difficulty, ſurmounted, preſents a charm that delights every perſon of true taſte. In vain might we reſt the cauſe on the example of the painters, among whom there is hardly to be found one, who hath painted two different actions upon one canvas. At preſent it is pretended, gentlemen, that the three unities form a chimerical law, becauſe Shakeſpeare has not obſerved it, and becauſe theſe pretenders would debaſe us ſo far, as to make it believed we have no other merit.

"The queſtion is not here, whether Shakeſpeare was not the creator of the Engliſh drama. We readily agree that he excelled all his contemporaries; but aſſuredly Italy had regular theatres in the fifteenth century. The Italians had begun long before to repreſent the paſſion in the churches of Calabria, where they continue to do it to this day. But in proceſs of time, ſome happy geniuſſes began to efface the ruſt with which that fine country had been covered, ſince the inundations of ſo many barbarians. In the time even of Dante, true comedies were repreſented; whence Dante gave the title of comedy to his *Hell*, his *Purgatory*,

* Much might be ſaid, and with good reaſon, againſt this. The obſervance of the three unities was rendered neceſſary among the Greeks, in a great meaſure, by the imperfection of their ſcenery: as their obſervance among the moderns leads dramatic writers frequently into as unnatural abſurdities as almoſt any which are committed by the breach of them.

and

and his *Paradiſe*. Riccoboni informs us, that Floriana was at that time repreſented at Florence.

"The French and Spaniards have always imitated the Italians; they unhappily began by performing, in the open air, the Paſſion, and the Myſteries of the Old and New Teſtament. Theſe infamous pleaſantries have been continued in Spain even in our own times. We have too many proofs that ſuch repreſentations were practiſed among ourſelves, till the fourteenth and fifteenth century; witneſs the Chronicle of Metz, compoſed by the curate of St. Euclaire. "In the year 1437 was played the Paſſion of our Lord, in the plain of Veximel; the part of God by Signior Nicole Dom Neufchatel, curate of St. Victor de Metz, who would have actually died on the croſs, had he not been relieved by another prieſt, who was placed on it, to go through the crucifixion that day in his ſtead; the following day, the ſaid curate of St. Victor performing the Reſurrection, topping his part; the ſaid play laſting till night. Another prieſt, by name Mr. John de Nicey, chaplain of Metrange, played Judas, who was near being choaked in hanging, for his heart failed him, ſo that he was obliged to be haſtily taken down and carried off. The mouth of hell was well executed by two large clamps of iron, which opened and ſhut as the devils wanted to go in and out."

"At the ſame time, ſtroling companies played the ſame farces in Provence; but the fraternity of the Paſſion eſtabliſhed themſelves at Paris, within covered theatres. It is well known that this company bought the hotel belonging to the dukes of Burgundy; and there performed their pious extravagancies.

"The Engliſh copied theſe groſs and barbarous diverſions, the darkneſs of ignorance at that time being diffuſed over all Europe. Every body ſought amuſement, and no decent amuſements were to be had. We learn, in an edition of Shakeſpeare, at the end of Richard III. that the miracles were repreſented in the open field, on theatres of green ſward, fifty feet diameter; where the devil appeared in perſon on the ſtage, ſhearing the briſtles of his hogs; whence comes the Engliſh proverb, *Great cry and little wool.*

"In the time of Henry VII. there was an eſtabliſhed theatre in London, which ſtill ſubſiſts. It was much in vogue in Shakeſpeare's youth; as we find, in his Eulogium, that he is commended for taking care of the horſes of the gentlemen that frequented it. He did not, therefore, invent the theatrical art, although he cultivated it with great ſucceſs. It is for you, gentlemen, who are acquainted with *Polyeucte* and *Athalie*, to judge if it be to *him* it owes its perfection."

The letter-writer proceeds, to cenſure the French tranſlators ſeverely, for their preſuming to condemn the taſte of ſuch Pariſian Ariſtarchuſes, who decry Shakeſpeare; ſelecting a fine paſſage or two from one of the beſt French dramas. After this he goes on to carp, with his uſual partiality, at the moſt exceptionable paſſages in thoſe of Shakeſpeare: particularly at the firſt ſcene in Romeo and Juliet, and in placing part of the dialogue between Kent and Gloceſter in King Lear, in contraſt

with a pompous paſſage of the Pompey of Corneille. We cannot indeed, in theſe inſtances, diſpute the preference he gives to his countryman; but when he takes upon him to give Shakeſpeare in French, and to controvert the opinion of thoſe Engliſh critics, who underſtand both languages, and prefer Shakeſpeare on a fair compariſon, he only betrays his partiality to his *own*, and his ignorance of *our* language. Of this he gives the following inſtance:

" An eminent Scotch judge *, who hath publiſhed Elements of Engliſh Criticiſm, in three volumes, in which are many ſhrewd and judicious reflections, hath been ſo unfortunate, nevertheleſs, to compare the firſt ſcene of that monſter called *Hamlet*, with the firſt ſcene of our maſter-piece, *Iphigene*. He affirms, that theſe verſes of Arcas,

Avez-vous dans les airs entendu
quelque bruit?
Les vents nous auroient-ils exaucé
cette nuit?
Mais tout dort, & l'armée, & les
vents, & Neptune,

are inferior in merit to the juſt and proper anſwer of the centinel in *Hamlet*.

Je n'ai pas entendu une ſouris
trotter.
Not a mouſe ſtirring!

" Yes, Sir, a ſoldier might make ſuch an anſwer when actually upon guard; but not upon the ſtage, before the firſt perſons of diſtinction, who expreſs themſelves nobly, and before whom every one ſhould expreſs himſelf in like manner.

" If you aſk me why this verſe,

" Mais tout dort, & l'armée, &
les vents, & Neptune,

is admirably beautiful, and why the ſucceeding verſes are ſtill more ſo; it is becauſe they expreſs harmoniouſly thoſe great truths, which are the ground-work of the piece. But there is neither harmony, nor any thing intereſting in the low expreſſion of Skakeſpeare's ſoldier,

Not a mouſe ſtirring.

Whether the ſoldier had ſeen, or had not ſeen a mouſe ſtirring, is a matter of very little conſequence to the tragedy of *Hamlet*. It is a mere St. Giles's phraſe; a low proverb that can have no effect. There is always a reaſon why a beauty is a beauty, and a defect a defect."

There certainly is: but the firſt principle of *beauty* in writing is *propriety*. *Scribendi rectè ſapere principium eſt et fons*. Now, there is neither propriety of ſtile nor of ſentiment in M. de Voltaire's tranſlation and criticiſm. An Engliſh audience would burſt into as loud a horſe-laugh as might a French one, ſhould the centinel be made pompouſly to repeat in blank verſe, as M. de Voltaire ſuppoſes him to ſay,

I have not heard the trotting *of a mouſe!*

But he ſays ſeriouſly and unaffectedly, as Lord Kaims obſerves, *not*

* This Scotch judge is that judicious and excellent critic Lord Kaims.

a mouſe

a mouſe ſtirring. It is owned that the expreſſion is common and proverbial; but it is proper and characteriſtical, and therefore affecting.—Our French hypercritic admits it might be properly uſed by a ſoldier actually on guard, but thinks it too low to be made uſe of by a tragedian on the ſtage, in the preſence of perſons of diſtinction *.—Here the miſchief comes out, and the difference between the French and Engliſh taſte for dramatic repreſentation is at once declared. The one requires it to be a true exhibition of nature; the other, the falſe diſplay of art. Admitting that in nature there are ſcenes improper for theatrical repreſentation, and that thoſe of *la belle nature* only ſhould be exhibited; this conſideration might baniſh low characters and ſcenes from the ſtage: but, if they were ever introduced, they ſhould ſpeak in character. The centinel on guard ſhould not act the tragedian, nor ſhould the common-ſoldier uſe the ſplendid diction of the prince. It is for want of attention to this propriety, that, in almoſt all our modern tragedies, the ſcene has no variety of colouring; but, as the critic obſerves,

All glares alike without diſtinction gay.

It is, on the whole, with great injuſtice, that M. de Voltaire imputes his ſentiments, on this head, to men of real taſte in England.

"The ſame reflections, ſays he, which I make to you, gentlemen, have been made in England by many men of letters. Rimer himſelf, that learned critic Rimer, in a book dedicated to the famous Earl of Dorſet, in 1593, on the excellence and corruption of tragedy, carries the ſeverity of his criticiſm ſo far, as to ſay, that there is not an African ape, not a baboon, who has not more taſte than Shakeſpeare. Permit me, gentlemen, to draw the middle line between Rimer and the *tranſlator*, and to look upon him, as neither a *deity* nor as an *ape!*"

We do not recollect the paſſage in Rimer; but if it is to be found in that *learned* critic, it proves he was as dull and taſteleſs a pedant as ever thought the laws of nature ſhould be controuled by the categories of Ariſtotle.

On the new Species of faſhionable Amuſement, called CHARADES. *From the Weſtminſter Magazine.*

Mr. EDITOR,

THE execrable CHARADES † that have lately infeſted the public prints, might well provoke the following ſatire.

"An anſwer to all the Charades that ever have been or ever will be made.

* This obſervation puts one in mind of the courtly popin-jay, deſcribed by Hotſpur, who talked of guns and wounds, God ſave the mark, ſo like a waiting gentlewoman, and blamed the unmannerly ſoldiers for carrying dead bodies by, between the wind and his nobility.

† The Charade owes its name to the Idler who invented it. Its ſubject muſt be a word of two ſyllables, each forming a diſtinct word, and thoſe two ſyllables are to be concealed in an enigmatical deſcription, firſt ſeparately, and then together.

Your firſt in emptineſs of thought
ſurpaſt;
Your next in nonſenſe, and in both
your laſt:
The force of Folly could no further
go;
To make a third, ſhe joined the
former two."

Its title, however, by aiming at too much, effects nothing. A Charade is not neceſſarily "void of thought," or "nonſenſical." On the contrary, it may be pronounced an exerciſe for the ingenuity, and where there is any to diſplay, will be ſure to diſplay it. It ſerves to fill up, and agreeably too, an interval at breakfaſt, or a gap in converſation; and if not greatly inſtructive, is at leaſt innocent and amuſing. At all events, as it has made its way into every faſhionable circle, and employed even Garrick, it will ſcarcely be deemed unworthy of attention. The fillineſſes indeed that have appeared in the papers under this title, C. Fox's on the word Penſion alone excepted, are not only deſtitute of all pleaſantry in the ſtating, but are formed in general of words utterly unfit for the purpoſe. They have therefore been treated with the contempt they deſerved. In trifles of this nature, inaccuracy is without excuſe. Thoſe, therefore, that are now preſented for your inſertion, are at leaſt free from this blemiſh. Whether they are at all pleaſant or ingenious, let your readers determine. The conceited pedant may wrinkle his front at their appearance, but the man of real learning knows the neceſſity of ſuch relaxations, and will readily cry, *Vive la Bagatelle!*

CHARADE I.

The removal of my *Second* formerly ſerved to introduce my *Firſt*.
My *Whole* is the companion of aſhes. *Sack-cloth.*

II.

My *Firſt*, however here abuſed,
Deſigns the Sex alone;
In *Cambria*, ſuch is cuſtom's power,
'Tis Jenkin, John, or Joan.

My *Second* oft is loudly called,
When Men prepare to fiſt it;
It's name delights the female ear;
Its force—may none reſiſt it!

It binds the weak, it binds the
ſtrong,
The wealthy and the poor;
Still 'tis to joy a paſſport deem'd,
For ſullen Fame, a cure.

It may inſure an age of bliſs,
Yet miſeries oft attend it;
To fingers, ears, and noſes too
It, various lords commend it.

My *Whole* may chance to make
one drink,
Tho' vended in a fiſh-ſhop;
'Tis now the Monarch of the Seas,
And has been an Archbiſhop.
Her-ring.

III.

To my *Firſt* may I never be put!
On my *Second* may I never be
ſordidly intent!
My *Whole*, upon my modeſty, I
will never ſell. *Bar-gain.*

IV.

My *Firſt*, when a Frenchman is learning Engliſh, ſerves him to ſwear by. My *Second* is either hay or corn. My *Whole* is the delight of the preſent age, and will be the admiration of poſterity. *Gar-rick.*

V.

My *Firſt* is plowed for various reaſons, and grain is frequently buried in it to little purpoſe. My *Second* is neither riches nor honours, yet the former would generally be given for it, and the latter is often taſteleſs without it. My *Whole* applies equally to Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter; and both Fiſh and Fleſh, Praiſe and Cenſure, Mirth and Melancholy, are the better for being in it. *Sea-ſon.*

VI.

My *Firſt*, with the moſt rooted antipathy to a Frenchman, prides himſelf whenever they meet, upon ſticking cloſe to his jacket. My *Second* has many virtues, nor is it its leaſt that it gives name to my *Firſt*. My *Whole* may I never catch! *Tar-tar.*

VII.

My *Firſt* is one of England's prime boaſts; it rejoices the ear of a horſe, and anguiſhes the toe of a man. My *Second*, when brick, is good, when ſtone, better, when *wooden*, beſt of all. My *Whole* is famous alike for rottenneſs and tin. *Corn-wall.*

VIII.

My *Firſt* is called or bad or good,
May pleaſure or offend ye;
My *Second*, in a thirſty mood,
May very much befriend ye.
My *Whole*, tho' ſtiled a "cruel word,"
May yet appear a kind one;
It often may with joy be heard,
With tears may often blind one.
Fare-well.

IX.

My *Firſt* is equally friendly to the thief and the lover, the toper and the ſtudent. My *Second* is light's oppoſite; yet they are frequently ſeen hand in hand; and their union, if judicious, gives us much pleaſure. My *Whole* is tempting to the touch, grateful to the ſight, fatal to the taſte. *Night-ſhade.*

X.

My *Firſt* has been called the ſeat of honour; it ſeems to reſent ſome ſalutes and invite others. My *Second* it behoves us all to appear in. My *Whole* is frequently ſought for by the baffled projector, the determined vermin-killer, and the deſperate lover. *Arſe-nick.*

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, *Jan.* 1, 1776. *Written by* William Whitehead, *Eſq*; *Poet Laureat.*

ON the white rocks which guard her coaſt,
Obſervant of the parting day,
Whoſe orb was half in ocean loſt,
Reclin'd Britannia lay.
Wide o'er the wat'ry waſte
A penſive look ſhe caſt,
And ſcarce could check the riſing ſigh,
And ſcarce could ſtop the tear which trembled in her eye.

" Sheathe, ſheathe the ſword which thirſts for blood,
(She cried) deceived, miſtaken men!
Nor let your parent, o'er the flood,
Send forth her voice in vain!
Alas! no tyrant ſhe,
She courts you to be free:
Submiſſive hear her ſoft command,
Nor force unwilling vengeance from a parent's hand."

Hear her, ye wiſe, to duty true,
And teach the reſt to feel;
Nor let the madneſs of a few
Diſtreſs the public weal!
So ſhall the opening year aſſume,
Time's fair child, a happier bloom;
The white wing'd hours ſhall lightly move,
The ſun with added luſtre ſhine;
" To err is human," let us prove
" Forgiveneſs is divine!"

ODE

ODE *for the* KING'S BIRTH-DAY, June 4, 1776, *written by* William Whitehead, *Eſq*; *Poet Laureat.*

YE weſtern gales, whoſe genial breath
Unbinds the glebe, till all beneath
One verdant livery wears:
You ſoothe the ſultry heats of noon,
Add ſoftneſs to the ſetting ſun,
And dry the morning's tears.

This is your ſeaſon, lovely gales,
Thro' æther now your power prevails;
And our dilated breaſts ſhall own
The joys which flow from you alone.

Why, therefore, in yon dubious ſky,
With out-ſpread wing, and eager eye
On diſtant ſcenes intent,
"Sits expectation in the air"——
Why do alternate hope and fear
Suſpend ſome great event?

Can Britain fail?—The thought were vain!
The powerful empreſs of the main
But ſtrives to ſmooth th' unruly flood,
And dreads a conqueſt ſtain'd with blood.

While yet, ye winds, your breezy balm
Thro' nature ſpreads a general calm,
While yet a pauſe fell diſcord knows;
Catch the ſoft moment of repoſe,
Your genuine powers exert;
To pity melt the obdurate mind,
Teach every boſom to be kind,
And humanize the heart.

Propitious gales, O wing your way!
And whilſt we hail that rightful ſway
Whence temper'd freedom ſprings,
The bliſs we feel to future times
Extend, and from your native climes
Bring peace upon your wings!—

ARISTOTLE's

ARISTOTLE's HYMN *to* VIRTUE, *in* MEMORY *of* HERMIAS.

Tranſlated from the Greek. By Dr. BURNEY.

VIRTUE! thou ſource of pure delight,
Whoſe rugged mien can ne'er affright
The man with courage fir'd;
For thee the ſons of Greece have run
To certain ills, which others ſhun,
And glorioufly expir'd.

Whene'er thy ſacred ſeeds take root,
Immortal are the flow'rs and fruit,
Unfading are the leaves;
Dearer than ſmiles of parent kind,
Or balmy ſleep, or gold refin'd,
The joys thy triumph gives.

For thee the twins of mighty Jove,
For thee divine Alcides ſtrove,
From Vice the World to free;
For thee Achilles quits the light,
And Ajax plunges into night,
Eternal night, for thee.

Hermias, the darling of mankind,
Shall leave a deathleſs name behind,
For thee untimely ſlain;
As long as love's bright altars blaze,
His worth ſhall furniſh grateful praiſe
To all the Muſes train.

AMERICA.

Addreſſed to the Rev. Dean TUCKER.

Said to be written by SOAME JENYNS, *Eſq;*

CROWN'D be the man with laſting praiſe,
Who firſt contriv'd the pin
To looſe mad horſes from the chaiſe,
And ſave the necks within.

See how they prance, and bound, and ſkip,
And all controul diſdain!
They bid defiance to the whip,
And tear the ſilken rein.

Awhile we try if art or ſtrength
Are able to prevail;
But, hopeleſs, when we find at length
That all our efforts fail,

With ready foot the ſpring we preſs,
Out jumps the magic plug,
Then, diſengag'd from all diſtreſs,
We ſit quite ſafe and ſnug.

The pamper'd ſteeds, their freedom gain'd,
Run off full ſpeed together;
But, having no plan aſcertain'd,
They run they know not whither.

Boys, who love miſchief and a courſe,
Enjoying the diſaſter,
Bawl, ſtop 'em! ſtop 'em! till they're hoarſe,
But mean to drive them faſter.

Each, claiming now his nat'ral right,
Scorns to obey his brother;
So they proceed to kick and bite,
And worry one another.

Hungry at laſt, and blind, and lame,
Bleeding at noſe and eyes,
By ſuff'rings grown extremely tame,
And by experience wiſe,

With bellies full of liberty,
But void of oats and hay,
They both ſneak back, their folly ſee,
And run no more away.

Let all who view th' inſtructive ſcene,
And patronize the plan,
Give thanks to Glo'ſter's honeſt Dean,
For, TUCKER, thou'rt the man!

Picture

Picture of the domeſtic Life and Manners of the Ancient Knights; *being the Opening of a moſt ingenious elegant* Poem, *entitled*, Sir ELDRED of the BOWER, a Legendary Tale, by Miſs HANNAH MOORE.

THERE was a young, and valiant Knight,
Sir ELDRED was his name,
And never did a worthier wight
The rank of knighthood claim.

Where gliding *Tay* her ſtream ſends forth,
To crown the neighbouring wood,
The antient glory of the North,
Sir ELDRED's caſtle ſtood.

The youth was rich as youth might be
In patrimonial dower;
And many a noble feat had he
Atchiev'd, in hall, and bower.

He did not think, as ſome have thought,
Whom honour never crown'd,
The fame a father dearly bought,
Cou'd make the ſon renown'd.

He better thought, a noble fire,
Who gallant deeds had done,
To deeds of hardihood ſhou'd fire
A brave and gallant ſon.

The faireſt anceſtry on earth
Without deſert is poor;
And every deed of lofty worth
Is but a tax for more.

Sir ELDRED's heart was good and kind,
Alive to Pity's call;
A croud of virtues grac'd his mind,
He lov'd, and felt for all.

When *merit* raiſed the ſufferer's name,
He *doubly* ſerv'd him *then*;
And thoſe who cou'd not prove that claim,
He thought they ſtill were *men*.

But ſacred truth the Muſe compels
His errors to impart;
And yet the Muſe, reluctant, tells
The fault of ELDRED's heart.

Tho' kind and gentle as the dove,
As free from guile and art,
And mild, and ſoft as infant love,
The feelings of his heart;

Yet if diſtruſt his thoughts engage,
Or jealouſy inſpires,
His boſom wild and boundleſs rage
Inflames with all its fires:

Not Thule's waves ſo wildly break
To drown the northern ſhore;
Not Etna's entrails fiercer ſhake,
Or Scythia's tempeſts roar.

As when in ſummer's ſweeteſt day,
To fan the fragrant morn,
The ſighing breezes ſoftly ſtray
O'er fields of ripen'd corn;

Sudden the lightning's blaſt deſcends,
Deforms the ravag'd fields;
At once the various ruin blends,
And all reſiſtleſs yields.

But when, to clear his ſtormy breaſt,
The ſun of reaſon ſhone,
And ebbing paſſions ſunk to reſt,
And ſhew'd what rage had done:

O then what anguiſh he betray'd!
His ſhame how deep, how true!
He view'd the waſte his rage had made,
And ſhudder'd at the view.

The meek-ey'd dawn, in ſaffron robe,
Proclaim'd the opening day;
Up roſe the ſun to gild the globe,
And hail the new-born May;

The birds their amorous notes repeat,
And glad the vernal grove,
Their feather'd partners fondly greet
With many a ſong of love;

When pious EDRED walk'd abroad
His morning vows to pay,
And hail the univerſal Lord
Who gave the goodly day.

That done—he left his woodland glade,
And journey'd far away;
He lov'd to court the ſtranger ſhade,
And thro' the lone vale ſtray.

Within the boſom of a wood,
By circling hills embrac'd,
A little, modeſt, manſion ſtood,
Built by the hand of Taſte.

While many a prouder caſtle fell,
This, ſafely did endure;
The houſe where guardian virtues dwell
Is ſacred, and ſecure.

Of Eglantine an humble fence
Around the manſion ſtood,
Which charm'd at once the raviſh'd ſenſe,
And ſcreen'd an infant wood.

The wood receiv'd an added grace,
As pleas'd it bent to look,
And view'd its ever verdant face
Reflected in a brook.

The ſmallneſs of the ſtream did well
The maſter's fortunes ſhew;
But little ſtreams may ſerve to tell
From what a ſource they flow.

This manſion own'd an aged Knight,
And ſuch a man was he,
As Heaven juſt ſhews to human ſight,
To tell what man ſhou'd be.

His youth in many a well-fought field
Was train'd betimes to war;
His boſom, like a well-worn ſhield,
Was grac'd with many a ſcar.

The vigour of a green old age
His reverend form did bear;
And yet, alas! the warrior-ſage
Had drain'd the dregs of care:

And ſorrow more than age can break,
And wound its hapleſs prey;
'Twas ſorrow furrow'd his firm cheek;
And turn'd his bright locks grey.

One darling Daughter ſooth'd his cares,
A young and beauteous dame;
Sole comfort of his failing years,
And BIRTHA was her name.

Her heart a little ſacred ſhrine,
Where all the Virtues meet;
And holy Hope, and Faith divine,
Had claim'd it for their ſeat.

She rear'd a fair and fragrant bower
Of wild aud ruſtic taſte,
And there ſhe ſcreen'd each fav'rite flower
From every ruder blaſt.

And not a ſhrub or plant was there
But did ſome moral yield;
For wiſdom, with a father's care,
Was found in every field.

The DEATH *of* ALICO, *an* African Slave, *condemned for Rebellion, in* Jamaica, 1762. *By* BRYANT EDWARDS, *Eſq; of* Jamaica.

I.

'TIS paſt:—Ah! calm thy * cares to reſt!
Firm and unmov'd am I:—
In Freedom's cauſe I bar'd my breaſt,—
In Freedom's cauſe I die.

II.

Ah ſtop! thou doſt me fatal wrong:——
Nature will yet rebel;
For I have lov'd thee very long,
And lov'd thee very well.

III.

To native ſkies and peaceful bow'rs,
I ſoon ſhall wing my way;
Where joy ſhall lead the circling hours,
Unleſs too long thy ſtay.

IV.

O ſpeed, fair ſun! thy courſe divine;
My ABALA remove;——
There thy bright beams ſhall ever ſhine,
And I for ever love!

* He is ſuppoſed to addreſs his wife at the place of execution.

V.

On thoſe bleſt ſhores—a Slave no more!
In peaceful eaſe I'll ſtray;
Or rouſe to chace the mountain boar,
As unconfin'd as day!

VI.

No Chriſtian Tyrant there is known
To mark his ſteps with blood,
Nor ſable Mis'ry's piercing moan
Reſounds thro' ev'ry wood!

VII.

Yet have I heard the melting tongue,
Have ſeen the falling tear;
Known the good heart by pity wrung,
Ah! that ſuch hearts are rare!

VIII.

Now, Chriſtian, glut thy raviſh'd eyes
—I reach the joyful hour;
Now bid the ſcorching flames ariſe,
And theſe poor limbs devour:

IX.

But know, pale Tyrant, 'tis not thine
Eternal war to wage;
The death thou giv'ſt ſhall but combine
To mock thy baffled rage.

X.

O Death, how welcome to th' oppreſt!
Thy kind embrace I crave;
Thou bring'ſt to Mis'ry's boſom Reſt,
And *Freedom to the Slave!*

ODE. To Miſs ******.

By the SAME.

O CLEAR that cruel doubting brow!
—I'll call on mighty JOVE
To witneſs this eternal vow;—
'Tis you alone I love!

'O leave

'O leave the God to ſoft repoſe,'
(The ſmiling Maid replies)
'For JOVE but laughs at lover's oaths,
'And lover's perjuries.'

By honour'd Beauty's gentle pow'r;
By Friendſhip's holy flame;—
'Ah! what is Beauty but a flow'r,
'And Friendſhip but a name!'

By thoſe dear tempting lips, I cried;—
—With arch ambiguous look
Convinc'd, my CLOE glanc'd aſide,
And bade me *kiſs the book*.

BRISTOWE TRAGEDIE: Or, The DETHE of Syr CHARLES BAWDIN. *From Poems ſuppoſed to have been written at* Briſtol, *by* THOMAS ROWLEY, *and others, in the Fifteenth Century. See an Article among our* Antiquities *for this Year, particularly* p. 159. *and another Poem entitled* Song to ÆLLE, *in our laſt Year's Poetry, aſcribed to the above* THOMAS ROWLEY.

THE featherd ſongſter chaunticleer
Han wounde hys bugle horne
And tolde the earlie villager
The commynge of the morne:

Kynge Edwarde ſawe the ruddie ſtreakes
Of lyghte eclypſe the greie;
And herde the raven's crockynge throte
Proclayme the fated daie.

"Thou'rt ryght," quod hee, "for, by the Godde
"That ſyttes enthron'd on hyghe!
"Charles Bawdin, and hys fellowes twaine,
"To-daie ſhall ſurelie die."

Thenne wythe a jugge of nappy ale
Hys Knyghtes dydd onne hymm waite;
"Goe tell the traytour, thatt to-daie
"Hee leaves thys mortall ſtate."

Syr Canterlone thenne bendedd lowe,
Wythe harte brymm-fulle of woe;
He journey'd to the caſtle-gate,
And to Syr Charles dydd goe.

Butt whenne hee came, hys children twaine,
And eke hys lovynge wyfe,
Wythe brinie tears dydd wett the floore,
For goode Syr Charleſes lyfe.

" O goode Syr Charles!" ſayd Canterlone,
" Badde tydyngs I doe brynge."
" Speke boldlie, manne," ſayd brave Syr Charles.
" Whatte ſays thie traytor kynge?"

" I greeve to telle, before yonne ſonne
" Does fromme the welkinn flye,
" Hee hath uponne hys honour ſworne,
" Thatt thou ſhalt ſurelie die."

" Wee all muſt die," quod brave Syr Charles;
" Of thatte I'm not affearde;
" Whatte bootes to lyve a little ſpace?
" Thanke JESU, I'm prepar'd:

" Butt telle thye kynge, for myne hee's not,
" I'de ſooner die to daie
" Thanne lyve his ſlave, as manie are,
" Tho' I ſhoulde lyve for aie.

Thenne Canterlone hee dydd goe out,
To telle the maior ſtraite
To gett all thynges ynne reddyneſs
For goode Syr Charleſes fate.

Thenne Maiſterr Canynge ſaughte the kynge,
And felle down onne hys knee;
" I'm come," quod hee, " unto your grace
" To move your clemencye."

Thenne quod the kynge, " Youre tale ſpeke out,
" You have been much oure friende;
" Whatever youre requeſt may bee,
" Wee wylle to ytte attende."

" My nobile leige! alle my requeſt
" Ys for a nobile knyghte,
" Who, tho' may hap hee has donne wronge,
" Hee thoghte ytte ſtylle was ryghte:

" Hee has a ſpouſe and children twaine,
" Alle rewyn'd are for aie;
" Yff thatt you are reſolv'd to lett
" Charles Bawdin die to-daie."

" Speke nott of ſuch a traytour vile,"
The kynge ynne furie ſayde;
" Before the evening ſtarre doth ſheene,
" Bawdin ſhall looſe hys hedde:

" Juſtice

" Juſtice does loudlie for hym calle,
" And hee ſhalle have hys meede:
" Speke, Maiſter Canynge! Whatte thynge elſe
" Att preſent doe you neede?"

" My nobile leige!" goode Canynge ſayde,
" Leave juſtice to our Godde,
" And laye the yronne rule aſyde;
" Be thyne the olyve rodde.

" Was Godde to ſerche our hertes and reines,
" The beſt were ſynners grete;
" CHRIST's vycarr only knowes ne ſynne,
" Ynne alle thys mortall ſtate.

" Lett mercie rule thyne infante reigne,
" 'Twylle faſte thye crowne fulle ſure;
" From race to race thy familie
" Alle ſov'reigns ſhall endure:

" Butt yff wythe bloode and ſlaughter thou
" Beginne thy infante reigne,
" Thy crowne uponne thy childrennes brows
" Wylle never long remayne."

" Canynge, awaie! this traytour vile
" Has ſcorn'd my power and mee;
" Howe canſt thou thenne for ſuch a manne
" Intreate my clemencye?"

" My nobile leige! the trulie brave
" Wylle val'rous actions prize,
" Reſpect a brave and nobile mynde,
" Altho' ynne enemies."

" Canynge, awaie! By Godde ynne Heav'n
" Thatt dydd mee beinge gyve,
" I wylle nott taſte a bitt of breade
" Whilſt thys Syr Charles dothe lyve.

" By MARIE, and alle Seinctes ynne Heav'n,
" This ſunne ſhall be his laſte."
Thenne Canynge dropt a brinie teare,
And from the preſence paſte.

Wyth herte brymm-fulle of gnawynge grief,
Hee to Syr Charles dydd goe,
And ſatt hymm downe uponne a ſtoole,
And teares beganne to flowe.

" Wee all muſt die," quod brave Syr Charles;
" Whatte bootes ytte howe or whenne;
" Dethe ys the ſure, the certaine fate
" Of all wee mortall menne.

" Saye why, my friend, thie honeſt ſoul
" Runns overr att thyne eye;
" Is ytte for my moſt welcome doome
" Thatt thou doſt child-lyke crye?"

Quod godlie Canynge, " I doe weepe,
" Thatt thou ſoe ſoone muſt dye,
" And leave thy ſonnes and helpleſs wyfe;
" 'Tys thys thatt wettes myne eye."

" Thenne drie the tears thatt out thyne eye
" From godlie fountaines ſprynge;
" Dethe I deſpiſe, and alle the power
" Of Edwarde, traytor kynge.

" Whan throgh the tyrant's welcom means
" I ſhall reſigne my lyfe,
" The Godde I ſerve wylle ſoone provyde
" For bothe mye ſonnes and wyfe.

" Before I ſawe the lyghtſome ſunne,
" Thys was appointed mee;
" Shall mortall manne repyne or grudge
" Whatt Godde ordeynes to bee?

" Howe oft ynne battaile have I ſtoode,
" Whan thouſands dy'd arounde;
" Whan ſmokynge ſtreemes of crimſon bloode
" Imbrew'd the fattened grounde:

" Howe dydd I knowe that ev'ry darte,
" Thatt cutte the airie waie,
" Myghte nott fynde paſſage toe my harte,
" And cloſe myne eyes for aie?

" And ſhall I nowe, forr feere of dethe,
" Looke wanne and bee dyſmayde?
" Ne! fromm my herte flie childyſhe feere,
" Bee alle the manne diſplay'd.

" Ah, goddelyke Henrie! Godde forefende,
" And guarde thee and thye ſonne,
" Yff 'tis hys wylle; but yff 'tis nott,
" Why thenne hys wylle bee donne.

" My

" My honeſt friende, my faulte has beene
" To ſerve Godde and mye prynce;
" And thatt I no tyme-ſerver am,
" My dethe wylle ſoone convynce.

" Ynne Londonne citye was I borne,
" Of parents of grete note:
" My fadre dydd a nobile armes
" Emblazon onne hys cote:

" I make ne doubte butt hee ys gone
" Where ſoone I hope to goe;
" Where wee for ever ſhall bee bleſt,
" From oute the reech of woe:

" Hee taughte mee juſtice and the laws
" Wyth pitie to unite;
" And eke hee taughte mee howe to knowe
" The wronge cauſe fromm the ryghte:

" Hee taughte mee wythe a prudent hande
" To feede the hungrie poore,
" Ne lett mye ſarvants dryve awaie
" The hungrie fromme my doore:

" And none can ſaye, butt alle mye lyfe
" I have hys wordyes kept;
" And ſumm'd the actyonns of the daie
" Eche nyghte before I ſlept.

" I have a ſpouſe, goe aſke of her,
" Yff I defyl'd her bedde?
" I have a kynge, and none can laie
" Blacke treaſon onne my hedde.

" Ynne Lent, and onne the holie eve,
" Fromm fleſhe I dydd refrayne;
" Whie ſhould I thenne appeare diſmay'd
" To leave thys worlde of payne?

" Ne! hapleſs Henrie! I rejoyce,
" I ſhalle ne ſee thye dethe;
" Moſte willynglie ynne thye juſt cauſe
" Doe I reſign mye brethe.

" Oh, fickle people! rewyn'd londe!
" Thou wylt kenne peace ne moe;
" Whyle Richard's ſonnes exalt themſelves,
" Thye brookes wythe bloude wylle flowe.

" Saie, were ye tyr'd of godlie peace,
" And godlie Henrie's reigne,
" Thatt you dydd choppe youre eaſie daies
" For thoſe of bloude and peyne?

" Whatte tho' I onne a ſledde bee drawne,
" And mangled by a hynde,
" I doe defye the traytor's pow'r,
" Hee can ne harm my mynde;

" Whatte tho' uphoiſted onne a pole,
" Mye lymbes ſhall rotte ynne ayre,
" And ne ryche monument of braſſe
" Charles Bawdin's name ſhall bear;

" Yett ynne the holie booke above,
" Whyche tyme can't eate awaie,
" There wythe the ſarvants of the Lorde
" Mye name ſhall lyve for aie.

" Thenne welcome dethe! for lyfe eterne
" I leave thys mortall lyfe:
" Farewell, vayne worlde, and alle that's deare,
" Mye ſonnes and lovynge wyfe!

" Nowe dethe as welcome to mee comes,
" As e'er the moneth of Maie;
" Nor woulde I even wyſhe to lyve,
" Wyth my dere wyfe to ſtaie."

Quod Canynge, " 'Tis a goodlie thynge
" To bee prepar'd to die;
" And from thys world of peyne and grefe
" To Godde ynne Heav'n to flie."

And nowe the bell beganne to tolle,
And claryonnes to ſounde;
Syr Charles hee herde the horſes feete
A prauncyng onne the grounde:

And juſt before the officers,
His lovynge wyfe came ynne,
Weepynge unfeigned teeres of woe,
Wythe loude and dyſmalle dynne.

" Sweet Florence! nowe I praie forbere,
" Ynne quiet lett mee die;
" Praie Godde, thatt ev'ry Chriſtian ſoule
" Maye looke onne dethe as I.

" Sweet

" Sweet Florence! why theſe brinie teeres?
" Theye waſhe my ſoule awaie,
" And almoſt make mee wyſhe for lyfe,
" Wyth thee, ſweete dame, to ſtaie.

" 'Tys butt a journie I ſhalle goe
" Untoe the lande of blyſſe;
" Nowe, as a proofe of huſbande's love,
" Receive thys holie kyſſe."

Thenne Florence, fault'ring ynne her ſaie,
Tremblynge theſe wordyes ſpoke,
" Ah, cruele Edwarde! bloudie kynge!
" My herte ys welle nyghe broke:

" Ah, ſweete Syr Charles! why wylt thou goe,
" Wythoute thye lovynge wyfe?
" The cruelle axe thatt cuttes thye necke,
" Ytte eke ſhall ende mye lyfe."

And nowe the officers came ynne
To brynge Syr Charles awaie,
Whoe turnedd toe hys lovynge wyfe,
And thus toe her dydd ſaie:

" I goe to lyfe, and nott to dethe;
" Truſte thou ynne Godde above,
" And teache thye ſonnes to feare the Lorde,
" And ynne theyre hertes hym love:

" Teache them to runne the nobile race
" Thatt I theyre fader runne:
" Florence! ſhou'd dethe thee take——adieu!
" Yee officers, leade oone."

Thenne Florence rav'd as anie madde,
And dydd her treſſes tere;
" Oh! ſtaie, mye huſbande! lorde! and lyfe!"—
Syr Charles thenne dropt a teare.

'Tyll tyredd oute wythe ravynge loud,
Shee fellen onne the flore;
Syr Charles exerted alle hys myghte,
And march'd fromm oute the dore.

Uponne a ſledde hee mounted thenne,
Wythe lookes fulle brave and ſwete;
Lookes, thatt enſhone ne moe coneern
Thanne anie ynne the ſtrete.

Before

Before hym went the council-menne,
Ynne ſcarlett robes and golde,
And taſſils ſpanglynge ynne the ſunne,
Muche glorious to beholde:

The Freers of Seincte Auguſtyne next
Appeared to the ſyghte,
Alle cladd ynne homelie ruſſett weedes,
Of godlie monkyſh plyghte:

Ynne diffraunt partes a godlie pſaume
Moſtle ſweetlie theye dydd chaunt;
Behynde theyre backes ſyx mynſtrelles came,
Who tun'd the ſtrunge bataunt.

Thenne fyve-and-twentye archers came;
Echone the bowe dydd bende,
From reſcue of kynge Henries friends
Syr Charles forr to defend.

Bolde as a lyon came Syr Charles,
Drawne onne a clothe-layde ſledde,
Bye two blacke ſtedes ynne trappynges white,
Wyth plumes uponne theyre hedde:

Behynde hym fyve-and-twenty moe
Of archers ſtronge and ſtoute,
Wyth bended bowe echone ynne hande,
Marched ynne goodlie route:

Seincte Jameſes Freers marched next,
Echone hys parte dydd chaunt;
Behynde theyre backes ſyx mynſtrelles came,
Who tun'd the ſtrunge bataunt:

Thenne came the maior and eldermenne,
Ynne clothe of ſcarlett deck't;
And theyre attending menne echone,
Lyke Eaſterne princes trick't:

And after them, a multitude
Of citizenns dydd throngе;
The wyndowes were alle fulle of heddes,
As hee dydd paſſe alonge.

And whenne hee came to the hyghe croſſe,
Syr Charles dydd turne and ſaie,
"O Thou, thatt ſaveſt manne fromme ſynne,
"Waſhe mye ſoule clean thys daie!"

Att the grete mynſterr wyndowe ſat
The kynge ynne myckle ſtate,
To ſee Charles Bawdin goe alonge
To hys moſt welcom fate.

Soone as the ſledde drewe nyghe enowe,
Thatt Edwarde hee myghte heare,
The brave Syr Charles hee dydd ſtande uppe,
And thus hys wordes declare:

" Thou ſeeſt mee, Edwarde! traytour vile!
" Expos'd to infamie;
" Butt bee aſſur'd, diſloyall manne!
" I'm greaterr nowe thanne thee.

" Bye foule proceedyngs, murdre, bloude,
" Thou weareſt nowe a crowne;
" And haſt appoynted mee to dye,
" By power nott thyne owne.

" Thou thynkeſt I ſhall dye to-daie;
" I have beene dede 'till nowe,
" And ſoone ſhall lyve to weare a crowne
" For aie uponne my browe:

" Whylſt thou, perhaps, for ſom few yeares,
" Shalt rule thys fickle lande,
" To lett them knowe howe wyde the rule
" 'Twixt kynge and tyrant hande:

" Thye pow'r unjuſt, thou traytour ſlave!
" Shall falle onne thye owne hedde"——
Fromm out of hearyng of the kynge
Departed thenne the ſledde.

Kynge Edwarde's ſoule ruſh'd to hys face,
Hee turn'd hys hedde awaie,
And to hys broder Glouceſter
Hee thus dydd ſpeke and ſaie:

" To hym that ſoe-much-dreaded dethe
" Ne ghaſtlie terrors Lrynge,
" Beholde the manne! hee ſpake the truthe,
" Hee's greater thanne a kynge!"

" Soe lett hym die!" Duke Richard ſayde;
" And maye echone oure foes
" Bende downe theyre neckes to bloudie axe,
" And feede the carryon crowes."

And nowe the horſes gentlie drewe
Syr Charles uppe the hyghe hylle;
The axe dydd glyſterr ynne the ſunne,
Hys pretious bloude to ſpylle.

Syrr Charles dydd uppe the ſcaffold goe,
As uppe a gilded carre
Of victorye, bye val'rous chiefs
Gayn'd ynne the bloudie warre:

And to the people hee dydd ſaie,
"Beholde you ſee mee dye,
"For ſervynge loyally mye kynge,
"Mye kynge moſt ryghtfullie.

"As longe as Edwarde rules thys lande,
"Ne quiet you wylle knowe;
"Youre ſonnes and huſbandes ſhalle bee ſlayne,
"And brookes wythe bloude ſhalle flowe.

"You leave youre goode and lawfulle kynge,
"Whenne ynne adverſitye;
"Lyke mee, untoe the true cauſe ſtycke,
"And for the true cauſe dye."

Thenne hee, wyth preeſtes, uponne hys knees,
A pray'r to Godde dydd make,
Beſeechynge hym unto hymſelfe
Hys partynge ſoule to take.

Thenne, kneelynge downe, hee layd hys hedde
Moſt ſeemlie onne the blocke;
Whyche fromme hys bodie fayre at once
The able heddes-manne ſtroke:

And oute the bloude beganne to flowe,
And rounde the ſcaffolde twyne;
And teares, enow to waſhe't awaie,
Dydd flowe fromme each mann's eyne.

The bloudie axe hys bodie fayre
Ynnto foure parties cutte;
And ev'rye parte, and eke hys hedde,
Uponne a pole was putte.

One parte dyd rotte onne Kynwulph-hylle,
One onne the mynſter-tower,
And one from off the caſtle-gate
The crowen dydd devoure.

The other onne Seyncte Powle's goode gate,
A dreery ſpectacle;
Hys hedde was plac'd onne the hyghe croſſe,
Ynne hyghe-ſtreete moſt nobile.

Thus was the ende of Bawdin's fate:
Godde proſper longe our kynge,
And grante hee maye, wyth Bawdin's ſoule,
Ynne heav'n Godd's mercie ſynge!

THE CAPTIVE. A PERSIAN ELEGY; *by Dr.* WOLCOTT.

Scene the Sultan's Palace.

TO thee, who rul'ſt o'er Perſia's wide domain,
The wretch of Zulpha pours the ſuppliant ſigh:
Shall love the bleeding boſom bare in vain,
And pity vainly raiſe th' imploring eye?

Lo, virtue weeps! her ſacred drops revere;
Nor thus her cheek with burning bluſhes ſtain:
The monarch's heart, that melts at virtue's tear,
More than a thouſand triumphs gild his reign.

Enough of woe, have war's wild horrors ſpread;
Ev'n now the vallies ſhriek, the hamlets burn.
See havock waft the blaze from ſhade to ſhade!
See the wan ſhepherd o'er the ruin mourn!

Say, cannot this the ſoft emotion wake;
Force from thy eye the ſympathizing ſtream;
But ſhall thy cruelty the wretch o'ertake,
'Scap'd from the ruffian's ſword and waſting flame?

Thoſe weeping orbs eternal darkneſs ſhade,
If one fond glance thy ſavage hope inſpires:
Love's keeneſt vengeance ſmite the guilty maid,
Falſe to her fame, and faithleſs to his fires.

Live, live ye vales of Lar in mem'ry's eye,
Whoſe ſong ſo often ſtole my raviſh'd ear;
Let Selim's name embalm my conſtant ſigh,
His image brighten ev'ry falling-tear.

Can Lar's fair vallies from remembrance fade,
Mir's echoing rill, and Dinur's conſcious grove;
Where truth and Selim won a willing maid,
Where flow'd the ſhepherd's firſt fond ſigh of love.

Ye fair ſultanas, that around me throng,
Ah! ceaſe to ſoothe a captive's hapleſs hours:
Harſh to my ear is pleaſure's careleſs ſong,
And dim the radiance ſcepter'd grandeur ſhow'rs.

Ah! what avails the purple's coſtly pride,
The ruby's bluſh, the di'mond's light'ning beam,
Attendant ſlaves, or muſic's wanton tide,
Or floods of fragrance, that around me ſtream?

Can pomp from love-ſick abſence ſteal the ſigh,
Smooth with gay ſmiles the ſullen front of care,
Chace the pale cloud from melancholy's eye,
And calm the deep-ton'd murmurs of deſpair?

Away thoſe tow'rs, that thus their heads advance.
While ſervile flatt'ry crawls a welcome gueſt,
Where proſtitution darts the wanton glance,
And envy's demons gnaw the throbbing breaſt!

Fairer to me is Suzan's dangerous ſhade,
Where growling fate, the reſtleſs ſavage roams;
Where horror breathes around a death-like dread,
And crowding ſpectres haunt the twilight glooms.

Fairer to me the dungeon's dreary round,
Low-ſounding to the captive's hollow ſigh;
Where the pale pond'ring wretch, in thought profound,
Nails to the murky floor his haggard eye.

Ye Perſian nymphs, with artleſs manners bleſt,
And bleſt with blooms by beauty's pencil ſpread;
Retire, ſweet ſtrangers to the throbbing breaſt,
And court of ſolitude her deepeſt ſhade.

Wing, where gay freedom bounds from grove to grove,
Where love in ſafety points the tender gaze;
Where feeds, young innocence, her cooing dove,
And meek contentment pours the ſong of praiſe.

Parents of lovely maids, be deaf the ear,
While pride the flatt'ring pompous tale imparts,
Far from thoſe bow'rs each bluſhing damſel bear,
Nor give to mis'ry's gripe their gentle hearts.

The tyger growling thro' th' affrighted wood,
Springs to defend th' endanger'd young from harm;
The fierce, the wild-ey'd vulture, bath'd in blood,
Feels for her youngling's cry, the fond alarm.

Thus

Thus ſung the nymph, the ſoft ſultanas ſigh'd:
Deſire with virtue in the monarch ſtrove;
Be bleſt, be Selim thine, (at length) he cry'd,
Then gave the maid to liberty and love.

Dr. Barnard *having advanced in Converſation with Sir* Joſhua Reynolds *and other Wits, that he thought "no Man could improve when he was paſt the Age of Forty-five;" Dr.* Sam. Johnſon, *who was in Company, immediately turned round to the facetious Dean, and told him that he was an Inſtance to the contrary, for that there was great Room for Improvement in him (the Dean), "and wiſhed he'd ſet about it:" upon which, the Dean the next Day ſent the following elegant Bagatelle to Sir* Joſhua Reynolds *and the ſame Company.*

VERSES *to Sir* JOSHUA REYNOLDS *and Co.*

By the Rev. Dr. BARNARD, DEAN *of* DERRY.

I Lately thought no man alive
Cou'd e'er improve paſt forty-five,
And ventur'd to aſſert it;
The obſervation was not new,
But ſeem'd to me ſo juſt and true,
That none cou'd controvert it.

"No, Sir," ſays Johnſon, "'tis not ſo,
That's your miſtake, and I can ſhew,
An inſtance, if you doubt it;
You, Sir, who are near forty-eight,
May much improve, 'tis not too late,
I wiſh you'd ſet about it."

Encourag'd thus to mend my faults,
I turn'd his counſel in my thoughts,
Which way I ſhould apply it;
Learning and wit ſeem'd paſt my reach,
For who can learn when none will teach?
And wit—I could not buy it.

Then come, my friends, and try your ſkill,
You can inform me if you will,
(My books are at a diſtance,)
With you I'll live and learn, and then,
Inſtead of books, I ſhall read men,
To lend me your aſſiſtance.

Dear

Dear * Knight of Plympton, teach me how
To ſuffer with unruffled brow,
And ſmile ſerene like thine;
The *jeſt uncouth*, or *truth ſevere*,
To ſuch I'll turn my deafeſt ear,
And calmly drink my wine.

Thou ſay'ſt, not only ſkill is gain'd,
But genius too may be attain'd,
By ſtudious imitation;
Thy temper mild, thy genius fine,
I'll copy, till I make thee mine,
By conſtant application.

Thy art of pleaſing, teach me, Garrick,
Thou †, who reverſeſt Odes Pindaric,
A ſecond time read o'er;
Oh! could we read thee backward too,
Laſt thirty years thou ſhould'ſt review,
And charm us thirty more.

If I have thoughts and can't expreſs 'em,
Gibbons ſhall teach me how to dreſs 'em
In terms ſelect and terſe;
Jones teach me modeſty and Greek,
Smith how to think, Burk how to ſpeak,
And Beauclerc to converſe.

Let Johnſon teach me how to place,
In faireſt light each borrow'd grace;
From him I'll learn to write;
Copy his clear familiar ſtyle,
And, from the roughneſs of his file,
Grow like *himſelf—polite*.

An INVOCATION *to* POVERTY.

Said to be written by the Hon. CHARLES FOX, *Eſq;*

OH! *Poverty!* of pale conſumptive hue,
If thou delight'ſt to haunt me, ſtill in view;
If ſtill thy preſence muſt my ſteps attend,
At leaſt continue as thou art—my Friend!

* Sir Joſhua Reynolds.

† This alludes to Mr. G's having reverſed a few ſtanzas of a Pindaric ode, upon a gentleman's aſſerting that all Pindarics might be treated in the ſame manner, and be equally intelligible. But ſo far from Mr. G's having the leaſt intention of ridiculing either the Ode or the Author, he had before expreſſed his approbation of it, without knowing at the time who wrote it.

When

When Scotch example bids me be unjuſt,
Falſe to my word—or faithleſs to my truſt,
Bid me the baneful error quickly ſee,
And ſhun the world, to find repoſe with thee;
When Vice to Wealth would turn my partial eye,
Or Int'reſt ſhut my ear to Sorrow's cry,
Or Courtier's cuſtom would my reaſon bend,
My Foe to flatter,—or deſert my Friend:
Oppoſe, kind *Poverty*, thy temper'd ſhield,
And bear me off unvanquiſh'd from the field.
If giddy Fortune e'er return again,
With all her idle—reſtleſs, wanton train,—
Her magic glaſs ſhould falſe Ambition hold,
Or Av'rice bid me put my truſt in Gold,
To my relief, thou virtuous Goddeſs, haſte,
And with thee bring thy daughters ever chaſte,
Health! Liberty! and Wiſdom! ſiſters bright,
Whoſe charms can make the worſt condition light,
Beneath the hardeſt fate the mind can chear,
Can heal Affliction—and diſarm Deſpair!
In chains, in torments, pleaſure can bequeath,
And dreſs in ſmiles the tyrant hour of *Death!*

ODE *on the* Breaking of a China Quart Mug *belonging to the Buttery of* Lincoln-College, Oxford.

Amphora non meruit tam pretioſa *mori*—

WHENE'ER the cruel hand of death
Untimely ſtops a fav'rite's breath,
Muſes in plaintive numbers tell
How lov'd he liv'd—how mourn'd he fell.—
Catullus' wail'd his ſparrow's fate,
And *Gray* immortaliz'd his cat.
Thrice tuneful bards! could I but chime ſo clever,
My *Quart*, my *honeſt Quart*, ſhould live for ever.

How weak is all a mortal's pow'r
T' avert the death-devoted hour!
Nor can a ſhape or beauty ſave
From the ſure conqueſt of the grave.
In vain the *Butler's* choiceſt care,
The *Maſter's* wiſh, the *Burſar's* pray'r!
For when life's lengthen'd to its longeſt ſpan,
China itſelf muſt fall as well as *man*.

Can I forget how oft my *Quart*
Has ſooth'd my care, and warm'd my heart?
When barley lent its balmy aid,
And all its liquid charms diſplay'd!
When *orange* and the *nut-brown* toaſt
Swam mantling round the *ſpicy coaſt!*
The pleaſing depth I view'd with ſparkling eyes,
Nor envy'd *Jove* the *Nectar* of the ſkies.

The *ſide-board*, on that fatal day,
When you in glitt'ring ruins lay,
Mourn'd at thy loſs.—In guggling tone
Decanters poured out their moan—
A dimneſs hung on ev'ry glaſs—
Joe * wonder'd what the matter was.—
Corks ſelf-contracted freed the *frantic beer*,
And ſympathizing tankards dropt a tear.—

Where are the *flow'ry wreaths* that bound
In *roſy rings* thy *chaplets* round?
The *azure ſtars* whoſe glitt'ring rays
Promis'd a happier length of days!
The trees that on thy border grew,
And bloſſom'd with *eternal blue!*
Trees, *ſtars*, and *flow'rs* are ſcatter'd on the floor,
And all thy brittle beauties are no more.—

Had'ſt thou been form'd of coarſer earth,
Had *Nottingham* but giv'n thee birth!
Or had the variegated ſide
Of *Stafford's* ſable hue been dy'd,
Thy ſtately fabric had been ſound,
Tho' tables tumbled on the ground.—
The *fineſt mould* the ſooneſt will decay:
Hear this, ye Fair, for you yourſelves are *clay!*

Mr. GRAY'S *two* LATIN ODES *to the* DEITY *of the* GRAND CHARTREUSE, *and to Mr.* WEST, *with* Engliſh *Tranſlations of them*; *being the genuine School Exerciſes of a young Gentleman of Fifteen.*

ODE *to the* DEITY *of the* GRAND CHARTREUSE.

OH tu, ſeveri relligio loci,
Quocunque gaudes nomine, (non leve
Nativa nam certè fluenta
Numen habet, vetereſque ſylvas;

* The college butler.

Præſentiorem

Præſentiorem et conſpicimus Deum
Per invias rupes, fera per juga
  Clivoſque præruptos, ſonantes
    Inter aquas, nemorumque noctem;
Quam ſi repoſtus ſub trabe citreâ
Fulgeret auro, et Phidiacâ manu)
  Salve vocanti ritè, feſſo et
    Da placidam juveni quietem.
Quod ſi invidendis ſedibus, et frui
Fortuna ſacrâ lege ſilentii
  Vetat volentem, me reſorbens
    In medios violenta fluctus,
Saltem remoto des, pater, angulo
Horas ſenectæ ducere liberas,
  Tutumque vulgari tumultu
    Surripias, hominumque curis.

The TRANSLATION.

OH thou that guard'ſt this dread abode,
With rigid ſanctity impreſt,
Whate'er thy name (for ſure ſome god
Midſt theſe receſſes awes my breaſt;
Some god inſpires his native floods,
And ſpreads a deeper gloom o'er all the woods.

Along the pendent mountain's brow,
Along the wild cliff's pathleſs ſite,
And where the murmuring waters flow,
And woods preſerve eternal night,
We view the preſent god ariſe;
In nobler majeſty he ſtrikes our eyes,

Than when in Parian marble form'd,
Or burniſh'd gold, we ſee him ſtand
Beneath his citron temple, warm'd
To life by Phidias' matchleſs hand)
O deign to hear thy ſuppliant's pray'r,
And grant him quiet, unalloy'd with care.

But if forbid by reſtleſs fate
Theſe envied pleaſures here to prove,
Bleſt ſilence' laws in this retreat
T'enjoy, and lead the life I love,
Again by fickle fortune hurl'd
Back to the tempeſts of the buſy world;

Yet in ſome ſecret diſtant ſpot,
When age has wrinkled o'er my brow,
Give me in peace to be forgot,
Freed from the toils I ſuffer now.
From vulgar paſſions let me reſt,
Far from the cares that rack the worldly breaſt.

ODE *by Mr.* GRAY *to Mr.* WEST.

MATER roſarum, cui teneræ vigent
Auræ Favonî, cui Venus it comes
Laſciva, nympharum choreis
Et volucrum celebrata cantu!
Dic, non inertem fallere quâ diem
Amat ſub umbrâ, ſeu ſinit aureum
Dormire plectrum, ſeu retentat
Pierio Zephyrinus antro
Furore dulci plenus, et immemor
Reptantis inter frigora Tuſculi
Umbroſa, vel colles amici
Palladiæ ſuperantis Albæ.
Dilecta Fauno et capripedum choris
Pincta, teſtor vos, Anio minax
Quæcunque per clivos volutus
Præcipiti tremefecit amne,
Illius altum Tibur, et Æſulæ
Audiſſe ſylvas nomen amabiles,
Illius et gratas Latinis
Naiaſin ingeminaſſe rupes:
Nam me Latinæ naiades uvidâ
Videre ripâ, quâ niveas levi
Tam ſæpè lavit rore plumas
Dulcè canens Venuſinus ales;
Mirum! canenti conticuit nemus,
Sacrique fontes, et retinent adhuc
(Sic muſa juſſit) ſaxa molles
Docta modos, vetereſque lauri.
Mirare nec tu me citharæ rudem
Claudis laborantem numeris: loca
Amœna, jucundumque ver in-
compoſitum docuere carmen;
Hærent ſub omni nam folio nigri
Phœbea lucî (credite) ſomnia,
Argutiuſque et lympha et auræ
Neſcio quid ſolito loquuntur,

The TRANSLATION.

O Queen of flowers, whoſe tender care
Swells the ſoft gales that nurſe the youthful year,
With whom fair Venus comes along,
Theme of the feather'd choir's melodious ſong;
Venus, the wanton queen of love,
Whom the gay nymphs reſound through every grove.
Oh ſay, beneath what favour'd ſhade
Beguiles my WEST, in ſtudious leiſure laid,
The mid-day hours, not ill employ'd,
Whether he throws his golden lyre aſide,
Or 'mid Pieria's laves, again
Fill'd with poetic fire reſumes the ſtrain,
Forgot his friend, who climbs the height
Of ſhady Tuſculum, or Alba's ſeat?
Ye ſpreading pines, whoſe ſacred groves
Faunus, and every ſportive ſatyr loves,
Where Anio down the trembling ſteeps,
And rugged rocks, with headlong torrent ſweeps;
O witneſs all, his name how oft
O'er Tibur's cloud-crown'd hills hath ſoar'd aloft;
Oft Æſula, how all around,
Say, have thy lovely ſhades return'd the ſound;
How oft each clift, and hallow'd dell,
Where Latium's naiads ever love to dwell.
For me the Latian naiads view'd
On the dank margin of that limpid flood,
Where erſt his plumes of ſilvery hue,
Venuſium's bird oft bath'd in roſy dew.
Wondrous! while he, ſweet ſongſter, ſung,
The ſilent woods in mute attention hung;
At his ſweet lay each fount ſtood ſtill,
And check'd the tinkling of its ſacred rill.
Ev'n now (the muſes thus ordain)
The rocks, the laurels ſtill preſerve the ſtrain.
Nor wonder that in aukward flight
My unfledg'd wings attempt Parnaſſus' height;
The ſweet retreat, the blooming ſpring,
Call forth to voice my rude unletter'd ſtring.
In this bleſt ſeat (my words believe)
Phœbean ſlumbers hang on every leaf:
While every rill and gale around
Charms with a ſweeter and a ſprightlier ſound.

Sir ANTHONY BRANVILLE'S *Addreſs to the* LADIES, *in the late revived Comedy of the* DISCOVERY.

Spoken by Mr. GARRICK.

LADIES, before I go, will you allow
A moſt devoted ſlave to make his bow?
Brought to your bar, ye moſt angelic jury!
'Tis you ſhall try me for my am'rous fury.
Have I been guilty, pray, of indecorum?
My ardors were ſo fierce I cou'd not low'r 'em;
Such raging paſſions I confeſs an evil;
In fleſh and blood like mine they play the devil!
Bound on the rack of love poor I was laid,
Between two fires, a *widow* and a *maid!*
My heart, poor ſcorched dove, now pants for reſt;
Where, ladies, ſhall the flutt'rer find a neſt?
Take pity, fair ones, on the tortur'd thing,
Heal it, and let it once more chirp and ſing:
Yet to approach you were infatuation:
If ſouls like mine ſo prone to inflammation,
Should meet your tinder hearts—there would be con-fla-gra-tion.
Indeed ſo prudent are moſt men of faſhion,
They run no danger, for they feed no paſſion:
Tho' faireſt faces ſmile, they can defy 'em;
Tho' ſofteſt tongues ſhould plead, they can deny 'em;
Mankind would ceaſe, but for ſuch loving fools as I am.
When I amongſt them with my ardors glow,
I'm mount *Veſuvius* in the midſt of ſnow!
Had I the power, and of each ſex were ruler,
I'd *warm* the one, and make the other *cooler:*
When I addreſs the fair, no art can ſmother
The mutual flame we kindle in each other;
I'm now electrify'd—therefore expedient
To fly combuſtibles!—Ladies, your obedient.

An OCCASIONAL PROLOGUE, *ſpoken by Mr.* GARRICK, *the laſt Time of his performing "towards increaſing a Fund for the Relief of thoſe who, from their Infirmities, ſhall be obliged to retire from the Stage."*

A Veteran ſee! whoſe laſt act on the ſtage,
Intreats your ſmiles for ſickneſs and for age;
Their cauſe I plead—plead it in heart and mind;
A fellow-feeling makes one wond'rous kind;

Might

Might we but hope your zeal would not be leſs
When I am gone, to patronize diſtreſs,
That hope obtain'd, the wiſh'd-for end ſecures,
To *ſoothe* their cares, who oft have lighten'd *yours*.
Shall the great heroes of celeſtial line,
Who drank full bowls of Greek and Roman wine,
Cæſar and Brutus, Agamemnon, Hector,
Nay Jove himſelf, who here has quaff'd his nectar!
Shall they who *govern'd* fortune, cringe and court her,
Thirſt in their age, and call in vain for porter?
Like Belliſarius, tax the pitying ſtreet,
With *Date Obolum* to all they meet?
Sha'n't I, who oft have drench'd my hands in gore,
Stabb'd many, poiſon'd ſome, beheaded more;
Who numbers ſlew in battle on this plain,
Sha'n't I, the ſlayer, try to feed the ſlain?
Brother to all, with equal love I view,
The men who ſlew me, and the men I ſlew:
I muſt, I will this happy project ſeize,
That thoſe too old to die, may live with eaſe.
Suppoſe *the babes* I ſmother'd in the Tower,
By chance, or ſickneſs, loſe their acting pow'r,
Shall *they*, once princes, worſe than all be ſerv'd!
In childhood murder'd, and when murder'd ſtarv'd?
Matrons half-raviſh'd, for your recreation,
In age, ſhould never want ſome conſolation:
Can I, *Young Hamlet* once, to nature loſt,
Behold, O horrible! my father's ghoſt,
With griſly beard—pale cheek—ſtalk up and down,
And he, the royal Dane, want half-a-crown?
Forbid it ladies, gentlemen forbid it,
Give joy to age, and let 'em ſay—*you* did it:
To you *, *ye Gods!* I make my laſt appeal,
You have a right to judge as well as feel;
Will your *high wiſdoms* to our ſcheme incline,
That kings, queens, heroes, gods, and ghoſts may dine?
Olympus ſhakes!—that omen all ſecures;
May every joy you give, be tenfold *yours*.

* To the Upper Gallery.

EPILOGUE *to the new Comedy of the* RUNAWAY.

Written by DAVID GARRICK, *Eſq;*

Spoken by Miſs YOUNGE.

POST-haſte from Italy arrives my lover!
Shall I to you, good friends, my fears diſcover?
Should foreign modes his virtues mar and mangle,
And *caro ſpoſo* prove—Sir Dingle Dangle;
No ſooner *join'd* than *ſeparate* we go,
Abroad—we never ſhall each other know;
At home—I mope *above*—he'll pick his teeth *below*.
In ſweet domeſtic chat we ne'er ſhall mingle,
And, *wedded* tho' I am, ſhall ſtill live *ſingle*.
However modiſh, I deteſt this plan:
For me no maukiſh creature, weak and wan;
He muſt be Engliſh, and an Engliſh—Man.
To nature and his country falſe and blind,
Shou'd *Belville* dare to twiſt his form and mind,
I will diſcard him—and, to Britain true,
A Briton chuſe—and, may be, one of you!
Nay, don't be frighten'd—I am but in jeſt;
Freemen, in love or war, ſhould ne'er be preſs'd.
If you wou'd know my utmoſt expectation,
'Tis one unſpoil'd by *travell'd* education;
With knowledge, taſte, much kindneſs, and ſome whim,
Good ſenſe to govern *me*—and let *me* govern him:
Great love of me muſt keep his heart from roving;
Then I'll forgive him, if he proves too loving.
If, in theſe times, I ſhould be bleſs'd by fate
With ſuch a *phœnix*, ſuch a matchleſs mate,
I will by kindneſs, and ſome ſmall diſcerning,
Take care that *Hymen's* torch continues burning:
At weddings, now-a-days, the torch, thrown down,
Juſt makes a ſmoke, then ſtinks throughout the town!
No married puritan—I'll follow pleaſure,
And ev'n the faſhion—but in mod'rate meaſure;
I will of op'ra extaſies partake,
Tho' I take ſnuff to keep myſelf awake.
No rampant plumes ſhall o'er my temples play,
Foretelling that my brains will fly away;
Nor from my head ſhall ſtrange vagaries ſpring,
To ſhew the ſoil can teem with every thing!
No *fruits*, *roots*, *greens*, ſhall fill the ample ſpace,
A *kitchen-garden*, to adorn my face!

No rocks ſhall there be ſeen, no windmill, fountain,
Nor curls, like guns, ſet round, to guard the mountain!
O learn, ye fair, if this ſame madneſs ſpreads,
Not to *hold up*, but to *keep down*, your heads;
Be not miſled by ſtrange fantaſtic art,
But in your dreſs let *Nature* take ſome part;
Her ſkill alone a laſting pow'r inſures,
And beſt can ornament ſuch charms as *yours*.

VERSES *to the late Dr.* PEARCE, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *and his Lady, on Occaſion of their celebrating the Fiftieth Year of their Union, as a Year of* Jubilee.

NO more let calumny complain,
That Hymen binds in cruel chain,
And makes his ſubjects ſlaves:
Supported by the good and wiſe,
Her keeneſt ſlander he deſies,
Her utmoſt malice braves.

To-day—he triumphs o'er his foes,
And to the world a pair he ſhews,
Though long his ſubjects—free:
Who happy in his bands appear,
And joyful call the FIFTIETH year,
A year of JUBILEE.

To the MEMORY *of the late Mr.* GRANGER, *Author of the* Biographical Hiſtory, *who, on the Sunday after* Eaſter *(when the Sacrament is adminiſtered in the church of* Shiplake *as well as on* Eaſter-Sunday *itſelf), was ſeized with an Apoplectic Fit while at the Communion Table there, after having gone through the Duties of the Deſk and Pulpit as uſual; and, notwithſtanding every medical Aſſiſtance, died early the next Morning,* April 15, 1776.

MORE happy end what ſaint e'er knew!
To whom like mercy ſhown!
His Saviour's death in rapturous view,
And unperceiv'd his own.

SONG *ſung by Mr.* BEARD *at the Annual Meeting of the Preſident, Vice-Preſident, Governors, &c. of the* LONDON-HOSPITAL. *From the Works of* PAUL WHITEHEAD, *Eſq; juſt publiſhed.*

OF trophies and laurels I mean not to ſing,
Of Pruſſia's brave prince, or of Britain's good king;
Here the poor claim my ſong; then the art I'll diſplay,
How you all ſhall be gainers—by giving away.

Derry down,

The

The cruſe of the widow you very well know,
The more it was emptied, the fuller did flow:
So here with your purſe the like wonder you'll find;
The more you draw out, ſtill—the more left behind.
Derry down.

The prodigal here without danger may ſpend;
That ne'er can be laviſh'd, to heav'n we lend;
And the miſer his purſe-ſtrings may draw without pain,
For what miſer won't give—when giving is gain?
Derry down.

The gameſter, who ſits up whole days and whole nights,
To hazard his health and his fortune at White's;
Much more to advantage his betts he may make,
Here, ſet what he will, he will double his ſtake.
Derry down.

The fair-one, whoſe heart the four aces controul,
Who ſighs for Sans-prendre, and dreams of a vole,
Let her here ſend a tithe of her gain at quadrille,
And ſhe'll ne'er want a friend in victorious ſpadille.
Derry down.

Let the merchant, who trades on the perilous ſea,
Come here, and inſure, if from loſs he'd be free;
A policy here from all dangers ſecures,
For ſafe is the venture—which Heaven inſures.
Derry down.

The ſtock-jobber too may ſubſcribe without fear,
In a fund which for ever a premium muſt bear;
Where the ſtock muſt ſtill riſe, and where ſcrip will prevail,
Tho' South-Sea, and India, and Omnium, ſhould fail.
Derry down.

* The churchman likewiſe his advantage may draw,
And here buy a living, in ſpite of the law—
In heav'n, I mean; then, without any fear,
Let him purchaſe away—here's no ſimony here.
Derry down.

† Ye rakes, who the joys of Hymen diſclaim,
And ſeek, in the ruin of virtue, a fame;
You may here boaſt a triumph conſiſtent with duty,
And keep, without guilt, a ſeraglio of beauty.
Derry down.

* Additional ſtanza for the annual feaſt of the ſons of the clergy.

† Ditto for the Magdalen Hoſpital.

If from charity then ſuch advantages flow,
That you ſtill gain the more—the more you beſtow;
Here's the place will afford you rich profit with eaſe:
When the baſon comes round—be as rich as you pleaſe.
Derry down.

Then a health to that * patron, whoſe grandeur and ſtore
Yield aid and defence to the ſick and the poor;
Who no courtier can flatter, no patriot can blame:
But, our Preſident's here—or I'd tell you his name.
Derry down.

* The late Duke of Devonſhire.

Account of Books for 1777.

The Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman *Empire; by* Edward Gibbon, *Eſq; Volume the Firſt.*

WE do not remember any work publiſhed in our time, which has met with a more general approbation than Mr. Gibbon's Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. We are happy in adding our ſuffrage to the public voice, which has ſo juſtly declared in its favour.

The volume publiſhed is the execution of a part only, of a very extenſive and arduous undertaking. The whole deſign neceſſarily comprehends the diviſion of the empire into its two great branches, the weſtern and eaſtern; and the ſtory of both is to be continued to their final diſſolution. The latter ſurvived the former for ſeveral centuries, and coincided with the æra of the Cruſades. The Cruſade therefore, falling in with his hiſtory of the eaſtern empire, (to the fall of which, they did, not a little, contribute) he propoſes to enter largely into the hiſtory of thoſe enthuſiaſtical enterpriſes. They are far from being foreign to his ſubject, and there are few events in the whole courſe of human affairs, which afford more matter of entertainment and ſpeculation to a philoſophical mind. At the ſame time he propoſes to take a view of the ſtate of the city of Rome itſelf, during the darkneſs and confuſion of the middle ages, then indeed wholly ſtripped of its power and grandeur, but never an unintereſting object.

This brings down the narrative to that period where ancient hiſtory confines upon the modern, and thus Mr. Gibbon's work, when compleated, will form the great connecting link, between two ſuch extremely differing ſyſtems of opinions, manners, and politicks.

This latter part alone of the undertaking, would require not only great induſtry, deep learning, and ſound judgment, but the rare talent of rendering the tranſactions of obſcure times, and forgotten perſons, engaging and delightful. By this firſt volume now publiſhed, the author has ſhewn that he poſſeſſes all theſe qualities in a very high degree.

The general period which Mr. Gibbon has choſen for his hiſtory, is at leaſt equally intereſting with that of the proſperous ſtate of the Roman affairs. The inſtruction to be drawn from the fall, is perhaps fully equal to that, which is to be extracted from the growth of human greatneſs. In the latter caſe, fortune throws a glare over every action, which often prevents

a ſo-

a ſober judgment on it. We are too apt to confound the whole in an indiſcriminate admiration; and often to decorate ſucceſsful imprudence, and happy temerity, with the praiſes which belong to well digeſted policy, and well regulated boldneſs.

Wiſe conduct and virtuous character attended with ill ſucceſs, are not ſo likely to have injuſtice done to them by an impartial poſterity. During a great part of the period of which Mr. Gibbon treats in this volume, the empire began only to diſcover ſymptoms of decline, diſcernible only to thoſe who trace political evils in their remote cauſes. Yet even at this period of external ſplendor, the materials for hiſtory are mean and ſcanty. Our author ſelects what is to be found valuable among them with great judgment, and places it always in the happieſt point of view.

A ſecond volume, which is all that our author engages for, will perfect a compleat Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of Rome, from the age of the Antonines to the ſubverſion of the weſtern empire.

The preſent volume carries us no further than the reunion of the whole empire, under Conſtantine. It conſiſts of ſixteen chapters; the three firſt are in a manner preparatory to the hiſtory, treating of the extent and force of the union and internal proſperity of the Roman empire, to the age of the Antonines, and concluding with a curious diſſertation on the conſtitution of that empire, at the ſame age.

The 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th, carry on the hiſtory to the time of Philip. The 8th chapter is an hiſtorical diſſertation on the ſtate of Perſia, after the reſtoration of its monarchy by Artaxerxes, and the 9th exhibits the ſtate of Germany to the time of the emperor Decius.

The 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14th chapters compleat the hiſtory to the acceſſion of Conſtantine to the whole undivided imperial dignity, over the vaſt extent of the Roman world.

This event firſt gave chriſtianity the ſanction of human authority; we cannot but lament our author's deferring to the next volume, the "very intereſting and important "chapter, which, he informs us, "is to treat of the motives of "Conſtantine's converſion, as they "may variouſly be deduced from "faith, from virtue, from policy, "or from remorſe." Our author has not however altogether quitted us at this moſt important period; his two laſt chapters offer to our conſideration, the ſecondary cauſes of the rapid growth of chriſtianity. They treat of the conduct of the Roman government towards the chriſtians, from Nero to Conſtantine. Our author ſeems ſenſible that the ſubject of theſe chapters called for all his abilities, and he has exerted himſelf accordingly. He may perhaps in them be thought in ſome degree to have quitted the character of the hiſtorian, to aſſume that of the eccleſiaſtical critick. In his repreſentation of the great conflict between declining Paganiſm and growing Chriſtianity, he certainly ſhews no ſort of blind prejudice in favour of the ſucceſsful cauſe. If the primitive Chriſtians, through zeal or reſentment, have magnified the faults of their adverſaries, and their own ſufferings, Mr. Gibbon omits no pains to make the ballance even. He ſometimes

times ſeems even to labour with ſomewhat of the earneſtneſs, and with all the ſkill of an advocate, in favour of the conduct of the Roman government towards the Chriſtians; and ſo far from allowing merit in the early martyrdoms, they hardly eſcape the imputation of ſome degree of guilt. This is managed with great dexterity, and often with a delicate vein of irony. —It is impoſſible to miſunderſtand, or wholly to approve of the deſign of the author in this part of his work. He did not probably expect, or perhaps wiſh, that his opinions and ſentiments ſhould reſt altogether without contradiction or oppoſition; it is however a controverſy in which we are not called upon for our opinion, and ſhall not preſume to offer any deciſion.

The extract we ſhall offer to our readers, is the concluſion of the third chapter.

" If a man were called to fix the period in the hiſtory of the world, during which the condition of the human race was moſt happy and proſperous, he would, without heſitation, name that which elapſed from the death of Domitian to the acceſſion of Commodus. The vaſt extent of the Roman empire was governed by abſolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wiſdom. The armies were reſtrained by the firm but gentle hand of four ſucceſſive emperors, whoſe characters and authority commanded involuntary reſpect. The forms of the civil adminiſtration were carefully preſerved by Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, who delighted in the image of liberty, and were pleaſed with conſidering themſelves as the accountable miniſters of the laws. Such princes deſerved the honour of reſtoring the republic, had the Romans of their days been capable of enjoying a rational freedom.

" The labours of theſe monarchs were over-paid by the immenſe reward that inſeparably waited on their ſucceſs; by the honeſt pride of virtue, and by the exquiſite delight of beholding the general happineſs of which they were the authors. A juſt, but melancholy reflection embittered, however, the nobleſt of human enjoyments. They muſt often have recollected the inſtability of a happineſs which depended on the character of a ſingle man. The fatal moment was perhaps approaching, when ſome licentious youth, or ſome jealous tyrant, would abuſe, to the deſtruction, that abſolute power, which they had exerted for the benefit of their people. The ideal reſtraints of the ſenate and the laws might ſerve to diſplay the virtues, but could never correct the vices, of the emperor. The military force was a blind and irreſiſtible inſtrument of oppreſſion; and the corruption of Roman manners would always ſupply flatterers eager to applaud, and miniſters prepared to ſerve, the fear or the avarice, the luſt or the cruelty, of their maſters.

" Theſe gloomy apprehenſions had been already juſtified by the experience of the Romans. The annals of the emperors exhibit a ſtrong and various picture of human nature, which we ſhould vainly ſeek among the mixed and doubtful characters of modern hiſtory. In the conduct of thoſe monarchs we may trace the utmoſt lines of vice and virtue; the moſt exalted perfection, and the meaneſt dege-

neracy of our own ſpecies. The golden age of Trajan and the Antonines had been preceded by an age of iron. It is almoſt ſuperfluous to enumerate the unworthy ſucceſſors of Auguſtus. Their unparalleled vices, and the ſplendid theatre on which they were acted, have ſaved them from oblivion. The dark unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the ſtupid Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beaſtly Vitellius, and the timid inhuman Domitian, are condemned to everlaſting infamy. During fourſcore years (excepting only the ſhort and doubtful reſpite of Veſpaſian's reign) Rome groaned beneath an unremitting tyranny, which exterminated the ancient families of the republic, and was fatal to almoſt every virtue, and every talent, that aroſe in that unhappy period.

"Under the reign of theſe monſters, the ſlavery of the Romans was accompanied with two peculiar circumſtances, the one occaſioned by their former liberty, the other by their extenſive conqueſts, which rendered their condition more wretched than that of the victims of tyranny in any other age or country. From theſe cauſes were derived, 1. The exquiſite ſenſibility of the ſufferers; and, 2. The impoſſibility of eſcaping from the hand of the oppreſſor.

"I. When Perſia was governed by the deſcendants of Seſi, a race of princes, whoſe wanton cruelty often ſtained their divan, their table, and their bed, with the blood of their favourites, there is a ſaying recorded of a young nobleman, That he never departed from the ſultan's preſence, without ſatisfying himſelf whether his head was ſtill on his ſhoulders. The experience of every day might almoſt juſtify the ſcepticiſm of Ruſtan. Yet the fatal ſword ſuſpended above him by a ſingle thread, ſeems not to have diſturbed the ſlumbers, or interrupted the tranquility, of the Perſian. The monarch's frown, he well knew, could level him with the duſt; but the ſtroke of lightning or apoplexy might be equally fatal; and it was the part of a wiſe man, to forget the inevitable calamities of human life in the enjoyment of the fleeting hour. He was dignified with the appellation of the king's ſlave; had, perhaps, been purchaſed from obſcure parents, in a country which he had never known; and was trained up from his infancy in the ſevere diſcipline of the ſeraglio. His name, his wealth, his honours, were the gift of a maſter, who might, without injuſtice, reſume what he had beſtowed. Ruſtan's knowledge, if he poſſeſſed any, could only ſerve to confirm his habits by prejudices. His language afforded not words for any form of government, except abſolute monarchy. The hiſtory of the eaſt informed him, that ſuch had ever been the condition of mankind. The Koran, and the interpreters of that divine book, inculcated to him, that the ſultan was the deſcendant of the prophet, and the vicegerent of Heaven; that patience was the firſt virtue of a Muſſulman, and unlimited obedience the great duty of a ſubject.

"The minds of the Romans were very differently prepared for ſlavery. Oppreſſed beneath the weight of their own corruption and of military violence, they for a long

long while preſerved the ſentiments, or at leaſt the ideas, of their freeborn anceſtors. The education of Helvidius and Thraſea, of Tacitus and Pliny, was the ſame as that of Cato and Cicero. From Grecian philoſophy, they had imbibed the juſteſt and moſt liberal notions of the dignity of human nature, and the origin of civil ſociety. The hiſtory of their own country had taught them to revere a free, a virtuous, and a victorious commonwealth; to abhor the ſucceſsful crimes of Cæſar and Auguſtus; and inwardly to deſpiſe thoſe tyrants whom they adored with the moſt abject flattery. As magiſtrates and ſenators, they were admitted into the great council, which had once dictated laws to the earth, whoſe name ſtill gave a ſanction to the acts of the monarch, and whoſe authority was ſo often proſtituted to the vileſt purpoſes of tyranny. Tiberius, and thoſe emperors who adopted his maxims, attempted to diſguiſe their murders by the formalities of juſtice, and perhaps enjoyed a ſecret pleaſure in rendering the ſenate their accomplice, as well as their victim. By this aſſembly, the laſt of the Romans were condemned for imaginary crimes and real virtues. Their infamous accuſers aſſumed the language of independent patriots, who arraigned a dangerous citizen before the tribunal of his country; and the public ſervice was rewarded by riches and honours. The ſervile judges profeſſed to aſſert the majeſty of the commonwealth, violated in the perſon of its firſt magiſtrate, whoſe clemency they moſt applauded when they trembled the moſt at his inexorable and impending cruelty. The tyrant beheld their baſeneſs with juſt contempt, and encountered their ſecret ſentiments of deteſtation with ſincere and avowed hatred for the whole body of the ſenate.

" II. The diviſion of Europe into a number of independent ſtates, connected, however, with each other, by the general reſemblance of religion, language, and manners, is productive of the moſt beneficial conſequences to the liberty of mankind. A modern tyrant, who ſhould find no reſiſtance either in his own breaſt, or in his people, would ſoon experience a gentle reſtraint from the example of his equals, the dread of preſent cenſure, the advice of his allies, and the apprehenſion of his enemies. The object of his diſpleaſure, eſcaping from the narrow limits of his dominions, would eaſily obtain, in a happier climate, a ſecure refuge, a new fortune adequate to his merit, the freedom of complaint, and perhaps the means of revenge. But the empire of the Romans filled the world, and when that empire fell into the hands of a ſingle perſon, the world became a ſecure and dreary priſon for his enemies. The ſlave of Imperial deſpotiſm, whether he was condemned to drag his gilded chain in Rome and the ſenate, or to wear out a life of exile on the barren rock of Seriphus, or the frozen banks of the Danube, expected his fate in ſilent deſpair. To reſiſt was fatal, and it was impoſſible to fly. On every ſide he was encompaſſed with a vaſt extent of ſea and land, which he could never hope to traverſe without being diſcovered, ſeized, and reſtored to his irritated maſter. Beyond the frontiers, his

anxious

anxious view could diſcover nothing, except the ocean, inhoſpitable deſerts, hoſtile tribes of barbarians, of fierce manners and unknown language, or dependent kings, who would gladly purchaſe the emperor's protection by the ſacrifice of an obnoxious fugitive. "Wherever you are," ſaid Cicero to the exiled Marcellus, "remember that you are equally within "the power of our conqueror."

[For a farther ſpecimen of this work, ſee pages 134—147. of the ſecond part of this volume.]

An Enquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations. By Adam Smith, *LL.D. F.R.S. 2 vols. quarto.*

THE growth and decay of nations have frequently afforded topics of admiration, and complaint to the moraliſt and declaimer: they have ſometimes exerciſed the ſpeculations of the politician; but they have ſeldom been conſidered in all their cauſes and combinations by the philoſopher. The French œconomical writers undoubtly have their merit. Within this century they have opened the way to a rational theory, on the ſubjects of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. But no one work has appeared amongſt them, nor perhaps could there be collected from the whole together, any thing to be compared to the preſent performance, for ſagacity and penetration of mind, extent of views, accurate diſtinction, juſt and natural connexion and dependence of parts. It is a compleat analyſis of ſociety, beginning with the firſt rudiments of the ſimpleſt manual labour, and riſing by an eaſy and natural gradation to the higheſt attainments of mental powers. In which courſe not only arts and commerce, but finance, juſtice, public police, the œconomy of armies, and the ſyſtem of education, are conſidered, and argued upon, often profoundly, always plauſibly and clearly; many of the ſpeculations are new, and time will be required before a certain judgment can be paſſed on their truth and ſolidity.

The ſtyle of the author may be ſometimes thought diffuſe, but it muſt be remembered that the work is didactic, that the author means to teach, and teach things that are by no means obvious.

We cannot better ſtate the nature and plan of his work, than by laying before the reader the doctor's own very ſhort introduction.

"The annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally ſupplies it with all the neceſſaries and conveniences of life which it annually conſumes, and which conſiſt always, either in the immediate produce of that labour, or in what is purchaſed with that produce from other nations.

"According therefore, as this produce, or what is purchaſed with it, bears a greater or ſmaller proportion to the number of thoſe who are to conſume it, the nation will be better or worſe ſupplied with all the neceſſaries and conveniences for which it has occaſion.

"But this proportion muſt in every nation be regulated by two different circumſtances; firſt, by the ſkill, dexterity and judgment with which labour is generally applied in it; and, ſecondly, by the proportion between the number of thoſe who are employed in uſeful labour, and that of thoſe who are not ſo employed. Whatever be

the ſoil, climate, or extent of territory of any particular nation, the abundance or ſcantineſs of its annual ſupply muſt, in that particular ſituation, depend upon thoſe two circumſtances.

" The abundance or ſcantineſs of this ſupply too ſeems to depend more upon the former of thoſe two circumſtances than upon the latter. Among the ſavage nations of hunters and fiſhers, every individual who is able to work, is more or leſs employed in uſeful labour, and endeavours to provide, as well as he can, the neceſſaries and conveniences of life, for himſelf, and ſuch of his family or tribe as are either too old, or too young, or too infirm to go a hunting and fiſhing. Such nations, however, are ſo miſerably poor, that, from mere want, they are frequently reduced, or, at leaſt, think themſelves reduced, to the neceſſity ſometimes of directly deſtroying, and ſometimes of abandoning their infants, their old people, and thoſe afflicted with lingering diſeaſes, to periſh with hunger, or to be devoured by wild beaſts. Among civilized and thriving nations, on the contrary, though a great number of people do not labour at all, many of whom conſume the produce of ten times, frequently of a hundred times more labour than the greater part of thoſe who work; yet the produce of the whole labour of the ſociety is ſo great, that all are often abundantly ſupplied, and a workman, even of the loweſt and pooreſt order, if he is frugal and induſtrious, may enjoy a greater ſhare of the neceſſaries and conveniences of life than it is poſſible for any ſavage to acquire.

" The cauſes of this improvement, in the productive powers of labour, and the order, according to which its produce is naturally diſtributed among the different ranks and conditions of men in the ſociety, make the ſubject of the firſt book of this inquiry.

" Whatever be the actual ſtate of the ſkill, dexterity, and judgment with which labour is applied in any nation, the abundance or ſcantineſs of its annual ſupply, muſt depend, during the continuance of that ſtate, upon the proportion between the number of thoſe who are annually employed in uſeful labour, and that of thoſe who are not ſo employed. The number of uſeful and productive labourers, it will hereafter appear, is every where in proportion to the quantity of capital ſtock which is employed in ſetting them to work, and to the particular way in which it is ſo employed. The Second Book, therefore, treats of the nature of capital ſtock, of the manner in which it is gradually accumulated, and of the different quantities of labour which it puts into motion, according to the different ways in which it is employed.

" Nations tolerably well advanced as to ſkill, dexterity, and judgment, in the application of labour, have followed very different plans in the general conduct or direction of it; and thoſe plans have not all been equally favourable to the greatneſs of its produce. The policy of ſome nations has given extraordinary encouragement to the induſtry of the country; that of others to the induſtry of towns. Scarce any nation has dealt equally

and impartially with every ſort of induſtry. Since the downfal of the Roman empire, the policy of Europe has been more favourable to arts, manufactures and commerce, the induſtry of towns; than to agriculture, the induſtry of the country. The circumſtances which ſeem to have introduced and eſtabliſhed this policy are explained in the Third Book.

"Though thoſe different plans were, perhaps, firſt introduced by the private intereſts and prejudices of particular orders of men, without any regard to, or foreſight of, their conſequences upon the general welfare of the ſociety; yet they have given occaſion to very different theories of political œconomy; of which ſome magnify the importance of that induſtry which is carried on in towns, others of that which is carried on in the country. Thoſe theories have had a conſiderable influence, not only upon the opinions of men of learning, but upon the public conduct of princes and ſovereign ſtates. I have endeavoured, in the Fourth Book, to explain, as fully and diſtinctly as I can, thoſe different theories, and the principal effects which they have produced in different ages and nations.

"In what has conſiſted the revenue of the great body of the people, or what is the nature of thoſe funds which, in different ages and nations, have ſupplied their annual conſumption, is treated of in theſe four firſt Books. The Fifth and laſt Book treats of the revenue of the ſovereign, or commonwealth. In this Book I have endeavoured to ſhow; firſt, what are the neceſſary expences of the ſovereign, or commonwealth; which of thoſe expences ought to be defrayed by the general contribution of the whole ſociety; and which of them, by that of ſome particular part only, or of ſome particular members of the ſociety: ſecondly, what are the different methods in which the whole ſociety may be made to contribute towards defraying the expences incumbent on the whole ſociety, and what are the principal advantages and inconveniencies of each of thoſe methods: and, thirdly and laſtly, what are the reaſons and cauſes which have induced almoſt all modern governments to mortgage ſome part of this revenue, or to contract debts, and what have been the effects of thoſe debts upon the real wealth, the annual produce of the land and labour of the ſociety.

The Hiſtory of the Reign of Philip *the Second, King of* Spain. *By* Robert Watſon, *LL.D. 2 vols. quarto.*

WHATEVER preference may, in other reſpects, be given to former times; the preſent age, it muſt be allowed, has retrieved our country from the reproach it lay under, of a deficiency of good hiſtorians. Mr. Watſon has increaſed the number of good writers in this line. He has choſen a period, that muſt ever be intereſting, whilſt religious and civil liberty hold their natural and proper eſtimation.

There cannot perhaps be found in hiſtory, a ſtory of more inſtruction to thoſe who govern mankind, if inſtruction were, as people imagine it, the certain conſequence of

example. But the ſame paſſions and prejudices, ſeem to govern human actions in the ſame ſituations, through all ages, and in all countries.

Men do not view the ſcene, in which they themſelves are the actors, with the ſame cool eye of impartiality, with which they judge of the conduct of thoſe who have trod the ſtage before them; or, they flatter themſelves, that they ſhall conduct themſelves with more prudence and diſcretion in the ſame courſe, which has brought on the ruin of others; or attributing a great deal to chance, they truſt that they ſhall have better fortune than thoſe who failed in ſimilar attempts before them; or, which is, we fear, moſt probable, they think little of what has been done before, and indulging themſelves in the hopes of obtaining the gratification of the object they are at the moment in purſuit of, they precipitate themſelves into action, and leave it to their poſterity to exerciſe the ſame diſcernment on their conduct, which they very unprofitably find no difficulty in paſſing on the paſſions and miſtakes of the times that went before them. But if we are obliged reluctantly to admit, that hiſtory does not convey that ſure inſtruction and warning, which a pleaſing theory might make us hope it did, we muſt at leaſt allow, that the labours of the hiſtorian are not waſted. The mind full of energy, as well as reflection, delights in the contemplation of active life.

The repreſentation of real tranſactions in the great and buſy ſcenes of the world, certainly make a deeper and more affecting impreſſion, than the moſt lively exertions of fancy and imagination can impreſs, or the conſideration of merely ſpeculative truth can furniſh.

Hiſtory is naturally of a more grave and ſober caſt than poetry or romance; but the hiſtorian, who is worthy that name, will find means even to indulge his fancy and imagination, as well, though not as wantonly, as the poet; and the real tranſactions of man, are of ſo ſtrange and ſurpriſing a nature, that the romance writer will envy the hiſtorian the inſtances of the marvelous that offer themſelves in the relation of true hiſtory. The ſiege of Malta, which we ſhall make our extract from Dr. Watſon's hiſtory, is of that kind. The reader will find our author animated with his ſubject; he gives the ſtory with all the warmth and ſpirit that ſo great, ſo wonderful, ſo gallant a conduct as that ſucceſsful defence of Malta could excite.

But if the gallantry of the knights of Malta commands our veneration; we muſt, in the ſame proportion, contemn and abhor the little politicks, not leſs unwiſe than baſe, of Philip, who riſked the loſs of that place of ſuch infinite conſequence to himſelf, and to the Chriſtian cauſe, which he affected to make the object of his reign. It is no leſs wonderful than lamentable, to conſider the character of Philip, whoſe reign is the ſubject of this hiſtory, and whoſe diſpoſition gave riſe to many important events. Ungrateful to the moſt indulgent and fondeſt of fathers, and the murderer of his own ſon, without one amiable quality to recommend him to the

love

love or reſpect of the world; of a ſecluded life, abſorbed in the one chymerical idea of raiſing his own perſonal authority, and making it the unenviable merit of his reign, that he would rather forego the government of his ſubjects, than not force them to worſhip their God in the forms and manner he had himſelf been brought up; if there is any merit in this, and that obſtinacy in ſuch ideas and ſuch purſuits is a virtue, Philip has a claim to one virtue. He actually did forego his government, ſooner than indulge liberty of conſcience; and the whole uſe he made of that vaſt force by which his father had nearly attained univerſal monarchy, was to leſſen that empire, and to leave a laſting debility in the power which he had abuſed.

The world has been in a practice of admiring this prince as a great politician; we confeſs ourſelves at a loſs to juſtify this opinion; we can ſee no depth or extent of mind, that can rank him among the able ſtateſmen; his vaſt power enabled him to continue his ill judged purſuits; and this obſtinacy has been dignified with the name of firmneſs.

Mr. Watſon has choſen his ſubject well, and managed it with great ability; his ſtile is clear and unaffected, and his obſervations in general profound, and ſuch as tend to lead his reader into juſt and reaſonable contemplations upon the matter he relates.

The following is the extract from this work.

" At length the Turkiſh fleet having left Conſtantinople in the end of March, arrived in ſight of Malta about the middle of May; conſiſting of more than two hundred ſail, and having on board, beſides a great number of chriſtian ſlaves, deſigned to ſerve as pioneers, above forty thouſand land forces, compoſed chiefly of Janiſſaries and Spahis, the braveſt ſoldiers of the Ottoman empire. This formidable army landed at ſome diſtance from Il Borgo, and ſoon afterwards ſpread themſelves over the country; ſetting fire to the villages, putting the peaſants to the ſword, and carrying off ſuch of the cattle, as, notwithſtanding the orders of the grand-maſter, had not been ſecured within the forts and towns.

" While the Turks were thus employed, La Valette [the grand-maſter] ſent out De Copier, marſhal of the order, with two hundred horſe and ſix hundred foot, to watch their motions. De Copier, an officer of great experience, executed his commiſſion with ſo much prudence and vigour, that by falling unexpectedly on detached parties, he cut off one thouſand five hundred of the Turks, with the loſs of only about eighty men.——

" The Turkiſh general held a council of war as ſoon as all his troops were landed, to aſſiſt him in reſolving where he ſhould begin his attack. Piali, agreeably to what he underſtood to have been the Sultan's inſtructions, was of opinion that they ought not to enter upon action till Dragut ſhould arrive. But Muſtapha having received information of the king of Spain's preparations, thought that ſomething muſt be done inſtantly for the ſecurity of the fleet; which lay at preſent in a creek where it was expoſed to the violence of the

eaſt wind, and might be attacked with great advantage by the Spaniards. On this account he was of opinion, that they ſhould immediately lay ſiege to a fort called St. Elmo, which ſtood on a neck of land near Il Borgo, having the principal harbour on one ſide of it, and on the other, another harbour large enough to contain the whole fleet in ſafety. This propoſal was approved by a majority of the council, and Muſtapha proceeded without delay to carry it into execution. He vainly expected that he would be able to reduce the fort in a few days.——

"La Valette did not expect that a place which was neither ſtrong, nor large enough to admit a numerous garriſon, could be defended long, againſt ſo great a force as was employed to reduce it; but he thought it neceſſary that the ſiege of this fort ſhould be prolonged as much as poſſible, in order to give the viceroy of Sicily time to come to his relief. With this view he reſolved to throw himſelf into St. Elmo with a ſelect body of troops; and he was preparing to ſet out when the whole body of knights remonſtrated with ſuch earneſt importunity againſt his leaving the town, that he at laſt conſented to ſuffer the reinforcement which he had prepared, to be conducted to the fort by a knight called De Medran, upon whoſe conduct and intrepidity he could rely with the moſt aſſured confidence.

"Not long after De Medran's arrival in the fort, the garriſon made a vigorous ſally, in which they drove the enemy from their intrenchments, and put a number of them to the ſword. But the reſt ſoon recovered from their ſurpriſe, and having returned to the charge, they compelled the Chriſtians to retire. In this rencounter, the vigorous efforts of the Janiſſaries were favoured by the wind, which blew the ſmoke of the guns upon the fort, and covered the beſieged with a thick cloud, through which it was impoſſible to diſcern the operations of the enemy. This incident the Turks had the preſence of mind to improve to great advantage. They ſeized, unperceived, upon the counterſcarp, made a lodgment there with beams, woolſacks, and gabions; and raiſed a battery upon it with incredible expedition. After the ſmoke was diſperſed, the beſieged beheld what had been done with much aſtoniſhment; and they were the more diſquieted, as the fortification which the Turks had raiſed upon the counterſcarp, overtoped a ravelin which lay near it, in which the beſieged could no longer appear with ſafety. They reſolved however to defend this ravelin as long as poſſible, whatever it ſhould coſt them.

"In the mean time Dragut and another noted corſair called Uluchiali arrived with twenty gallies, having, beſides ſlaves and ſeamen, two thouſand five hundred troops on board. This reinforcement and the preſence of Dragut added freſh vigour to the operations of the ſiege. This gallant corſair expoſed himſelf on all occaſions with the utmoſt intrepidity; ſpent whole days in the trenches; and as, beſides his other extraordinary talents, he was particularly ſkilful in the management of artillery, he cauſed ſome new batteries

teries to be raiſed in more advantageous ſituations than had hitherto been made choice of; and kept up a continual fire both upon the ravelin above mentioned, and a cavalier that covered the fort, and was one of its principal defences.

" This cavalier ſoon became the only defence which could prevent the beſiegers from coming up to the very foot of the walls. Some Turkiſh engineers having approached the ravelin at day-break, to examine the effects of their artillery, they obſerved a gun-port ſo low, that one of them, when mounted on the ſhoulders of another, looked into it, and ſaw the chriſtian ſoldiers lying on the ground aſleep. Of this they gave immediate information to the troops; who, advancing as quickly and ſilently as poſſible, and clapping ladders to the gun-hole, got up into the ravelin, and cut moſt of the chriſtians to pieces.

" Between this ravelin and the cavalier lay the ditch, over which the beſieged had thrown a temporary bridge of planks, leading up to the cavalier. The Turks perceiving this, leapt inſtantly upon the bridge, and attempted to make themſelves maſters of the cavalier, as they had already done of the ravelin. But the garriſon was now alarmed; the braveſt of the knights haſtened from different quarters to the poſt of danger; and, after an obſtinate engagement, they compelled the Turks to retire into the ravelin. There obſerving another way of reaching the cavalier, by a path from the bottom of the ditch, they threw themſelves down without dread or heſitation; and having aſcended by this path to the other ſide, they renewed their attack with greater fury than ever. The combat laſted from ſun-riſe till noon, when the invincible bravery of the garriſon proved at laſt victorious. About twenty knights and a hundred ſoldiers were killed, and near three thouſand of the enemy.

" As the ravelin was open on the ſide towards the fort, the beſieged pointed ſome cannon againſt it, and made great havoc among the infidels. But Muſtapha, ſenſible of the value of the acquiſition which he had made, poured in freſh ſoldiers without number; and the pioneers coming forward with wool-ſacks, planks, and gabions, put the troops at length in ſafety, and made a lodgment in the ravelin, of which the garriſon were never able to diſpoſſeſs them.

" The grand-maſter's concern on account of this diſaſter was greatly augmented, by conſidering that it could not have happened ſo ſoon, without ſome negligence on the part of the garriſon. He ſent them however an immediate reinforcement; and both the ſiege and the defence were carried on with the ſame vigour as before.

" But the ſituation of the beſieged was now become much more dangerous than formerly. The Turks applied themſelves with unremitting diligence to heighten the ravelin till it overtopt the wall of the fort; and after this, the garriſon could no longer appear upon the parapet with ſafety. Many were killed by the enemy's artillery. Several breaches were made in different parts of the wall, and the hearts of the braveſt knights began to fail within them.——

"They agreed therefore, though with much reluctance, to apply to the grand-master for liberty to quit the fort; and they made choice of the chevalier de Medran for their messenger. De Medran represented that the fort was in reality no longer tenable, and that to continue in it, though only a few days, would infallibly occasion the utter destruction of the garrison.——

"Most of the knights in council thought that this request of the garrison ought to be immediately granted. But la Valette was of a contrary opinion.——This he represented to the chevalier de Medran, and sent him back with instructions to remind the knights of the vow which they took at their entrance into the Order, of sacrificing their lives for its defence. He likewise bade him assure them, in his name, that he would not fail to send them such reinforcements as they should stand in need of, and was determined, as soon as it should be necessary, to come himself to their assistance, with a fixed unalterable purpose to lay down his life, sooner than deliver the fort into the hands of the infidels.

"This answer had the desired effect on several of the knights, and particularly on those whose principles of honour and attachment to the Order were confirmed by years. But the greater part of them were much dissatisfied. They thought the grand-master's treatment of them harsh and cruel, and wrote him a letter, subscribed by fifty-three, in which, after repeating their former request, they informed him, that if he did not, on the next night, send boats to carry them to the town, they were determined to sally out into the Turkish camp, where they might fall honourably by the sword, instead of suffering such an ignominious death as they had reason to expect, if the fort were taken by storm.

"To this letter la Valette replied, "That they were much mistaken, if they expected to satisfy their honour by throwing away their lives; since it was no less their duty to submit to his authority, than to sacrifice their lives in defence of the Order: that the preservation of the whole depended on their present obedience to his commands: that no aid was to be expected from Spain, if the fort were given up; and that, if he should yield to their request, and bring them to the town, the town itself would then be immediately invested, and they, as well as the rest, soon afterwards reduced to a situation more desperate than that from which they were so solicitous to escape, by deserting an important station which they had undertaken to defend." Besides this letter, he sent three commissioners to examine the state of the fortifications; intending by this measure either to gain time, or to prevent the garrison from sinking into despair.

"These commissioners differed widely in the accounts which they delivered at their return. Two of them thought it impossible to defend the fort much longer. But the third, named Constantine Castriot, a Greek prince, descended from the famous Albanian hero, Scanderbeg, whether from ignorance, or a consciousness of greater resources in his native courage than the

the other two poſſeſſed, maintained that the garriſon was far from being reduced to the laſt extremity; and to give proof how firmly he was perſuaded of the truth of what he ſaid, he offered to enter the fort himſelf, and to undertake the defence of it with ſuch troops as ſhould be willng to accompany him.

" The grand-maſter, ſtrongly impreſſed with a ſenſe of the neceſſity of protracting the ſiege, immediately accepted this offer, and beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on Caſtriot's zeal and reſolution. Nor did Caſtriot find any difficulty in perſuading a ſufficient number to attend him, who were no leſs zealous and reſolute than himſelf. The ſoldiers crowded to his ſtandard, and were emulous to have their names inrolled for that dangerous ſervice in which he had engaged.

" When la Valette ſaw the ſpirit by which theſe men were animated, and had no longer any doubt of being able, by their means, to prolong the ſiege of the fort, he ſent a letter to the knights, acquainting them, that he was now willing to give them their diſcharge; and would immediately ſend another garriſon, into whoſe hands, he deſired, they ſhould be ready to deliver up the fort, and come themſelves to the town in the boats in which their ſucceſſors were to be tranſported.——

" The contents and ſtyle of this letter affected the knights in the moſt ſenſible manner, and rouſed within them that delicate ſenſe of honour, by which the Order had been ſo long and ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed.———They reſolved without heſitation to remain in the fort till every man ſhould periſh, rather than either deliver it to the new garriſon, or abandon it to the enemy. And they went in a body to the governor, and intreated him to inform the grand-maſter of their repentance, and to join with them in praying that they might be ſuffered to wipe out the remembrance of their fault by their future conduct.——

" The grand-maſter ſuffered himſelf at laſt to be overcome; and henceforth the garriſon diſmiſſing all thoughts of their own ſafety, were intent on nothing but how to prolong the defence.

" The grand-maſter ſent them every night freſh troops, to ſupply the place of the killed and wounded; and kept them well furniſhed with proviſions, ammunition, and fire-works. Of theſe laſt he had invented a particular kind, which conſiſted of hoops of wood, covered with wool, and ſteeped in boiling oil, and other inflammable liquors, mixed with nitre and gunpowder. To theſe machines they ſet fire, and threw them flaming in the midſt of the enemy, when they were crowded together at an aſſault. It happened often that two or three of the Turks were hooked together and ſcorched to death; and the utmoſt confuſion was produced wherever they were thrown.

" The beſieged ſtood much in need of this, and every other inſtrument of miſchief, that could be deviſed for their defence. In ſpite of the moſt vigorous oppoſition, the Turks had caſt a bridge over the ditch, and begun to ſap and undermine the wall. From the 17th of June to the 14th of July, not a ſingle day paſt without

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ſome rencounter; and Muſtapha had frequently attempted to ſcale the wall of the fort, but had been as often repulſed with the loſs of ſome of the braveſt of his troops.

"Aſhamed at having been detained ſo long before a place of ſuch inconſiderable ſtrength, he reſolved to make one great deciſive effort, and to bring to the aſſault as many of his forces as the ſituation of the place would permit him to employ. He had already made ſeveral breaches; but in order to ſecure the ſucceſs of the aſſault which he now intended, he kept his batteries playing all the 15th without intermiſſion, till the wall on that ſide where he deſigned his attack was almoſt level with the rock. On the 16th the fleet was drawn up before ſunriſe as near the fort as the depth of the water would allow; four thouſand muſketeers and archers were ſtationed in the trenches; and the reſt of the troops, upon a ſignal given, advanced to the breach. The garriſon was prepared to receive them. The breach was lined with ſeveral ranks of ſoldiers, having the knights interſperſed among them at certain diſtances. The Turks attempted often to break through this determined band, and to overpower them with their numbers. But their numbers ſerved only to augment the loſs which they ſuſtained. Every ſhot from the fort did execution. The artillery made dreadful havoc among them, and the burning hoops were employed with aſtoniſhing ſucceſs. The novelty of theſe machines, and the ſhrieks of thoſe who were caught in them, added greatly to the terror which they inſpired, and made it impoſſible for the Turkiſh officers to keep their men firm and ſteady in purſuing the advantages which, had they preſerved their ranks, their numbers muſt have infallibly acquired.

"At length Muſtapha, after having continued the aſſault for more than ſix hours, without gaining a ſingle inch of ground on the beſieged, gave orders for ſounding a retreat.

"In this attack the garriſon loſt about twenty knights and three hundred ſoldiers; but this loſs was immediately ſupplied by a reinforcement from the town: and Muſtapha was at laſt convinced, that, unleſs the communication between the fort and the town were cut off, it would be impoſſible to bring the ſiege of the former to a period, while any troops remained in any other part of the iſland. By the advice of Dragut he reſolved to extend his trenches and batteries, on the ſide next to the town, till they ſhould reach to that part of the ſea, or great harbour, where thoſe ſupplies were landed which the grand-maſter daily ſent to the garriſon. This undertaking, he knew, muſt be attended with the utmoſt difficulty, becauſe all the ſpace between his entrenchments and the point to which it was neceſſary to extend them, lay expoſed to the artillery both of Fort St. Elmo and St. Angelo. In viewing the ground, a Sangiac, in whom he put confidence, was killed by his ſide; and, which was ſtill a more irreparable loſs, Dragut received a mortal wound, of which he died in a few days. This did not however diſcourage Muſtapha from pur-

purſuing his deſign. By employing his troops and pioneers at the work day and night without intermiſſion, he at length carried it into execution. Then having planted batteries along the ſhore, and filled his trenches with muſketeers, it was impoſſible for any boat to paſs from the town to the fort, without the moſt imminent danger of either being ſunk or intercepted.

"After this precaution, he reſumed with freſh vigour his attempt to take the fort by ſtorm. On the twenty-firſt, he made four different aſſaults; all of which the garriſon withſtood, and, in repulſing ſo many thouſand brave and well-diſciplined troops, diſplayed a degree of proweſs and fortitude which almoſt exceeds belief, and is beyond the power of deſcription. But this heroic garriſon was now exceeedingly reduced in number; and there was the ſtrongeſt reaſon to apprehend, that, in one aſſault more, they muſt inevitably be overpowered, unleſs a reinforcement were ſent them from the town. Of their deſperate ſituation they gave intelligence to the grand-maſter, by one who ſwam acroſs the harbour in the night. The boats were inſtantly filled with knights and other ſoldiers, who generouſly reſolved to devote themſelves to certain deſtruction, for the general ſafety, and the preſervation of the fort. They ſet off from the town with as much alacrity as if they had entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of victory; but they found the Turks every where ſo much upon their guard, and the lines ſo ſtrongly defended, that, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to land, they were at laſt obliged to return, depreſſed with ſorrow for the fate of their brave companions.

"The garriſon now deſpairing of relief, gave themſelves up for loſt; but inſtead of either capitulating or attempting to eſcape, they prepared for death, and paſſed the night in prayer, and in receiving the ſacrament; after which, they embraced one another tenderly, and then repaired to their reſpective poſts; while ſuch of the wounded as had been diſabled from walking, were, at their own earneſt deſire, carried to the ſide of the breach, where they waited, without diſmay, for the approach of the Turkiſh army.

"Early in the morning of the twenty-third of July, the Turks advanced to the aſſault, with loud ſhouts, as to certain victory, which they believed ſo ſmall a handful of men as now remained in the fort would not dare to diſpute with them. In this expectation they were diſappointed. The garriſon being reſolved on death, and deſpiſing danger, were more than men, and exerted a degree of proweſs and valour that filled their enemies with amazement. The combat laſted upwards of four hours, till not only every knight, but every ſoldier had fallen, except two or three who ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. The Turkiſh colours were then planted on the ramparts; and the fleet entered the harbour which the fort commanded in a kind of triumph. When Muſtapha took a view of the fort, and examined its ſize and fortifications, he could not refrain from ſaying, "What will not the father coſt us, (meaning the town) when the ſon, who is ſo ſmall, has

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coſt ſo many thouſands of our braveſt troops." But this reflection, far from exciting his admiration of that heroic fortitude which he had found ſo difficult to overcome, ſerved only to inſpire him with a brutal fury. He ordered all ſuch of the garriſon as were found lying on the breach alive to be ript open, and their hearts torn out. And as an inſult on the knights and their religion, he cauſed their dead bodies to be ſearched for, and large gaſhes to be made in them, in the form of a croſs, after which he tied them on planks, and threw them into the ſea, to be carried by the wind and tide to the town, or fort St. Angelo.

"The grand-maſter was at firſt melted into tears at this ſhocking ſpectacle; but his grief was ſoon converted into indignation and revenge; and theſe paſſions betrayed him into an action unworthy of the exalted character which he bore. In order to teach the Baſha, as he pretended, to make war with leſs barbarity, he cauſed all the Turks whom he had taken priſoners to be maſſacred; and then putting their heads into his largeſt cannon, he ſhot them into the Turkiſh camp.

"In the ſiege which has been related, the Order loſt about one thouſand five hundred men, including one hundred and thirty of the braveſt knights.——

"Muſtapha vainly imagined, that being intimidated by the fate of their companions, they would be now inclined to liſten to terms of capitulation; and in this hope he ſent an officer with a white flag to one of the gates, attended by a chriſtian ſlave, deſigned to ſerve for his interpreter. The Turk was not allowed to enter within the town; but the chriſtian was admitted, and was led through ſeveral ranks of ſoldiers under arms by an officer, who, after ſhewing him all the fortifications of the place, deſired him to take particular notice of the depth and breadth of the ditch, and ſaid to him, "See there, the only ſpot we can afford your general; and there we hope ſoon to bury him and all his Janiſſaries."

"This inſulting ſpeech being reported by the ſlave, excited in the fiery mind of the Baſha the higheſt degree of wrath and indignation, and made him reſolve to exert himſelf to the utmoſt in the proſecution of the ſiege. His troops, though greatly diminiſhed, were ſtill ſufficient to inveſt at once both the town and the fort of St. Michael. He kept a conſtant fire on both; but he intended firſt to apply to the reduction of the latter, which he propoſed to attack both by land and water, at the extremity of the peninſula on which it ſtands. In order to accompliſh this deſign, it was neceſſary he ſhould have ſome ſhipping introduced into the harbour, for tranſporting his forces. But the mouth of the harbour having been rendered inacceſſible by a great iron chain, and the cannon of St. Angelo, his deſign muſt have been relinquiſhed, if Piali had not ſuggeſted an expedient againſt which the grand-maſter had not provided. This was to make the chriſtian ſlaves and the crews of the ſhips draw a number of boats, by the ſtrength of their arms, over the neck of land on which ſtood fort St. Elmo. Of this propoſal, which Muſtapha imme-

immediately adopted, information was carried to the grand-maſter by a Turkiſh officer, who, being by birth a Greek, was touched ſuddenly with remorſe, and deſerted to the chriſtians. In conſequence of this intelligence, La Valette ſet a great number of hands to work in framing a ſtacado along that part of the promontory where the Turks intended their attack; and at another part, where the depth of the water or the hardneſs of the bottom would not admit of the ſtacado, he cauſed ſtrong intrenchments to be made upon the beach. Muſtapha in the mean time fired inceſſantly upon the fort while the ſlaves and crews were employed in tranſporting the boats over land into the harbour. At length the Baſha, judging that the number of boats which he had tranſported would be ſufficient, and that the breaches which his artillery had made were practicable, reſolved without further delay to make an attack both by ſea and land. He was the more confident of ſucceſs, as, ſince the taking of St. Elmo, he had received a conſiderable reinforcement, by the arrival of Haſcem, ſon of Barbaroſſa, with two thouſand five hundred ſelect ſoldiers, commonly called the Bravoes of Algiers. Haſcem, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of his father's fire, and was ambitious to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the Sultan's ſervice, begged of Muſtapha to intruſt him with the aſſault of fort St. Michael; and vaunted, with his natural arrogance, that he would ſoon make himſelf maſter of it ſword in hand. The Baſha, whether from an opinion of his valour, or an intention to make him learn at his own expence the folly of his preſumption, readily complied with his requeſt; and having added ſix thouſand men to his Algerines, he promiſed to ſupport him with the reſt of his army.

"Haſcem divided his forces with Candeliſſa, an old corſair, his lieutenant; to whom he committed the attack by ſea, whilſt he reſerved that on the land ſide to himſelf.

"Candeliſſa having put his troops on board the boats, ſet out with drums beating, and hautboys and other muſical inſtruments playing, preceded by a boat filled with Mahometan prieſts, ſome of whom were employed in offering prayers to Heaven for his ſucceſs, or in ſinging hymns; while others had books in their hands out of which they read imprecations againſt the chriſtians. Candeliſſa attempted firſt to break down the ſtacado which had been formed to obſtruct his landing; but finding it much ſtronger than he expected, and that, while he was employed in demoliſhing it, his troops muſt ſuffer greatly from the enemy's fire, he thought it would be eaſier to make a deſcent on that part of the ſhore which the grand-maſter had ſtrengthened with intrenchments. At this important poſt, the chriſtian troops were commanded by an ancient knight of the name of Guimeran. This experienced officer reſerved his fire till the Turks had advanced within a little diſtance of the ſhore, when by a ſingle diſcharge he killed about four hundred men. This did not prevent the reſt from approaching. Candeliſſa puſhed forwards while the chriſtians were loading their cannon, and landed at the head of his Alge-

Algerines. But Guimeran having reſerved ſome cannon charged with grape ſhot, did dreadful execution among them after they had landed, and many of them began to fly to their boats; which Candeliſſa obſerving, he commanded the boats to be put off to a little diſtance from the ſhore. His troops, perceiving then that they muſt either die or conquer, took courage from deſpair, and advanced boldly to the intrenchment, with ladders for ſcaling it in one hand, and their ſabres in the other. The combatants on both ſides diſplayed the moſt intrepid valour. Great numbers fell, and the ditch was choaked with blood, and with the bodies of the dead and wounded. The Turks at laſt, after an engagement of five hours, reached the top of the intrenchment, and there planted their enſigns. The knights, ſtung with ſhame on account of their retreat, returned with redoubled ardour. But they would probably have been overpowered by the ſuperior number of the enemy, had not the grand-maſter ſent them a ſeaſonable reinforcement, under the admiral de Giou, and the chevalier de Quiney; who fell upon the Algerines and Turks with a degree of fury that ſtruck terror into Candeliſſa himſelf, who was noted for his intrepidity. Having ordered the boats to be brought nearer the ſhore, he was among the firſt who fled. His bravoes fought deſperately for ſome time after he had left them; but were at length thrown down from the intrenchments, and compelled to fly to their boats with the utmoſt precipitation. The chriſtians purſued them, and the batteries continued firing on them without intermiſſion. Many of the boats were ſunk; the water was covered with dead bodies, mangled limbs, ſhields and helmets. Of the four thouſand who had been ſent on this enterprize, ſcarcely five hundred remained, and many of theſe were dangerouſly wounded.

"Haſcem was not more fortunate in his aſſault by land, than Candeliſſa was by ſea. After having been repulſed at one breach with great ſlaughter, he rallied his troops, and led them on to another, where he fought long and deſperately, till moſt of the bravoes having fallen by his ſide, he was obliged, with much reluctance and ſorrow, to ſound a retreat.

"Muſtapha, not unmindful of his promiſe to ſupport him, no ſooner perceived him beginning to retire, than he ordered the Janiſſaries, whom he kept under arms, to advance. The garriſon had maintained an engagement with Haſcem for five hours, in the middle of the day, and in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year; yet, as if they had not been ſubject to the wants and weakneſſes of humanity, they advanced beyond the breach to meet the Janiſſaries, and fought apparently with as much vigour and fortitude as before. By the power of ſuperior numbers, they were compelled to fall back within the breach. But there they made the moſt deſperate reſiſtance; and, being reinforced by De Giou and De Quiney, with the troops which had triumphed over Candeliſſa, they at laſt repulſed the Janiſſaries with dreadful ſlaughter; after having loſt more than forty knights, and two hundred of the braveſt of the common men.

"Muſta-

"Muſtapha, enraged by this invincible obſtinacy which the chriſtians diſplayed in their defence, and dreading that the Spaniſh ſuccours, which had been already delayed much longer than he expected, might ſoon arrive, reſolved now to employ his whole force at once, and while he himſelf proſecuted the ſiege of fort St. Michael with one half of his troops, to employ the other, under Piali, againſt the town. More batteries were raiſed. The trenches were advanced ſtill nearer than before. Bridges of ſail-yards and maſts were thrown over the ditches. Mines, notwithſtanding the hard and rocky ſoil, were ſprung. Aſſaults were repeated without number; and the two baſhas, emulous of one another, and each of them agitated with continual anxiety leſt victory ſhould declare firſt for his competitor, exhibited the moſt ſhining proofs of perſonal courage, and exhauſted all the art of war then known in the world. Yet, through the determined bravery of the knights, conducted by the grand-maſter with conſummate prudence and indefatigable vigilance, the Turks were baffled in every attempt, and repulſed with ſlaughter. Muſtapha flattered himſelf once with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs on his part, from a machine invented by his principal engineer, in the form of a huge caſk bound ſtrongly with iron hoops, and filled with gun-powder, nails, chains, bullets, and ſuch other inſtruments of death. After ſetting fire to a train which was faſtened to this machine, it was thrown by the force of an engine, upon a ravelin that was the principal defence of the fort. But the garriſon undiſmayed, found means, before it caught fire, to caſt it out again into the midſt of the aſſailants. In a moment afterwards it burſt with dreadful fury, and filled the Turks with conſternation. The knights then ſallied out upon them ſword in hand, and taking advantage of their confuſion, killed many of them, and put the reſt to flight.

"Piali had, on ſome occaſions, ſtill more reaſon than Muſtapha to entertain the hopes of victory, although the town was much ſtronger than the fort, and La Valette commanded there in perſon. By his batteries he had demoliſhed all the out-works of the place, and had made an immenſe breach in the wall. While his troops were engaged in a furious aſſault, that engroſſed the whole attention of the beſieged from morning till night, he employed a great number of pioneers in raiſing a cavalier or platform of earth and ſtones, cloſe by the breach, and ſo high as to overlook the parapet. Night, in the mean time, came on, and prevented him from carrying any further this great advantage; but he doubted not that next day he ſhould be able to make himſelf maſter of the place.

"As ſoon as he had drawn off his forces, a council of the Order was convened, and moſt of the knights were of opinion that the town was no longer tenable; that the fortifications which ſtill remained ſhould be blown up, and that the garriſon and inhabitants ſhould retire into the caſtle of St. Angelo. But the grand-maſter received this propoſal with horror and indignation. "This would

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be in effect," ſaid he, "to deliver the whole iſland into the hands of the infidels. Fort St. Michael, which has been ſo gallantly defended, and which is preſerved by its communication with the town, would thus be ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering. There is no room in the caſtle of St. Angelo for the inhabitants and troops; nor, if there were room, is there water in that fort for ſo great a number." It was then propoſed that at leaſt the relics of the ſaints and the ornaments of the churches ſhould be carried into the caſtle; and the knights earneſtly intreated the grand-maſter to retire into it himſelf, aſſuring him that they would conduct the defence with the utmoſt vigour and vigilance. "No, my brethren," he replied, "what you propoſe as to the ſacred things would ſerve only to intimidate the ſoldiers. We muſt conceal our apprehenſions. It is here we muſt either die or conquer. And is it poſſible that I, at the age of ſeventy-one, can end my life ſo honourably, as in fighting, together with my friends and brethren, againſt the implacable enemies of our holy faith?" He then told them what he thought proper to be done, and proceeded inſtantly to put it into execution. Having called all the ſoldiers from fort St. Angelo, except a few who were neceſſary for managing the artillery, he employed *them* and the inhabitants all night, in throwing up intrenchments within the breach; after which he ſent out ſome of the braveſt knights, with a ſelect body of troops, to make an attempt on the cavalier. Theſe men ſtole ſoftly along the foot of the wall till they arrived at the place appointed; when they ſet up a loud ſhout, and attacked the guards whom Piali had left there with ſo much fury, that the Turks, believing the whole garriſon had fallen upon them, abandoned their poſt, and fled precipitately to their camp.

"The cavalier was immediately fortified, a battery of cannon planted on it, and a parapet raiſed on the ſide towards the enemy. And thus the breach was rendered impracticable; the town put in greater ſecurity than before; and a work, which had been deviſed for its deſtruction, converted into a bulwark for its defence.

"The grand-maſter had now greater confidence than ever of being able to hold out till the Spaniards ſhould come to his relief. In conſequence of the aſſurances given by Philip and the Sicilian viceroy, he had, long before this time, entertained the hopes of their arrival; and had often earneſtly ſolicited the viceroy to haſten his departure from Meſſina. The conduct of this nobleman was long exceedingly myſterious. The patience of the knights was worn out by his delays; and they, and many others, ſuſpected that the real motive of his conduct was the dread of encountering with an admiral of ſo conſiderable reputation as Piali. But it afterwards appeared that the viceroy had acted agreeably to his inſtructions from the court of Spain. For although Philip was, for the reaſons above mentioned, ſincerely intereſted in the preſervation of the knights; and had amuſed them with the moſt flattering promiſes of aſſiſtance, yet he ſeems from the firſt to have re-

reſolved not to expoſe himſelf to danger on that account, and to avoid, if poſſible, a general engagement.

"A generous and grateful prince would have acted very differently towards an ally ſo deſerving of his ſupport; and if either generoſity or gratitude had been the leading principle of Philip's conduct, it is probable he would, on this occaſion, have regarded the knights as his own ſubjects; and have thought it no leſs incumbent on him to exert himſelf in their defence, than if they had acknowledged him as their ſovereign.

"But Philip was affected by their danger only ſo far as it threatened the tranquillity of his own dominions. He had reſolved to interpoſe in their behalf, rather than to ſuffer them to be overpowered; but he appears to have been very little touched with their calamities; and to have intended to leave them to themſelves, as long as there was any proſpect of their being able to make reſiſtance; by doing which he conſidered, that he would not only preſerve his own ſtrength entire, but might afterwards engage with the Turks, when they were exhauſted by the operations of the ſiege.

"Philip adhered inflexibly to this plan, notwithſtanding the grand-maſter's repeated importunities, much longer than was conſiſtent with his own ſelfiſh views. For, without a degree of fortitude and proweſs on the part of the garriſon, and a degree of wiſdom, vigilance, and magnanimity, on that of the grand-maſter, infinitely higher than there could be reaſon to expect, it muſt have been impoſſible for ſuch a handful of men to have withſtood, for ſo long a time, ſo great a force, and ſuch mighty efforts as were employed to reduce them. Even the death of the grand-maſter alone, whoſe perſon was expoſed to perpetual danger, would have proved fatal to the knights, long before Philip ſent orders to his viceroy to give them any effectual ſupport; and in this caſe, as his own dominions or his fleet would have been immediately attacked, he would probably have had little reaſon to be ſatisfied with the timid, ungenerous counſels which he purſued.

"Whatever judgment may be formed on this head, the viceroy did not think himſelf at liberty to yield to the repeated applications of the grand maſter, till the operations of the ſiege began to relax, and the Turkiſh forces were reduced from forty-five thouſand to fifteen or ſixteen thouſand; of whom many were worn out with the fatigues which they had undergone, and others rendered unfit for action by a bloody flux, which for ſeveral weeks had raged amongſt them.

"In this ſituation of affairs, when it was probable that the knights would, without aſſiſtance, have compelled the Turks to raiſe the ſiege, the viceroy let the grand-maſter know that he had now received ſuch inſtructions from the king, as put it in his power to ſhew his attachment to the order; that he was not indeed permitted to attack the Turkiſh fleet; but that he would immediately bring him a ſtrong body of troops, whoſe commanders (as he himſelf muſt return to Sicily) were to be entirely

ſubject to the grand-maſter's authority, till the enemy ſhould be expelled.

"The vice-roy, altho' ſtill ſuſpected of interpoſing unneceſſary delays, at length fulfilled his promiſe; and on the ſeventh of September landed ſix thouſand men, under Don Alvaro de Sandé and Aſcanio della Corna, in that part of the iſland which lay at the greateſt diſtance from the Turks; after which he immediately carried back the fleet to Sicily.

"In the mean time, intelligence being brought to Muſtapha that the Spaniards were landed, and marching towards him, he was thrown into the moſt dreadful conſternation. Senſible that his ſoldiers were much diſheartened by their ill ſucceſs, he imagined that he was about to be attacked by a ſuperior army, conſiſting of the braveſt and beſt diſciplined troops in Spain. Without waiting for information of their number, he forthwith raiſed the ſiege, drew his garriſon out of St. Elmo, and leaving all his heavy cannon behind him, embarked his troops with as much precipitation as if the Spaniards with ſuperior forces had been in ſight. He had ſcarcely got on board when a deſerter arrived from the Spaniſh camp, and informed him, that with fifteen or ſixteen thouſand men, he had fled before an army that did not exceed ſix thouſand, having no general at their head, and commanded by officers who were independent of one another. The baſha was overwhelmed with ſhame and vexation by this intelligence, and would have immediately diſembarked; but this, he knew, he durſt not attempt without conſulting Piali, Haſcem, and his other principal officers.

"While he was deliberating upon it, the grand-maſter improved to the beſt advantage the leiſure that was afforded him. He employed all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, as well as the ſoldiers, in filling up the enemy's trenches, and demoliſhing their works; and put a garriſon without delay into fort St. Elmo; in which the Turks now beheld from their ſhips the ſtandard of St. John erected where that of Mahomet had lately ſtood.

"This demonſtrated to Muſtapha how much new labour awaited him in caſe he ſhould return to the ſiege; but being enraged againſt himſelf on account of the precipitancy of his retreat, and diſquieted at the thoughts of the reception which he had reaſon to expect from Solyman, he wiſhed to atone for his imprudence, and to wipe off the reproach in which it had involved him, by victory or death. Piali, who from his jealouſy of the baſha's credit with the ſultan, was not ſorry for the failure of his enterpriſe, repreſented in a council of war convened on this occaſion, that as the troops were much diſpirited and worn out, it would be expoſing them to certain deſtruction, either to lead them againſt the enemy, or to reſume the operations of the ſiege. But a majority of the council were of a different opinion; and it was reſolved to land the forces again without delay.

"The Turkiſh ſoldiers complained bitterly of this unexpected reſolution, and obeyed the orders to diſembark with the greateſt reluctance. Their officers were obliged

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to employ threats with ſome, and force with others. At length the number intended was put on ſhore, and Muſtapha ſet out at their head in ſearch of the enemy.

"The grand-maſter had not neglected to give early notice of their march to the Spaniſh commanders, who had intrenched their little army on a ſteep hill, which the Turks would have found almoſt inacceſſible; and it was the opinion of ſome of the principal officers, that they ſhould avail themſelves of the advantage of their ſituation, and ſtand on their defence. But this propoſal was rejected with diſdain by the bold adventurous De Sandé, and the greateſt part of the Spaniſh officers; and the troops were led out of their encampment, to meet the enemy in the open field. This conduct, more fortunate perhaps than prudent, contributed to increaſe the dejection of the Turkiſh ſoldiers, and to facilitate their defeat. Having been dragged againſt their inclination to the field of battle; and being attacked by the Spaniards with great fury, both in front and flank, they ſcarcely fought; but, being ſtruck with a ſudden panic, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

"Muſtapha, confounded and enraged by this puſillanimous behaviour of his troops, was hurried along by the violent tide of the fugitives. He fell twice from his horſe, and would have been taken priſoner, if his officers had not reſcued him. The Spaniards purſued briſkly till they came to the ſea-ſhore. There Piali had his boats ready to receive the Turks, and a number of ſhallops filled with muſketeers drawn up to favour their eſcape. Without this precaution, they muſt all have periſhed; and even notwithſtanding the protection which it afforded them, the number of their killed amounted to two thouſand men, while the victors loſt only thirteen or fourteen at moſt.

"Such, after four months continuance, was the concluſion of the ſiege of Malta, which will be for ever memorable on account of that extraordinary diſplay of the moſt generous and heroic valour by which the knights, ſo few in number, were enabled to baffle the moſt vigorous efforts which could be made to ſubdue them by the moſt powerful monarch in the world. The news of their deliverance gave univerſal joy to the chriſtian powers; and the name of the grand-maſter excited every where the higheſt admiration and applauſe. Congratulations were ſent him from every quarter; and in many ſtates public rejoicings were celebrated on account of his ſucceſs."

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